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## VOLUME OFFERT AU PROFESSEUR

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FU US

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**BYZANTION**
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offrent ce volume au Professeur
**Edmond VOORDECKERS**,

# NOTE IMPORTANTE

La Rédaction de *Byzantion* demande aux collaborateurs de la revue de respecter ce qui suit :

1° Ne pas dépasser 30 pages imprimées par article, notes et références comprises ; les pages supplémentaires seront facturées aux auteurs.

2° Faire parvenir à la Rédaction une copie imprimée de leurs articles et un exemplaire sur disquette avec mention du système et du programme utilisés, ainsi que les caractères de la police grecque utilisée.

Indiquer à la fin leurs nom, institution, adresse (privée ou professionnelle) et E-mail.

Joindre deux résumés de 5 à 6 lignes, l'un dans la langue de l'article, l'autre en anglais.

3° Indiquer, lors de la rédaction des notes, les

- NOMS DES AUTEURS (anciens ou modernes) : en petite capitale, précédés des initiales des prénoms,
- *Titres* (livres, articles, revues, collections, séries) : en italique (translittérés en caractères latins pour les écritures autres que latine et grecque),
- lieux d'édition, dans la langue de l'article proposé à *Byzantion*,
- p. = page(s) (S. pour l'allemand) ; col. = colonne(s) ; fig. = figure(s) ; pl. = planche(s),

4° Utiliser seulement les abréviations autorisées ci-dessous.

## ABRÉVIATIONS AUTORISÉES

| | |
|---|---|
| *AASS* | *Acta Sanctorum* |
| *AB* | *Analecta Bollandiana* |
| *ACO* | E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* |
| *AHR* | *The American Historical Review* |
| *AJP* | *American Journal of Philology* |
| *BHG* | *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* |
| *BF* | *Byzantinische Forschungen* |

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|---|---|
| *BMGS* | *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* |
| *B-NJ* | *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* |
| *Bsl* | *Byzantinoslavica* |
| *Byz.* | *Byzantion* |
| *BZ* | *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* |
| *CA* | *Cahiers Archéologiques* |
| *CFHB* | *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* |
| *CIG* | *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* |
| *CIL* | *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* |
| *CJ* | *Codex Justinianus* |
| *CSEL* | *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* |
| *CSHB* | *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* |
| *CTh* | *Codex Theodosianus* |
| *DACL* | *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* |
| *DHGE* | *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* |
| *DOP* | *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* |
| *DOS* | *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* |
| *ΔΧΑΕ* | *Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* |
| *EEBS* | *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* |
| *EO* | *Echos d'Orient* |
| *FHG* | C. MULLER, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* |
| *GOThR* | *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* |
| *GRBS* | *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* |
| *JG* | I. et P. ZEPOS, *Jus Graecoromanum*, I-VIII, Athènes, 1931 |
| *JHS* | *Journal of Hellenic Studies* |
| *JÖB* | *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* |
| *JÖs* | *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinistischen Gesellschaft* |
| *JRA* | *Journal of Roman Archaeology* |
| *JRS* | *Journal of Roman Studies* |
| *LChI* | *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* |
| *Mansi* | J. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* |
| *MGH* | *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* |
| *MM* | F. MIKLOSICH et J. MULLER, *Acta et diplomata medii aevi*, Vindobonae, 1860-1890 |
| *NE* | *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* |
| *OCA* | *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* |
| *OCP* | *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* |
| *ODB* | *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford, 1991 |
| *PG* | *Patrologia Graeca* |
| *PL* | *Patrologia Latina* |
| *PLRE* | *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge, I-II, 1971-1980 |

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|---|---|
| *PO* | *Patrologia Orientalis* |
| *RAC* | *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* |
| *RBK* | *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst* |
| *RE* | *Real-Encyclopädie (Pauly-Wissowa)* |
| *REB* | *Revue des Études Byzantines* |
| *REG* | *Revue des Études Grecques* |
| *RH* | *Revue Historique* |
| *RHE* | *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* |
| *ROC* | *Revue d'Orient Chrétien* |
| *RSBN* | *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* |
| *SC* | *Sources Chrétiennes* |
| *ST* | *Studi e Testi* |
| *Syntagma* | G. RALLIS et M. POTLIS, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, I-VI, Athènes, 1852-1859 |
| *TIB* | *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* |
| *TM* | *Travaux et Mémoires* |
| *VV* | *Vizantijskij Vremennik* |
| *WS* | *Wiener Studien* |
| *Zbor.* | *Zbornik Radova Vizantoloskog Instituta Srpska Akademija Narodna* |

**La Rédaction ne retourne pas les articles refusés.**

# IN MEMORIAM

## ALICE LEROY-MOLINGHEN (1909-2006)

Alice Leroy-Molinghen s'est éteinte le 3 mars 2006. De 1968 à 1993, la "Rédaction" de *Byzantion*, c'était elle. "Femme de tête et femme de cœur", comme plusieurs l'ont déjà dit.

Sa carrière scientifique est exposée en détail par le Professeur J.-M. Sansterre dans l'ouvrage intitulé *Grec et latin en 1983 et 1984. Trente années de philologie classique à l'U.L.B. 1934-1964* (1). En voici l'essentiel. En 1931, à l'âge de 22 ans, elle obtient le doctorat en philologie classique avec une thèse sur l'*Histoire Philothée* de Théodoret de Cyr (*circa* 393-466). De 1932 à 1963, elle enseigne dans plusieurs lycées du pays, notamment à Etterbeek, sans renoncer tout à fait à ses recherches sur l'hellénisme byzantin qu'elle continue avec Henri Grégoire. En 1936-1937, elle suit les cours de l'École pratique des hautes études à Paris. À partir de cette époque, elle publie plusieurs articles concernant soit Théodoret, soit les *Lettres* de Théophylacte d'Ochrid (fin du XI^e^-début du XII^e^ s.). De 1965 à 1979, elle succède à Henri Grégoire comme titulaire des cours de grec médiéval et de plusieurs branches de l'histoire byzantine, à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles. Elle publie l'édition critique de l'*Histoire Philothée*,

(1) Edition : U.L.B., Bruxelles, 1984, p. 169-170 (avec bibliographie).

en deux volumes avec traduction et notes de P. Canivet, dans la prestigieuse collection des *Sources chrétiennes*, ainsi que des études sur la légende de Sainte Apolline, sur la mort d'Arius et sur la famille de Michel Psellos. On doit ajouter à ces activités plusieurs voyages académiques effectués en compagnie de son mari, le Professeur Maurice Leroy, Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Union académique internationale, ainsi que la participation à diverses réunions scientifiques, spécialement au colloque international de Louvain-la-Neuve, qu'elle présida le 26 août 1981 et où elle présenta une remarquable communication sur *Théodoret de Cyr et Grégoire de Nazianze* (2).

À partir de 1968, elle a fait partie du Conseil d'administration de *Byzantion* et a dirigé la rédaction de la revue, en association avec Paul Orgels jusqu'en 1976, et avec moi jusqu'en 1993, étant régulièrement assistée par Charles Delvoye et Mme Lydie Hadermann-Misguich dans le domaine de l'art byzantin et occasionnellement par des membres du comité de lecture dans leurs spécialités respectives. En 1994, le Professeur P. Yannopoulos lui a succédé à la tête de la *Rédaction*.

Cette fonction mettait en évidence la curiosité intellectuelle et la finesse d'esprit d'Alice Leroy-Molinghen ainsi que sa capacité de rassembler des collaborations créatives autour d'un projet commun. Avec une souriante fermeté, elle était particulièrement attentive à l'engagement, inscrit dans les statuts de *Byzantion*, de maintenir la revue fondée par Henri Grégoire "en accord avec l'idéal de libre recherche, de tolérance et de critique scientifique qui a toujours animé son fondateur" (*Statuts*, I, art. 3, *Moniteur belge*, du 21 mars 1963, p. 471). Depuis 1968, elle assura aussi la présidence effective, puis la présidence d'honneur de la Société belge des études byzantines, qui "a pour objet de promouvoir les études byzantines au sens le plus large de cette expression" (*Statuts*, I, art. 3, *Moniteur belge*, du 17 mars 1956 et du 19 août 1982, p. 4106-4107).

En exprimant ici la gratitude de *Byzantion* à l'égard de cette grande dame, nous souhaitons que son enthousiasme communicatif continue d'animer longtemps encore l'œuvre collective à laquelle elle était attachée.

Justin MOSSAY.

(2) Alice LEROY-MOLINGHEN, *Théodoret de Cyr et Grégoire de Nazianze*, dans *II. Symposium Nazianzenum* éd. J. MOSSAY (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*. N.F., II, *Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz*, 2), Paderborn, Munich, Vienne et Zurich, 1983, p. 181-186.

# ASPECTS OF THE SUDA

I begin Byzantinely with a famous quotation. Pope, *Dunciad*, book four, London, 1742, vv. 227-228 :

> For Attic phrase in Plato let them seek,
> I poach in Suidas for unlicens'd Greek.

Perhaps the only appearance in English literature. Pope scans the name as a disyllable, though in Greek it has three (1). His note defines Suidas as "a dictionary-writer, a collector of impertinent facts and barbarous words". "Impertinent" here means "inconsequential". I prefer Samuel Johnson : "There is nothing so trivial that I would not wish to see it published." Anyway, Suidas is ample on big names and topics. As to barbarous words, there are many unclassical Greek ones not in Liddell & Scott and many others not Greek at all. They are there both to define and be defined – to be given their license. Why not ? They belong to the Greek that Byzantines actually spoke, and at some levels wrote. Suidas is, after all, closer to us than to classical Athens. We should be glad that Ambrose Bierce's definition of "Dictionary" in *The Enlarged Devil's Dictionary* (New York, 1906), "A malevolent literary device for cramping the growth of a language and making it hard and inelastic," does not apply.

Why should Pope expect a knowing chuckle over this fleetingly rancid allusion to a Byzantine lexicon ? The answer comes within a few lines, vv. 237-238 :

> Are things which Küster, Burmann, Wasse shall see
> When Man's whole frame is obvious to a *Flea*.

Rudolph Küster's edition (Paris, 1700) had been printed at Cambridge in 1705, on the impetus of Richard Bentley, another of Pope's classical targets. Given the age-old dispute – Author or Title ? – one could visu-

(1) J. E. SANDYS, *Pronunciation of Suidas*, in *Classical Review*, 5 (1891), p. 431.

alise a similar situation with Küster, whose name in German means "Sacristan" and who used the Greek equivalent Νεωκόρος as a scholarly alias (2).

In 1755, Samuel Johnson brought out his Dictionary (3). Suidas is not in the famous Preface, but there are some common features. Johnson strays beyond the purely lexical, especially on scientific matters (e.g. two pages on amber/ambergris) ; he includes, and so preserves, dialects, notably his native Staffordshire ; he makes mistakes ; rude words are not totally barred ; he is partial to quoting the Greek Anthology ; personal feelings are imported, both slyly and crudely, above all in the much-revised fourth edition (1773). I am not (of course) arguing for a constant line of communication between Suidas and Johnson. But the practice of including encyclopedic matter in English dictionaries did begin in the sixteenth century, i.e. coeval with the first printed editions of Suidas (the Aldine in 1514, the Basileensis in 1549) ; the reverse procedure goes back at least to the *Omne Bonum*, compiled in the late fourteenth century by James le Palmer (4). Furthermore, Johnson owned two texts (Küster's and the earlier one (Geneva, 1619-1630) by Aemilius Portus, also Jonathan Toup's *Emendationes in Suidam* (London, 1760-1766), revised and re-issued (1790) by another classical luminary, Richard Porson (5). I should like to think that Suidas would have approved this splendid Johnsonianism : "I am not yet so lost in lexicography as to forget that words are the daughters of earth and that things are the sons of heaven" (6).

(2) J. Monk, *Life of Bentley*, London, 1833, I, p. 154.

(3) A. Reddick, *The Making of Johnson's Dictionary 1746-1773*, Cambridge, 1990 ; J. Green, *Chasing The Sun : Dictionary Makers and The Dictionaries They Made*, London & New York, 1996.

(4) The Preface, vii, to the *Oxford Reference Dictionary*, Oxford, 1988, a Suidas-like compilation in which Suidas is not noted, albeit Photius is, cites the following introduction to *Ogilvie's Imperial Dictionary*, London, 1850 : "The Dictionary will be found to contain a large amount of useful and interesting information connected with literature, art and science, so that the charge usually preferred against English dictionaries, namely that they furnish but a dry sort of reading, will not apply to this one". The *Omne Bonum* is edited in two volumes by L. F. Sandler, Oxford, 1999.

(5) Suidas is also prominent in J. Toup's, *Epistola Critica*, London, 1767, and Idem, *Curae Novissimae*, London, 1775.

(6) The sentiment is paraphrased from a line in Samuel Madden's, *Boulter's Monument*, London, 1745, a poem vetted by Johnson before publication at the author's request.

So far, I have been saying Suidas, no doubt to some raised eyebrows, this being a now unfashionable habit, though Ada Adler followed it in her monumental edition (Leipzig, 1928-1938) that will remain forever standard ; so, too, did Dewitt Starnes and Gertrude Noyes in their *Renaissance Dictionaries* (Austin, 1954). It is time to grasp this onomastic nettle : Suidas the author, or Suda the lexicon ? If the latter, what does the title mean ? And why the problem in the first place ?

Alexander Kazhdan (7) speaks of our book as "a famous lexicon preserved under the conventional title of S(o)uda", also as "a dictionary of sorts". The latter description is aburdly dismissive, the former ambiguous and so doubly misleading. We know lots of titles of ancient lexica and encyclopedias, Greek and Latin. There are plenty of Flowers, Gardens, and Meadows, but no Forts, which is what Suda is supposed to mean. And while title may currently be ahead of author in the popularity stakes, it is premature to speak of conventions.

In the words of Nigel Wilson (8), "the work is variously known as the S(o)uda, which is the title apparently guaranteed by the manuscripts and used by a twelfth-century commentator on Aristotle, or Suidas, which is given as if it were the author's name by other Byzantine writers from Eustathius on", adding "the dispute about the name and its etymology is unprofitable". He perhaps overrates the value of manuscript titles. We call Photius' volume of literary reviews either *Bibliotheca* or *Myriobiblon*. But the former was not coined until the sixteenth century, the latter is late Byzantine : the Patriarch's own heading is the jaw-breaking *An Enumeration of the Books that We have Read, Of Which Our Brother Tarasius Requested a General Analysis* (9). Wilson's commentator may look a good bet, but why prefer him over Eustathius, who is frequent and precise in his references (10) to (e.g.) "the big book of Suidas", using the mas-

(7) A. P. KAZHDAN, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1985, pp. 15, 133.

(8) N. G. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium*, London, 1983, p. 145. The commentator, one STEPHANUS, can be found in *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, XX. ii, Berlin, 1896, p. 285. Late Byzantine scholars using Suidas include Pseudo-Zonaras, Michael Apostolius, and Constantine Lascaris, also the curious lexicon *Violarium* or *Ionia*, fraudulently attributed to the empress Eudocia (1059-1067) by its compiler, probably Constantine Palaeokappa (d. 1543).

(9) W. TREADGOLD, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photius*, Washington D. C., 1980, p. 4.

(10) L. COHN, s. v. *Eustathius*, *RE* 6, Stuttgart, 1909, col. 1481.

culine definite article with the name. How, if he had seen the feminine heading S(o)uda, could the learned Archbishop make such a mistake within two hundred years of the lexicon's appearance ? It is not enough to say with Lemerle ([11]), "all the good manuscripts say Souda. Therefore Eustathius no longer understood the title". I subjoin, since no one else does, that the proper name is quite possible. Strabo (329C) mentions (so do some scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes) a Suidas who wrote local histories of Euboea and Thessaly with a mythological bent and an eye on gratifying local audiences – all future Byzantine traits.

Further light may come from England, not always a plausible notion. Robert Grosseteste (c. 1168-1253), the scholarly Bishop of Lincoln, made much use of our lexicon in his Aristotelian and theological commentaries, drawing (e.g.) on its Brahmin lore for his *Hexaemeron* and its entries of Love and Beauty for exposition of comparable Christian concepts. In a note on the *De Caelo*, he observes that it is "*expositio autentica partium graecarum in raro existentium*", a judgement that prefigures Pope's "unlicens'd Greek". Grosseteste also translated over seventy biographical notices from it. Still unpublished, they might indicate whether he saw an author or a title ; his commentaries comport such unhelpful formulae as "*in quodam libro Graeco inveni*". At all events, this fairly early advent of our Byzantine lexicon in the West, both England and South Italy whence there comes a Suidas-stuffed Greek-Latin dictionary which Grosseteste himself may both have used and revised, along with the translation of part of his work into Anglo-Norman, is in itself of obvious interest ([12]).

S(o)uda is not a word found in Liddell & Scott (unless it has made any recent Supplement), or in Stephanus. Modern books say it means "Fort"

(11) P. LEMERLE, *Byzantine Humanism*, tr. H. LINDSAY and A. MOFFATT, Canberra, 1985, p. 343 n. 9, used in preference to the French original, Paris, 1971, since it contains Lemerle's own revisions and bibliographical up-dates.

(12) A. C. DIONISOTTI, *On the Greek Studies of Robert Grosseteste*, in *The Uses of Greek and Latin : Historical Essays*, London, 1988, pp. 19-40, also *Robert Grosseteste and the Greek Encyclopedia*, in (ed.) J. HAMESSE & M. FATTAR, *Rencontres de Cultures de la Philosophie Médiévale*, Louvain, 1992, pp. 337-353. S. Harrison THOMPSON, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste*, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 63-65. R. FRANCHESINI, *Roberto Grossetesta*, Venice, 1933, pp. 65-67. R. J. DEAN, *An Anglo-Norman Version of Grosseteste : Part of his Suidas and Testamenta XII Patriarchum*, in *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 51 (1936), pp. 607-620.

or "Ditch", a conclusion based upon many articles, mostly by Henri Grégoire ([13]). Lemerle (*op. cit.*) insists it can only mean the latter, remarking "this is a bizarre name for a lexicon". Not half so bizarre, though, as "Instrument of Torture", one of the two meanings ("Palisade" is the other) given from Theophanes (*Chron.* p. 416 Bonn) by Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, deriving the word from Latin *sudis* ("Stake"). Or perhaps not. Scaliger once said that the worst criminals should be neither executed nor sentencde to forced labour but rather condemned to compile dictionaries, because all tortures are included in the work ([14]).

As far as I can see (with the aid of E. A. Sophocles' Lexicon), S(o)uda can mean both fort and ditch (e.g. Theophanes, *Chron.* pps. 618, 756 Bonn ; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio* p. 180 Bonn.). I have seen little discussion of the suitability of "Fort" as a title, though Lemerle (p. 346) implicitly allows it in his description of tenth-century Byzantine encyclopedism as "a closed world, a sacrosanct area protected by ritual repetition of the past".

Lemerle fancies that S(o)uda might form a Greek acrostic that comes out in English as *A Collection of onomastic Material Alphabetically Arranged, or Arranged by Different Men.* A bonny idea, but (obviously) beyond proof. Still with Lemerle, "the work begins with an announcement which seems to promise an explanation", cautiously subjoining that this may be an interpolation – by whom, or why, he does not say, and what force should this term bear in such a multi-layered text ? If only it had what Photius provides for his Lexicon : a preface with addressee, a clear statement of content and purpose, and another cumbersome but precise heading : *Alphabetic List of Words Which Lend Particular Elegance to the Compositions of Orators and Prose Writers.*

Our lexicon's subtitle reads *The Present Book Souda and the Wise Men Compiling It.* Thus Lemerle. In fact, the participle is in the past tense, not a pedantic point : it may save the S(o)uda's bacon if we take the sub-titular verb to mean that these ancient authorities drew up or formed the

(13) Inventoried by G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, I, Leiden, 1983, pp. 514-515, to which add B. LAVIGNI, *Suida, Suda, or Guda ?* in *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica*, 40 (1962), pp. 441-444, and N. WALTER, *Suda. Ein Literaturbericht zum Titel des sogenanten Suidas-Lexikons*, in *Das Altertum*, 8 (1962), pp. 179-185.

(14) Quoted in L. ZAGUSTA, *The Manual of Lexicography*, London, 1971, p. 15.

basis for later compilations, including itself. This sub-title is postluded by a list of eleven learned men and their specialities, dubbed by Wilson (*loc. cit.*) "an unattractive feature, intended to given a spurious air of authority". They are not the lexicon's compilers, but no one was claiming that they were, since the second one, Helladius, is specified as having lived back in the reign of Theodosius II (408-450), and all have their own entries. It is clear beyond peradventure that the author(s) often went not directly to these designated sources but to later excerptions ; yet need it always have been so ? Photius (*Bibl.*, codd. 145-158) lists a dozen or so lexica read by himself. Their authors include this Helladius, polymath producer of an alphabetic lexicon, massive in size ("the biggest one I know", observes Photius) and scope, full of prose and poetry quotations "as useful for writers as for philomaths". This is surely just the kind of thing the S(o)uda liked, so why doubt it was used on occasion ? After all, nobody calls Photius a liar. The S(o)uda list notably excludes Diogenianus, although he does rate an entry (Δ 1140) with rich bibliography, above all the Anthology of Epigrams that played a part in the creation of the Greek Anthology ([15]), which has a huge role in our lexicon. By the way, if Diogenianus did not coin the term *Anthology*, then it did – Liddell & Scott have no other examples. Photius, despite parading him in his own lexicon's preface, does not list him among dictionaries read. Yet he deserves a place in our hearts for his reference book *The Impecunious Student*, written "as a teacher for the poor, not just for the rich". Is it possible our lexicon had similar motives ? Despite its bulk, it was a smash-hit, to judge by the number of manuscripts and quotations and its fairly rapid transit to the West. The longest Byzantine lexicon of all, pseudo-Zonaras (possibly thirteenth century) had the widest circulation, with over a hundred extant copies.

Ours may or may not be the work of a syndicate ([16]). Multiple authorship is relatively uncommon in ancient literature, and can cause trouble : witness the *Historia Augusta* biographies and the Byzantine guidebook, *Parastaseis*. Here, though, the idea has its attractions, since it could explain the very different levels of achievement in the work. Allen

(15) Alan CAMERON, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes*, Oxford, 1993, pp. 5, 16, 22, 59, 69, 81, 84-90.

(16) Thus, e.g., CAMERON, p. 279, and LEMERLE, p. 345. So also WILSON, *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Washington DC, 1975, p. 6 ; in *Scholars*, p. 145, he is more sceptical. KAZHDAN's notice in the *ODB*, is non-committal.

Reddick says in his *The Making of Johnson's Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1990, p. 3) : "Its air of massive impersonality can be dissolved by examining the physical processes required in the work's construction, and the author's mind in the course of guiding its creation". We can only do a little of this with our Byzantine dictionary, but it is still helpful to recall Johnson's six helpers, five Scotsmen and the black servant Francis Barber, along with their description by one of Reddick's reviewers ([17]) : "Not just faceless inhabitants of Grub Street, they are real people working at real tasks. Like other foot soldiers they are not always reliable, yet they share in the heroism of the grand design".

Henceforth, I shall say simply Suda, this to mean both book and author(s), without bias towards any theory. Two other clarifications. Apart from the interpolation problem, the Suda contains a great deal of material lifted from lost sources. Most blatant is its notice (H 611) of the sixth-century Hesychius of Miletus, where it says "he composed an Index of Famous Men in *Paideia*, of which this book is an epitome". This cannot refer to the Suda itself, but to a mid ninth-century revision that added in Christian biographies, the so-called Hesychius Epitome ([18]). Apart from the author/title question, the Suda issue to attract much modern attention is sources. For this reason, and not forgetting Lemerle's description of it as "futile", I shall be niggardly, though do declare my belief that concordances between Suda and Photius may suggest the former used the latter, rather than fall back on the popular parrot-cry of lost common source ([19]). There is more to be done on this, now that we have the complete Photius, thanks to its discovery in 1959 at the monastery of Macedonian Zavorda ([20]). I further stipulate that, apart from moments when the Suda's voice speaks loud and clear, what it puts in and leaves out are signals of sorts. As the proverb goes, and it has plenty of those, Our Choices Define Us.

(17) W. B. CAMOCHAN, in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 19 April, 1991.

(18) TREADGOLD, pp. 52-66, with full reference to earlier work, notably that of W. G. WENTZEL ; M. L. WEST, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*, Berlin & New York, 1974, p. 44.

(19) WILSON, *Scholars*, p. 92, rises above this, but without mentioning the Suda concludes on the basis of the small number of manuscripts that "Despite Photius' importance both as a scholar and a churchman his lexicon does not seem to have been widely used".

(20) The first volume (A-D) of the edition by C. Theodoridis, Berlin & New York, 1982, was quick to yield a considerable number of new fragments of classical authors.

The Suda can be dated to the late tenth century, perhaps around the pseudo-millennial year 1000. The latest biographical entry is Ignatius the Deacon, who died c. 845. Two sets of chronological pointers are placed with suitable symbolism at the ends of the notices of Adam (A 425) and Constantinople (K 2287). In the first, which reflects the habit of Byzantine chroniclers writing histories from Adam to their own times, a series of world chronologies in which the emperor Michael III (842-867), son of the iconoclast Theophilus (829-842), is interestingly spotlighted, leaves blank the number of years elapsed down to Romanus II (959-963), son of the very relevant (for his literary enterprises) Constantine VII, and then to the death of John Tzimisces (976). The entry for Constantinople reads "From the foundation of the New Rome until Basil and Constantine, the Porphyrogennetoi, wielded their sceptres", again with the years blank. This pair ruled 976-1025. Since Constantine, apart from some distinguished military service, was largely a cipher, the Suda's use of the plural "sceptres" (misleadingly singularised by Lemerle) is perhaps significant. Also rarely noted is that the entry for Constantinople which ended thus begins with a quotation from (of all people) Julian the Apostate to the effect that New Rome was as inferior to the old one as it was superior to all other cities.

Attached to notices of the comic playwrights Heniochus (H 392) and Polyeuctus (Π 1959) are identical blasts against Polyeuctus, Patriarch of Constantinople from April 3, 956 to February 5, 970. They describe him as contemporary, albeit the words "in our time" do not prove the Suda had more than one author, being explicable as a royal plural or generalising reference to Byzantines ([21]).

We don't know why this writer entertained such animus against Polyeuctus, who gets a very good press from (e.g.) the historian Scylitzes and Nicetas the Metropolitan of Ankara ([22]). How het-up he was is shown by the bare-knuckled vocabulary : "In our time there was Polyeuctus, wicked, half-woman, hated of God, absurdly bad-tempered, a dreadful and life-destroying offspring of Cocytus and Styx". This piling-up of compound adjectives, most rare or without parallel, is utterly typical of the Byzantine lampoon. The technique derives from Old Comedy, which

(21) Even if these blasts are not interpolated, they cannot be very much later than the Suda itself ; cf. WILSON, *Scholars*, p. 145.

(22) KAZHDAN, *Change*, p. 165, also *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1984, p. 73.

is consonant with the Suda's frequent drawing on Aristophanes and his scholia for quotations, also demonstrating that the writer knew what he was about when appending such scurrillities to notices of stage comedians. Of the two he chose, the reason for Polyeuctus is obvious, and there may be extra bite to Heniochus, since his name as an ordinary noun meaning "Reinsman" is used by patristic writers (examples in Lampe) of racers unfit to enter Heaven and of Satan himself. This intemperate style is elsewhere in (e.g.) the Suda's entry for Proclus (II 2473) who in his eighteen books against Christ "wagged his filthy bragging tongue" and whose vaunted Hellenic expertise was "marvellously exposed" by John Philoponus as "ignorant and stupid". The aforementioned James le Palmer also indulged in it, e.g : "Note, you mendicant friar-sycophants, daily consorting with women, how gravely you sin by such scandalous behaviour".

A date of c. 1000 not only suits the internal evidence, it makes the Suda a logically ambitious finale to this great age of Byzantine encyclopedism. Although some healthy seeds had previously been sown by the likes of Photius and Cephalas, the tenth century produced an exceptional harvest : the Excerpts and other enterprises of Constantine VII ; the Greek Anthology now plausibly credited by Alan Cameron to Constantine the Rhodian (b. 870 or 880, d. after 931) whose own output includes (as well as descriptively cataloguing poems on the Church of the Holy Apostles and the Seven Wonders of Constantinople) crude lampoons that list an enemy's base qualities in polysyllables coined for the occasion ; the *Geoponica* ; and many other compilations ([23]). In a way, it is a Byzantine version of the Roman Antonine Age. A recent reviewer ([24]) of a history of the *Oxford English Dictionary* remarks that "people will never be persuaded away from the idea of a dictionary as an authority rather than a record". That suits the Byzantine scene. So, in view of the literary expositions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, does the Emersonian dictum

(23) LEMERLE, pp. 309-346, provides the best survey. Apart from CAMERON, see G. DOWNEY, *Constantine the Rhodian : His Life and Works*, in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend*, Princeton, 1955, pp. 212-221.

(24) N. BAGNALL, reviewing J. WILLINSKY, *Empire of Words : The Reign of the OED*, Princeton, 1995, in the London *Sunday Telegraph*, February 5, 1995. Happily, the Suda and its Byzantine users would be baffled by claims that the *Oxford English Dictionary's (OED)* "undue emphasis" on citations from Shakespeare, Milton, Chaucer, Walter Scott, and Bible translations makes it "elitist, masculine, chauvinistic, imperialist, and insulting to minority groups".

"neither is a dictionary a bad book to read, it is full of suggestion, the raw material of possible poems and histories". Also, I would add, an impetus for the scholarship of (e.g.) Eustathius, whose lost works include a commentary on Aristophanes and a collection of epigrams presumably owing something to the Suda's rich mining of the Anthology, soon (in Cameron's words) to be rearranged and bowdlerised by Maximus Planudes.

The Suda consists of 31,342 entries, 4740 of which go to Alpha, the most richly documented letter ([25]) ; Epsilon is a good second at 4078, Chi brings up the rear with 171. No danger here of the *patrii sermonis egestas* faced by Aelfric's Glossary ([26]) which just stops with the lament "*we ne magon swa eah ealle naman awritan ne furor geencan*", Anglo-Saxon (I gather) for "That's enough ; I can't think of any more words to put in". unlike the Byzantine Tzetzes' note on Aristophanes, *Plutus* 677 and 833, which he says he only wrote to fill up the pages. Aelfric, however, laid special stress upon vowel quantities, to enable – so it has been argued ([27]) – vernacular-reared monks worthily to perform the church liturgy. Does this apply also to the Suda, itself much concerned with quantities ?

The entries are not in ordinary sequence but antistoechic, i.e. they reflect Byzantine pronunciation by ordering vowels and diphthongs through sound. A sensible procedure. How innovative is uncertain. In his survey of now lost lexica, Photius (whose own is conventional) always mentions that they were alphabetic, possibly implying there were others which were not – Helladius' was alphabetic only in its initial letters. The word ἀντιστοιχία (and cognates) in this sense is not common : Liddell & Scott adduce only Athenaeus (501b) and John Lydus (*De Mag.* 1. 7).

For Lemerle (p. 345), the Suda is "essentially an historical and literary encyclopedia, but it is also a collection of proverbs and a kind of dictionary of quotations. We might also say that it is a dictionary of conversation for the use of 'cultured' people : in this respect it is a reflection of the

(25) We may loosely compare the *OED*'s 2. 4 million quotations to illustrate the half million words defined, or the fourth version of the letter D on the modern *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*'s CD-ROM containing 57 million words of text from 3157 authors. These figures and many others are supplied by E. S. GALL's review-article on such feats of modern lexicography and technology in the *Times Literary Supplement*, December 11, 1992.

(26) Published in T. WRIGHT, *A Volume of Vocabularies*, London, 1857.

(27) P. G. W. GLARE, *Liddell & Scott : Past and Present*, in (ed.) R. BURCHFIELD, *Studies in Lexicography*, Oxford, 1987, pp. 1-18.

culture and ideal of culture for an era, of which it gives a picture which often disconcerts us. From the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, which is full of personal reflections inspired by direct reading of authors, to the compilation of compilations, which is what the S(o)uda is, there is a perceptible evolution".

This dichotomy is quite wrong : the Suda has plenty of personality. Again, how novel in its range is unclear. Many titles of lost dictionaries suggest a more than lexical content, while in surviving ones we can sometimes detect specialist interests and personal biases, e.g. Pollux' *Onomasticon* is rich on the Athenian constitution, music, theatre, and tax-collectors for whom he has thirty-three distinct terms of abuse. For Wilson (p. 146), "the Suda marks a significant stage in the evolution of this type of reference book". And, given its use by Grosseteste and brethren, one may reasonably suggest influence upon the *Catholicon* (or *Summa*), a 800-page folio encyclopedic dictionary published at Genoa in 1286 by Johannes Balbus ([28]), described by Green (p. 48) as "the pivotal medieval rather than classical dictionary". Nowadays, our Webster, our Collins, our *Oxford Reference Dictionary*, are all living reminders of what the Suda did.

Pope is contemptuous, Lemerle lukewarm. To Wilson, "the Suda is not one of the major achievements of Byzantine scholarship". Kazhdan's *ODB* notice is non-committal. I prefer a couple of more mixed modern verdicts. First, Green (p. 47) : "Not all the material is completely accurate, some is downright mistaken, but although the Suda is by no means an example of the highest scholarship, it remains a fascinating compilation". Second, Emily Hanawalt writes in a Suda-style modern manual ([29]) that "it is a hodgepodge, blissfully neglecting uniformity and demonstrating little historical sense or critical discrimination. Careless errors, conflicting multiple glosses for a single lemma, and peculiar distortions betray the hasty composition and want of governing intelligence". However, thanks to her separate pioneering study on how it treats the pagan gods, she was able to conclude that "such entries make the Suda a provocative and revealing monument of Byzantium" ([30]).

(28) First printed by GUTENBERG, Mainz, 1460.

(29) *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. STRAYER, New York, 1982-1989.

(30) *The Suda on the Pagan Gods*, in *East European Quarterly*, 13 (1979), pp. 386-394.

Spotting its errors is akin to a turkey shoot. Here are some samples, unindicated by Adler, whose mission was to edit the text, not write a commentary. The Suda twice (A 731, 1123) quotes a chunk from the opening (3d-4a) of "the wise Athenaeus" to illustrate the rich feasts of Alexander, but the original compliment was to Conon, whose name is missed out. The Vandal Stilicho is twice (Π 240, Σ 1032) given his right name, twice (Β 321, Γ 287) miscalled Glicho, on all four occasions using the same fragment of Eunapius, a strange business (31) since the passage is one quoted to exemplify Glicho as a proper name. As a result, Glicho appears once in Adler's index, Stilicho not at all. The sophist Caecilius (K 1165) is given a professional career that extends from Augustus to Hadrian – even modern tenure does not permit such longevity. The emperor Nero is twice (A 1128, N 254) described as "blood mixed with mud", an insult applied by Suetonius (*Tib.* 57. 1) to Tiberius. Contrariwise, Nero's sinister Greek catch-phrase, "When I am dead, let fire consume the earth", is misattributed (T 552). Presumably, their common name Nero prompted such confusions. Talking of Tiberius, a sentence on his sudden descent into wickedness is repeated verbatim in the following notice (T 553) of the homonymous Byzantine emperor. Likewise, the short notice (I 449) of Justin I concludes with a sentence from Menander Protector that belongs to Justin II. There are other kinds of belly-flops. No less than four entries (A 889, Φ 120, Ψ 66, Σ 1348) illustrate the adjective ἄκιτις with the same half-line of verse from *AP* 6. 307. But, as given, it is unmetrical and false. There is no such word ; the correct reading is the rare epithet δοναχῖτις. This slovenliness can be added to the examples adduced to support Alan Cameron's remark (p. 276), "the compiler of the Suda was a careless fellow not much bothered about sense or metre".

Sometimes, an item puzzles. In one fascinating case (A 1903, repeated at E 3571), there is a quotation from the *Meditations* (3. 5. 2) of Marcus Aurelius, an emperor who receives three large encomia (M 215-216) and whose frequently cited book had recently taken on a new lease on life in Byzantium thanks to Arethas who (*Ep.* 44) transcribed a damaged copy not only for a senior church colleague but "for posterity". In the Suda's version, the opening subordinate clause (οἷος ἂν εἴη τις περιμένων) is changed to ἔσο ἀναμένον, this construction being unclassical late Greek. Another mistake ? Or have we the exciting possibility that

(31) Unnoticed in the edition of R. C. BLOCKLEY, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, Liverpool, 1983, II, p. 145.

there was now circulating a text rewritten in the vernacular, the reverse procedure from Symeon Metaphrastes – an author cropping up in the Suda (e.g. A 1271) where he is identified with the homonymous Logothete, a point missed by the sceptical *ODB* notice – with hagiographical texts ?

When a lady asked Johnson why he defined "Pastern" as the knee of a horse (it is actually part of its foot), he replied, "Ignorance, Madam, pure ignorance" ; it took him eighteen years and four editions to amend the error. We all make mistakes. One respected Petronian put the fourth-century Palladas in the reign of Nero, while a Byzantinist assigned the Hellenistic poet Lycophron to Justinian's time ([32]). Green (p. 267) calls Galen "a medieval physician", folly comparable to the Pantocrator Hospital director in Constantinople who made him a contemporary of Christ, for which he is rebuked with uncharacteristic politeness by Tzetzes (*Ep.* 81) who moves him forward a little inaccurately to Caracalla, for which he is commended by Wilson (p. 193) who himself puts this emperor on the throne nine years too soon. How could there not be mistakes in the Suda ? Its range is impossibly large for one person to get everything right, and if it was a syndicate, we would expect the same uneven performance that we get in (say) modern Festschriften.

It took Adler thirty-eight pages to index the Suda's interests (names and sources apart) : inventions, chronology, science, philosophy, antiquities, grammar, etymology, dialects, foreign words (Latin gets the lion's share, with Hebrew second), words unusual or more Byzantine than classical, and proverbs. These rubrics cause little surprise in themselves, though some inter-Byzantine links are laudably noteworthy, e.g. the interest in foreign languages is taken up by Tzetzes in a poem ([33]) in which he brags – how justifiably is not the point – of his polyglot abilities. Also, albeit sharing the credit with Photius and others, the Suda deserves a pat on the back for thinking it worthwhile to mention (A 537) – as some modern editors do not – that Thucydides had a weakness for using neuter adjectives plurally rather than in the singular ; little notes on the niceties

(32) J. P. SULLIVAN, *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nero*, London & Ithaca, 1985, p. 98 n. 41 ; T. F. CARNEY, *Bureaucracy in Traditional Society : Romano-Byzantine Bureaucracies Viewed from Witthin*, Lawrence, Kansas, 1971, II, pp. 62-63.

(33) Ed. H. HUNGER, in *BZ*, 46 (1953), pp. 302-307.

of Ionic Greek (A 4505, 4596), apparently its own, are equally commendable.

Personality and propaganda shine out of many entries. Sometimes belligerently. Unlike Photius', the notice (A 1445) for Alpha concludes "so it is quite clear that the sacred letters of the alphabet are the discovery of Abraham, whatever the self-deluding pagans may prate", a remark very similar to that prefacing book one of the Greek Anthology : "Let the pious and Godly epigrams come first, even if the pagans are upset". The verb *ἀπενθέω* is illustrated (A 3169) by a gloating sentence from Symeon Metaphrastes : "When the bloom went off the pagans, Christianity advanced". The frequent studding of entries with quotations from Metaphrastes, along with those in iambic verse from the dream books of Patriarch Nicephorus I, impart a surely deliberate tinge to the Suda as a whole. Hellenes are not the only target. After classical quotations to exemplify a word for "stupid" (A 3169), Gregory Nazianzenus' gibe "O thou who art more idiotic even than the Jews", words all too congenial to Byzantine ears, is stuck on. Kazhdan (*Studies*, p. 152) suggested that Eustathius, by adding a word for "street-walker" to the innocent etymology "Alley" for *Λαύρα*, was intentionally giving an unsavoury connotation to monasteries. Thus, we may want to make something of the Suda's entry (Λ 152) : "A narrow road through which people flow, an alley where there is filth of every kind, therefore a Lavra is for people to stream in". A distinct impression is here left that the verb *ῥέω* has the force of "urinate".

The Suda's Christianity is robustly orthodox. Its notice of Theophilus (Θ 196), one of several Byzantine emperors admitted, reproduces stock diatribes against his iconoclasm. Iconodule poems frequently illustrate words. The Christian banner is proudly flown at the end of Adam's entry : "So let the First-Made be the starting-point of this work, according to my measure and word, just as rivers, streams, the sea are the basis of humanity". Bias of another kind disfigures the two-line description of Eve (E 3352) : "The first sin of the world".

Hanawalt persuasively concludes : "While showing the respectful admiration that linked Constantinople to Athens, the Suda also illustrates the chasm between the two, by treating literary masterpieces as philological curiosities, proposing allegorical interpretations of classical statues, demythologising antique tales, deflating pagan gods through euhemerism or allegory or even attacking paganism head-on". I will extend her range by one example. The Suda has (P 133) this laconic entry for Romulus and

Remus : "Roman brothers, offspring of a whore, thrown out and reared by a woman", adding one of its user-friendly cross-references, "Look under Brumalia" (B 556). This pagan festival, despite pious protests and interdicts ([34]), was still alive in a presumably Christianised version in the twelfth century. The Suda's tone and linkage suggest a Queen Victoria-like failure to be amused.

Many items strike me as barbed, e.g. on the Temple of Good Fortune (A 111) : "It's obvious what this means". The information (A 4177) that wine-skins washed with salt are better may reflect the writer's own experience – and perhaps others' love of drink ? To exemplify aphorisms (Γ 304), a cynical one from Dio Cassius (also cited to define Justice, Δ 1080) is used : "There is no justice stronger than arms, for he who has power seems always the more just in words and deeds". Elsewhere, we learn that "gold and silver and royal education confer rank" (Γ 420), and that "Royalty is a common possession but the commons do not belong to Royalty" (D 460). More luridly Byzantine is the statement (E 3777), after long Eunapian extracts on the courtier Rufinus, that so much power accrued to eunuchs that "some men who had already lost their beards, wishing to become eunuchs, lost their *Psyche* (Life ? Soul ?) along with their balls". Here, I must adduce Liddell & Scott on the basic testicular noun ὄρχις : "Frequently in the plural" – we hope so !

Reviewing the Suda-esque *Collins' English Dictionary and Thesaurus*, John Lennard (*TLS*, April 22, 1994) claims that "one of the standard tests of any dictionary is looking up the word Fuck". The Suda satisfied this distinctive demand. Not on the rich scale of John Florio's Italian-English *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598), the first one to do so. But unlike Photius, the Suda twice (B 287-288) notices *binein*, the basic word for this activity, glossing it with two respectable equivalents, "Penetrate" and "Lie Together", also with the onomatopoeic πιπίζειν, absent from lexica and Adler's word lists. A bit of demotic, perhaps ? French *pipi* might be relevant. Not surprisingly, βινεῖν is glossed with four passages from Aristophanes, also a Hellenistic epigram. The Suda is far less nervous of erotic vocabular than Liddell & Scott who illustrate one verb for intercourse only with the plural feminine passive participle (προσκυλμέναι)

(34) Canon 62 of the Council In Trullo placed Christians who celebrated the Brumalia under a six-year excommunication ; an anonymous Life of Stephen the Younger denounces Constantine V as "the friend of demons" for his participation.

and the coy rendition "women with a past", or Lewis & Short whose definition of *sellarius* as "One who practises lewdness upon a settle" is a masterpiece of meiosis. For example, it (Δ 201, 205) goes into large detail on the vaginal significance of the letter Delta and words formed from it, as well as orginating the notion (E 3709) that in an epigram by Rufinus the Spartan river Eurotas stands for the girl's private parts. Alan Cameron ([35]) has challenged this interpretation of what he calls "a quite heroically misunderstood poem". It certainly made Adler nervous : she has a Greek misprint and a false *AP* reference, untypical slips. But even Cameron does not bring out the Suda's full quirkiness : it defines Eurotas as the genitals of a *man,* then tacks on another Eurotas poem incapable of double-entendre. Overall, the Suda is well stocked with genitalian terms, also verbs for breaking wind (D 706). Futhermore, it does not criticise Anaxandrides (A 1982) for introducing passion and seductions to the stage, and has two uncensorious notes (P 258-259) on homosexual loves ; by no less interesting contrast, it calls (S 107) the charge of Lesbianism against Sappho "a slander".

Apart from the predictable Homer ([36]), the two largest mines of quotation are Aristophanes and the Greek Anthology. The very first entry in the Suda, I fancy, quite deliberately sets this double tone. Distinguishing two monsyllabic ejaculations, it quotes Aristophanes for the first, an iconodule poem for the second. It is good to see how many Byzantines were untroubled by the raciness of Old Comedy. The only manuscript (Ravenna 429) to transmit all the eleven surviving plays belongs to just before the Suda's time. The entry for him (A 3932) states, "He wrote fourty-four plays, but the ones we did are these". A list of the eleven follows. According to Liddell & Scott, this is a unique example of the verb πράττειν in this sense – as we speak of "doing" Shakespeare.

Using Adler's index, Cameron (p. 278) computes 1076 epigram quotations from 430 authors, all in the *AP*. Since Adler missed one or two (e.g. the one from 6. 307 at A 889), this tally needs slight adjustment. Also, two epigrams not from *AP* are adduced : one (A 621) from Aeschines 3. 185 = Plutarch, *Cimon* 7 ; the other (Λ 54) from the opening of Synesius, *Ep.* 127. I here add a widow's mite. Cameron (p. 335) writes, "For the Suda, an epigram was an epigram. It did not matter who wrote it or when". In fact, in its very first entry, likewise at M 389, the Suda prefaces

(35) *Notes on the Erotic Art of Rufinus*, in *GRBS*, 22 (1981), pp. 179-186.
(36) R. BROWNING, *Homer in Byzantium*, in *Viator*, 8 (1975), pp. 15-33.

a quotation with "like Agathias in Epigrams". Since the same iconodule poem (*AP* 1. 34) is cited both times, and since Agathias' own *Cycle* of epigrams plays an important part in the creation of the final Greek Anthology, these exceptions surely say something about a compiler's at least occasional recognition of the significance of an epigram's authorship.

There is a vast medley of other sources, more ancient than Byzantine. Avoidance of living authors was also a lexicographical policy of Johnson, though he sometimes broke it for friends. As well as ones already adduced, mention may be made of Synesius, George of Pisidia, and Procopius. The Suda is the only text to acknowledge the *Secret History*, and may indicate the true purpose of that notorious pamphlet by dubbing it a *κωμωδία*. It is frequently cited vis-à-vis Justinian, who gets only a tiny though uncensorious entry (I 446, much smaller than the one for Justinian II) for his buildings.

The Byzantines were New Romans, not new Athenians. We have already seen some ham-fisted moments in the Suda's handling of Nero and Tiberius. Its entry for Caesar (K 1195), along with the Caesarian operation etymology, offers this potted Roman history : "In early Rome the people ruled, then came oligarchy, then monarchy, with Julius Caesar the first, then there was peace until Marcus Aurelius, followed by disruptions upon the murder of Commodus" – the latter receiving (K 2007) a disproportionately large notice. This spawns three tiny entries (K 1196-1198) for Julius, Augustus, and Tiberius, all restricted to their literary productions. Of the two bigger notices (A 4412-4413) of Augustus, one dwells on his writings and censuses, the other is devoted to Christian elements, above all the birth of Jesus and Constantine's Augusteum with cross-reference to this in the Justinian entry. One has the feeling the Suda is thus catering for two types of reader.

Roman literature has a thin time of it. Virgil, the Latin poet most read and remembered by Byzantines, not least for the supposed prophecy of Christ in the Fourth Eclogue ([17]), is noticed as a proper name (O 832, not in Adler's index), but with no information ([18]). The entry for Cicero (K

(37) B. BALDWIN, *Vergil in Byzantium*, in *Antike und Abendland*, 28 (1982), pp. 81-93 ; *Photius, Phlegon, and Virgil*, in *BMGS*, 20 (1996), pp. 201-208.

(38) Virgil is also mentioned at the end of a derivative notice (Λ 491) about the self-sacrifice of Curtius and the lake named after him, yet the only relevant mention of this is in *Culex* 363-364 – was this poem circulating as a genuine Virgilian work in the tenth century ?

1594, not indexed by Adler ; cf. Φ 567) is the Suda at its most schoolmasterly : "Noted under the letter Φ, concerning Antony's wife Fulvia – Look it up." Livy is twice cited (Λ 688, Σ 1335) in epitome, on Lucullus and Sulla. Juvenal (I 428) is known as a poet exiled by Domitian. Ennius (E 1348) has a substantial entry, taken from Aelian : how many people in Constantinople had heard of him ? The late chronicler Eutropius is in (E 3775), but he was available in Greek. So, in part, was Suetonius, entered both thus (Σ 272) and as Tranquillus (T 895). No dates, no career, just his bibliography, with the imperial lives (correctly sub-titled as running from Julius to Domitian) well down the list, without fanfare ; and no mention of his regrettably lost lives of famous whores, knowledge of which we owe to John Lydus (*De Mag.* 3. 64).

These days, people mostly consult the Suda for its biographical notices ([39]) : was it the same with its Byzantine readership ? Without them, we should know nothing of the epicist Arrian (A 3867) who put the *Georgics* into Greek, or the Hadrianic sophist Zenobius (Z 73) who did the same for Sallust - precious evidence for early translation. The Suda attempts to give the Latin title *Bella* for Sallust's two monographs, but it comes out misspelled with a single 'l', a slip perhaps provoked by the Greek *βέλος* ("Weapon"). Not being in Philostratus, Zenobius found no place in Bowersock's classic account of the Second Sophistic ([40]). Likewise with the prolific Hermagoras from Augustus' time ([41]). An otherwise mysterious historian Trajan ([42]), cited by Theophanes (*Chron.* p. 103 Bonn) for his account of fourth-century Roman history is brought to life and light by the Suda's vivacious entry (T 901) : "Trajan, a patrician. Flourished in the reign of Justinian the Slit-Nose. This man wrote an absolutely marvellous Synoptic History. He was one hundred per cent Christian, as orthodox as orthodox could be". This is also welcome evidence of secular literature from this (as it is often called) culturally barren age. Other such dividends include the unique information (Δ 523) that Diagoras the Atheist's book was called *Ἀποπυργίζοντες Λόγοι* (the word is nowhere else), and the statement (A 4460) that the Roman author

(39) Since no modern bibliography ever seems to mention it, I here resurrect A. Daub's very useful *Studien zu den Biographika des Suidas*, Freiburg-Tübingen, 1882, repr. Hildesheim, 1972.

(40) G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1969.

(41) Not in Bowersock's *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford, 1965.

(42) C. De Boor, *Der Historiker Traianus*, in *Hermes*, 17 (1882), pp. 489-492.

Ausonius addressed books to Nonnus : if, as is sometimes thought (43), this is the early Byzantine poet, it helps resolve the long-standing dispute over his date.

Here, for the importance of its cause and effect, is the Suda's full-throttle notice (L 683) of the satirist Lucian :

"Lucian of Samosata, known as the Blasphemer or Impious, though Atheist would be a better word, because in his Dialogues he ridicules what is written about holy things. He flourished in the reign of Trajan and beyond. He began as a lawyer in Antioch, but flopped in this, so turned to literature and pumped out so much stuff that one cannot count it all. They say he was eaten alive by dogs, because he raged against the Truth. For in his Life of Peregrinus he attacks Christianity, and the filthy rat even blasphemes against Christ Himself. As a result, he paid an appropriate penalty in this life, and in the one to come will share in everlasting Hellfire as partner of Satan."

Clearly not the flavour of the month. The entry is proof positive that such biographies did not come from an unalloyed Hesychius : that pagan could not have penned this lampoon. Some, not all, of the abusive epithets recur in the constant attacks on Lucian by his Byzantine scholiasts (44) ; they also feature in sources as diverse as Aristophanes and the New Testament. The Greek phrase *γέγραπται ἄπειρα* for his endless writings is unique here – normally the Suda will say "some" or "many" – and is clearly sarcastic. To be a dogs' dinner was the fate of both Jezabel and Euripides.

This hatchet-job did not prevent the Suda from pillaging Lucian five time to illustrate lexical points elsewhere. Is this the inconsistency of one compiler, or a syndicate's members going in different directions ? The animosity is utterly different from Photius who (*Bibl.*, cod. 128) commends him for ridiculing pagan religion and saw no blasphemies. Many other Christian writers name him in not worse than neutral terms. In what seems to be the only mention in a mediaeval Latin text, Liutprand of Cremona (*Antapadosis* 1. 12) says the emperor Leo VI quoted him in conversation as an edifying moralist.

(43) *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1980, II, p. 788 ; B. BALDWIN, *Nonnus and Agathias : Two Problems in Literary Chronology*, in *Eranos*, 84 (1986), pp. 60-61.

(44) B. BALDWIN, *The Scholiasts' Lucian*, in *Helikon*, 20/21 (1980-1981), pp. 219-234.

Arethas is the chief culprit. A number of Lucian's manuscripts (e.g. Harleianus 5694, in the British Library) contain his offensive marginalia. The two longest deal with serious philosophical issues, not the satirist's sex life. There is even the odd joke, e.g. the pamphlet against the ignorant bibliophile was prompted by its victim's failure to lend Lucian a book. Nevertheless, Arethas' attitudes are well characterised by George Kustas as "the illiberal spleen of a stuffy cleric" ([45]).

While saner Byzantines admired and imitated Lucian as prime Atticist and wit (e.g. the anonymous twelfth-century *Timarion*), the more simple-minded of his scholiasts concur with the Suda in establishing him as the Anti-Christ. Hence, though his reception in Western Europe was warm in educated circles, the arrival of the Suda must have helped get him put on the Catholic Index of Forbidden Books (1557). This myth of Lucian the Anti-Christ had a long innings, from the obloquy heaped on Erasmus by Luther, the elder Scaliger, and others for his translations, down to September 3, 1766, when the Jesuit School at Regenspurg presented a drama in three acts (with musical interludes) entitled *Lucianus Samosatenus Infelix Atheus* ([46]).

Samuel Johnson famously defined the lexicographer as "a harmless drudge". His tongue was (of course) firmly in his cheek. He'd have approved Jonathon Green's various prescriptions for dictionary-makers from the fourth century BC on. They listed and examined words of a different culture, one they recognised as superior. Hard words, "Ink-horn Terms" as they came to be called (after John Baret's *Alverarie*, 1573), were a prime task. Lexicographers wrote for their peers, fellow-members of the world of scholarship. Dictionary-making is an adjunct to the education of the next generation in the classic texts of their predecessors. Yet the lexicographer does not merely record. He sets the pace and, by dis-

(45) G. KUSTAS, *The Literary Criticism of Photius*, in *Hellenika*, 17 (1962), pp. 132-169.

(46) B. BALDWIN, *The Church Fathers and Lucian*, in (ed.) E. LIVINGSTONE, *Studia Patristica*, XVIII, Oxford, 1982, pp. 626-630 ; M. ZAPPALA, *Lucian of Samosata in the Two Hesperias : An Essay in Literary and Cultural Reception*, Potomac, Maryland, 1990. The full libretto, encountered by chance in the British Museum in 1969 whilst working on my *Studies in Lucian*, Toronto, 1973, can be found in volume III of *Res Scenicae Ratisbonae*, 1740-1769. The plot has Lucian as prefect of Egypt under Marcus Aurelius, eventually and inevitably expiring "*misera morte*" in spite (or because) of being blessed by a son, Gaius Lucius, who is a crypto-Christian.

creet choice of sources and skewed quotations along with explicit personal asides, uses his work to promote a programme, be it political, religious, social, or the lot.

Most, if not all, of this applies to the Suda. And, at the very least, we can invoke on its behalf the invigorating formula of Alexander Kazhdan : Byzantine texts can tell us a lot – if we will let them.

Originally, this was my stopping-point. But then there appeared, along with a full-page review in the *Globe and Mail* newspaper (June 27, 1998) by Fraser Sutherland, a very Suda-esque compilation, the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*. Edited by Katherine Barber with four associates and occupying 1707 pages, it encompasses 130.000 entries, including 2000 Canadianisms, 5800 biographies (only 800 being of actual Canadians), 6000 geographical terms (25% Canadian), and 4000 notices of flora and fauna. Thousands of the lexical entries are on the one hand lifted direct from the *Concise Oxford*, on the other there is use of such local specialities as the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*. Many of the Canadianisms would strike Pope as barbarous, e.g. "Frankum", "Gitch", "Gotchies". "Ktunaxa Kinbasket", "Pogey", "Shack-locker". Why does a Canadian dictionary need a long article on Wells Fargo ? Why (for one of many easy examples) Mick Jagger but no Canadian pop star Patsy Gallant ? As the reviewer opines, echoing what I said earlier, "The selection and defining of encyclopedic entries entails numerous value judgements", adding that "the work has lots of nits to be picked, understandably, because a dictionary consists of nothing but nits, but if there were such a thing as the last word, we wouldn't need new dictionaries". Nor, you must be thinking by now, any new disquisitions on old ones (47) !

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(47) This essay began life as the annual Byzantine Lecture organised by the Hellenic-Canadian Association of Constantinople, delivered in Toronto on February 7, 1999. I am most grateful to its President Elizabeth Bakalis and her colleagues for honouring me with this invitation and for their warm hospitality. The present version seeks to preserve some of its original atmosphere. Readers should further consult and stay alert to the "SUDA ON LINE" project and other electronic resources.

# THEODORE METOCHITES, A BYZANTINE HUMANIST

The recent edition and translation of *Metochites' Poems to Himself* by Jeffrey Featherstone, as well as the edition of a substantial selection of the *Miscellanea* (1) seems to prove a rekindled scholarly interest in this extremely prolific author who has long been unjustly dogged by bad reputation, both as a human being and a writer, and many of whose works still need a proper modern edition.

Among the numerous subjects of enquiry arising from the study of Metochites' works, one confronts the reader almost immediately : the question of the so-called Palaeologan Renaissance and, more specifically, the debate whether Metochites was a Byzantine humanist or not. It is difficult to find a satisfactory and uncontroversial answer to this question ; however, in the following pages, I would like to deal with this interesting issue by touching briefly on the notion of the Palaeologan cultural revival, and then by considering those elements of Metochites' thought which seem to convey a new sensitivity and a new perception of his works and of himself, as both a man and a writer. In particular, I would like to point out the numerous striking similarities between Theodore's thought and the thought of several Italian humanists of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. By doing so, I hope to be able to prove at the end of this article that Metochites can be rightly considered a Byzantine humanist and, at the same time, I hope to succeed in stirring curiosity for, and interest in such an extraordinary and multifaceted man.

(*) I would like to thank Prof. Elizabeth Jeffreys and Dr. Catherine Holmes for their most helpful suggestions.

(1) J. FEATHERSTONE, *Theodore Metochites's Poems 'To Himself'* (*Byzantina Vindobonensia*, XXIII), Vienna, 2000 ; Karin HULT, *Theodore Metochites on Ancient Authors and Philosophy, Semeioseis Gnomikai 1-26 & 71*, Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, Stockholm, 2002. The entire collection of the *Miscellanea* was edited by M. C. G. MÜLLER-M. T. KIESSLING, *Theodori Metochitae Miscellanea Philosophica et Historica*, Leipzig, 1821.

## Renaissance Humanism

Before plunging into the vicissitudes of Metochites' life and in the question of the Palaeologan revival, it is necessary to dwell briefly upon the evolution that the concept of western Renaissance humanism has undergone in the past hundred fifty years, from the publication in 1860 of Jacob Burckhardt's *The civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* up to recent times (2).

In his influential book Burckhardt considered as the essence of the Renaissance the novel spirit of individualism which emerged in the republics and the *Signorie* of Italy, with the effect that in the fourteenth century for the first time "man became a spiritual individual and recognized himself as such" (3). This notion of humanism as a momentous time during which the way man related to the universe changed radically with respect to the Middle Ages lasted for a long time, and found support above all in Italy among the students of history of philosophy (4). This philosophical view of humanism was altered in the past fifty years by Paul Oskar Kristeller, who rejected the Burckhardtian anthropological philosophical concept of humanism in favour of a largely literary and philological approach ; in fact Kristeller put at the core of humanism the revival of classical Antiquity. He rejected the idea that Renaissance humanism represented a new philosophy of man ; rather he insisted that humanism found its roots in the medieval tradition of grammatical and rhetorical studies, in the *ars dictaminis* and *arengandi*, and not in philosophy – as it was thought for a long time (5).

Kristeller based his investigation on a thorough philological study of primary sources (6) and, as one of the results, he restored the widely

(2) J. BURCKHARDT, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, London, 1990, first published 1860.

(3) *Idem*, p. 98.

(4) For a detailed account of this topic and an updated bibliography see R. BLACK, *Humanism*, in C. ALLMAND ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, VII : *c. 1415-c. 1500*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 243-277.

(5) P. O. KRISTELLER, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources*, ed. M. MOONEY, N. York, 1979, p. 90-91.

(6) The fruit of this research is Kristeller's six-volume catalogue of unpublished humanist manuscripts *Iter Italicum. A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries*, Leiden-London, 1963-1997, I-VI.

misused term *humanista* to its pristine meaning of professional teacher of *studia humanitatis*. In addition to that, the study of primary sources showed that the expression *studia humanitatis* was just a cultural concept comprising specific disciplines, such as grammar and rhetoric, comparable to the idea of Greek παιδεία, but by no means associated with any kind of philosophy. The unprecedented novelty of *studia humanitatis* lay in the emphasis placed upon rhetorical studies and upon the imitation of classical authors, which caused an outburst in classical scholarship at the time. Due to their renewed interest in classics, the humanists rediscovered numerous classical authors, acted as copyists and commentators, and, most importantly, resumed the study of Greek and Greek literature in Western Europe. Surely, the Middle Ages did not ignored Latin classical texts, however, the Renaissance attitude toward classics differed greatly from the medieval approach in so far as the humanists did not subordinate the development of secular learning to religious doctrine, and showed a much more comprehensive interest in it than their medieval predecessors (7).

Although a strictly philological approach to humanism would seem to ban the widely held notion of humanism as an epoch distinguished by extraordinary concern with man and his position in the universe, nonetheless, also Kristeller admitted that it is correct indeed to consider humanism a more secular movement with respect to the Middle Ages, even though not a less religious one, and that emphasis on man undoubtedly became a more pervading feature of the period, although this idea appeared already in the classical and medieval thought (8).

It is impossible to mention all the various impulses that contributed to humanism, let alone to bring them to a common denominator in such brief outline, which simply wants to provide an overview of the latest developments in Renaissance scholarship ; nevertheless, it is necessary to draw some broad conclusions. From what has been discussed above, it seems clear that the notion of humanism as a philosophical movement, a time of restoration of culture has to be discarded in favour of a view of humanism as a substantially literary movement strongly rooted in the medieval cultural tradition ; however, it would be unreasonable to deny

(7) KRISTELLER, *Renaissance Thought*, pp. 20-27.

(8) *Idem*, pp. 169-172 ; ID., *Changing Views of the Intellectual History of the Renaissance*, in T. HELTON ed., *The Renaissance*, Madison, 1961, pp. 34-35.

the presence of strong ferments in the cultural and artistic life of the time, a boost in the study of classics and also a growing interest in man and his experiences. Keeping all this in mind, it is now time to turn to Byzantium and explore Metochites' life and writings in search for parallels between him and western humanists.

**The life**

Theodore Metochites was born in Constantinople around 1270 from a relatively learned family (9) ; his father, George Metochites, was archdeacon of Saint Sophia under Michael VIII, he took part in the council of Lyon and became a strenuous supporter of the Union of the Churches. In December 1282, following the revolts against the union with the Church of Rome, George was exiled with his family to Asia Minor by the new emperor Andronicus II. Theodore spent his adolescence in Nicea, where he completed the cycle of the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*. In 1290 Metochites attracted the attention of the emperor, then inspecting Nicea, with his speech in praise of the city (10) ; thus Theodore entered the imperial service and soon became a trustworthy collaborator of Andronicus II. His ascent at court happened very swiftly ; Metochites obtained the title of λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγελῶν and senatorial rank, then he took part in a few diplomatic missions to Cyprus and Cilicia whose goal was to find a spouse for the co-emperor Michael IX ; as a reward for his success he was given the title of λογοθέτης τῶν οἰκειακῶν, the emperor's private possessions.

Theodore's diplomatic efforts achieved another success in 1299 with the agreement on the marriage between the Serbian king Milutin and the emperor's daughter Simonis. Between 1303 and 1305 Metochites moved to Thessalonika at the service of the empress Irene, the Italian second

(9) About Metochites see H. G. Beck, *Theodor Metochites, die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrhundert*, Münich, 1952, pp. 3-25 ; R. J. Loenertz, *Théodore Métochite et son père*, in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 23 (1953), pp. 184-194 ; J. Verpeaux, *Le cursus honorum de Théodore Métochite*, in *REB*, 18 (1960), pp. 195-198 ; I. Ševčenko, *Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of his Time*, in P. Underwood, ed., *The Kariye Djami*, Princeton, 1975, IV, pp. 19-55 ; Eva De Vries-Van Der Velden, *Théodore Métochite : une réévaluation*, Amsterdam, 1987, pp. 31-104 ; Alice Mary Talbot, *Theodore Metochites*, in *ODB*, New York-Oxford, 1991, II, pp. 1357-1358.

(10) C. Foss, *Nicea, a Byzantine Capital and its Praises*, Brookline, Mass., 1996.

wife of Andronicus, who had fallen out with the emperor ; although Andronicus had sent Metochites to the court of Irene as prime minister, above all he was meant to control the movements of the empress. Around the year 1306, Theodore returned to Constantinople, where he became μεσάζων and λογοθέτης τῶν θησαυρῶν. He continued to ascend and to increase his wealth and influence at court ; he acquired a connection with the imperial family through the marriage of his daughter to a nephew of the emperor, John Palaeologos, and soon became the most powerful of all the imperial officials. His political career went side by side with literary activity ; Theodore in fact continued to write essays and to compose epitaphs for several members of the imperial family. In 1313 he undertook the study of astronomy under the guidance of Michael Bryennios, and in just three years he was able to write an introductory treatise on the subject. Around 1316 Metochites funded the restoration of the imperial monastery of Chora, which was completed in the spring of 1321 ; in the same year he received the highest of all dignities, that of μέγας λογοθέτης. But slowly Metochites' fortune started to change : in 1326 his son-in-law died after having rebelled against the emperor and his sons supported the rebellious Andronicus III when the civil war broke out. The war ended in 1328 and the Grand Logothete paid for his loyalty to the emperor with his exile to Didymoteichos. In 1330 Metochites was allowed to return to the capital and to retire to the Chora ; shorn of all his wealth, he spent the last two years of his life in the monastery composing poems and taking care of his library. Theodore became a monk with the name of Theoleptus and died just a month after the death of Andronicus II, on the thirteenth of March 1332.

Metochites was the most powerful man in the empire, second only to the emperor ; at the same time he was one of the leading intellectuals of his era. His pupil, the historian Nikephoros Gregoras, praised him at length in his *Historia* ; in order to emphasize the magnitude of his teacher's knowledge, Gregoras not only wrote that Theodore had the soul of Plato and Aristotle in himself, but also that he was a living library able to give the right answer to any query (11). Methochites wrote extensively despite his active engagement at court, and Gregoras narrates that Theodore during the day took care of the imperial affairs, whereas in the

(11) Nicephori Gregorae, *Historia Byzantina*, ed. by L. Schopen-I. Bekker, in *CSHB*, Bonn, 1829-1855, I, VII, 12.2, p. 272 : βιβλιοθήκη γὰρ ἦν ἔμψυχος οὗτος καὶ τῶν ζητομένων πρόχειρος εὐπορία.

evening he plunged into his studies as if he had been a man of letters completely remote from political matters ([12]).

The variety of topics touched upon by Metochites mirrors the extent of his learning and of his interests. All his writings are preserved with the exception of his letters ([13]) ; nevertheless much still needs to be published because of the obscure style and the bulk of the material, thus leaving much of Theodore's thought still unknown to the wider audience.

However, even by reading just a few of Metochites' *oeuvres*, it is possible to sense the great significance that the author bestowed upon his writings as a means to display his knowledge, and to gain glory amongst the future generations. In one of his poems Theodore lists the writings he has composed so far ([14]) ; firstly he mentions the philosophical works and the *'Ηθικός* ([15]), a treatise on education which he considers the "herald" of his mind ; then he names *Βυζάντιος* because of its rhetorical significance, the discourse on Gregory of Nazianzus ([16]) and, finally, his poems, the last work in chronological order and the one that brings relief to his grieving soul. After the list of his writings, Metochites proceeds to discuss the three works that in his opinion will be of advantage to the next generations and that will earn him immortal fame ; these are the *Miscellanea*, a collection of essays on ancient Greek history, rhetoric, philosophy, and the two books on astronomy ([17]). Theodore describes the

(12) NICEPHORI GREGORAE, *Historia Byzantina*, Bonn, I, VII, 12.3, pp. 272-273 : ἐκ πρωίας μέν ἐς ἑσπέραν ἐν βασιλείοις τὰ κοινὰ διοικῶν ἦν οὕτως ὁλοκλερῶς,...
ὥσπερ ἄν εἰ τῶν λόγων ἔξω παντάπασιν ἐτύγχανεν· ὀψέ δ' αὖθις ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαλλαττόμενος οὕτως ὅλως τῶν λόγων ἐγίνετο, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ σχολαστικός τις ἦν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων παντάπασιν ἐκτός.

(13) Metochites' letters were preserved in the 15th c. manuscript *Esc. B.* IV 24 (*olim Z.* IV. 20), ff. 177-263, destroyed in the fire at the Escorial in 1671.

(14) Mary CUNNINGHAM-J. M. FEATHERSTONE-Sophia GEORGIOPOULOU, *Theodore Metochites's Poem to Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos*, in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 7 (1983), pp. 100-116.

(15) I. POLEMIS, *Θεόδωρος Μετοχίτης : Ἠθικός ἢ περὶ παιδείας. Εἰσαγωγή, κριτικὴ ἔκδοση, μετάφραση, σημειώσεις* (*Κείμενα Βυζαντινῆς Λογοτεχνίας*, 1), Athens, 1995.

(16) I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Logos on Gregory of Nazianzus by Theodore Metochites*, in W. SEIBT, ed., *Geschichte und Kultur der Palaiologenzeit*, Vienna, 1996, pp. 221-233.

(17) K. SATHAS, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, Τόμος Α*, pp. *πδ'-ρια'* (Venice, 1872), Athens, 1972.

*Miscellanea* as a proof of his great learning and as a portrayal of his mind and its strength ; then he continues by saying that he will leave these essays in the same way as some men of antiquity left journals to the generations to come. The introduction to astronomy is envisaged as his greatest achievement ; Metochites claims to have penetrated all the mysteries of astronomy and to have made it approachable to all those who wish to learn it. That Theodore ranked his works according to their usefulness for human kind and considered some more likely than others to give him glory is rather interesting in so far as it offers the reader an image of how the author perceived himself and his writings. However, what seems to be really striking and new is Metochites' belief that literary works can procure him immortality. How did he come to this idea and whence did he derive it ? In order to try to answer this question, it is necessary to devote some attention to the phenomenon of the so-called Palaeologan Renaissance ([18]).

**The Palaeologan Renaissance**

The concept of Renaissance has been adopted to describe periods in Byzantine history when there has been a particularly thriving artistic and literary activity ; for example, one can talk of a Macedonian Renaissance as well as of a Palaeologan Renaissance. The notion that a cultural revival took place during the Palaeologan times is not new ; scholars had long noticed that during that time the study of ancient texts was undertaken with greater zeal, and intellectuals acquired a greater awareness of the Hellenic past. The most characteristic features of this Renaissance were the extreme elegance of the style and language used in literary works, in addition to the imitation of ancient authors and the resumption of several *genres*. The literary activity was feverish following this rekindled interest in ancient culture, yet most of the writings composed in the Palaeologan

(18) H. HUNGER, *Theodoros Metochites als Vorläufer des Humanismus in Byzanz*, in *BZ*, 45 (1952), pp. 4-19 ; M. GIGANTE, *Per l'interpretazione di Teodoro Metochites quale umanista bizantino*, in *RSBN*, 14 (1967), pp. 11-25 ; S. RUNCIMAN, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1970 ; AA.VV., *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues*, Venice, 1971 ; I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Palaeologan Renaissance*, in W. TREADGOLD, ed., *Renaissances before the Renaissance*, London, 1984, pp. 144-171 ; E. FRYDE, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261-1360)*, (*The Medieval Mediterranean Peoples, Economies and Cultures*, 27), pp. 322-336.

era do not stand out for unusual originality ([19]). And this is one of the reasons why the concept of Byzantine Humanism and Palaeologan Renaissance has not been accepted unanimously ; while scholars such as H. Hunger or I. Ševčenko have acknowledged the occurrence of at least a revival, others, such as A. Pertusi, G. Pasquali, and, earlier, A. Heisenberg have denied the legitimacy of speaking about a Byzantine Renaissance ([20]). According to Heisenberg, Metochites and his contemporaries certainly had a profound knowledge of antiquity, but they were neither striving for original creations nor yearning after a new *humanitas* ; in a similar line was Pertusi, who affirmed that Byzantine literati lacked a sense of enthusiastic rediscovery of the classics ; they intensified their studies of antiquity, they produced learned commentaries, but there was no questioning the classic era ([21]).

Despite the unresolved controversy as whether it is possible to talk about Renaissance in Byzantium or not, Metochites was an offshoot of the cultural environment of that time. Is it possible to detect a reflection of the Palaeologan cultural revival in his immense production ? Is there a new sensitivity, a different attitude toward the world and toward culture ? Finally, was Metochites a humanist or was he merely a Byzantine erudite ?

Fifty years ago H. Hunger described Metochites as "*ein früher Vorläufer des Humanismus*" ([22]), and gave a list of characteristic features in order to sustain his conviction ; amongst the intrinsically humanistic traits Hunger mentioned Metochites' scientific and philosophic interests, his renovation of astronomy, the desire to achieve immortal glory and a great love for his books. Some years later M. Gigante resumed the question and concluded that while it was ambiguous to label Metochites as a forerunner of (western) Humanism, it was undoubtedly right to consider him a Byzantine humanist ; by doing so he managed to confer legitimacy on the concept of Byzantine Humanism, as well as autonomy from the corresponding European phenomenon ([23]). In order to try to unravel

(19) ŠEVČENKO, *The Palaeologan Renaissance*, pp. 148-149.

(20) A. HEISENBERG, *Das Problem der Renaissance in Byzanz*, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 133 (1925-1926), pp. 393-412 ; G. PASQUALI, *Medioevo bizantino, Stravaganze quarte e supreme*, Venice, 1951, pp. 93-129, in particular pp. 113-115 ; A. PERTUSI, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio*, Venice, 1964, pp. 498-519. Compare to what has been discussed above with regard to *humanitas*.

(21) PERTUSI, *Leonzio Pilato*, pp. 498-505.

(22) HUNGER, *Theodoros Metochites als Vorläufer*, p. 19.

(23) GIGANTE, *Per l'interpretazione*, pp. 199-200.

the issue of Theodore's humanism, it is worthwhile to linger over some of the features mentioned by Hunger, and to consider whether they complied with typical Byzantine features or they were most relevant to Theodore.

**Metochites' Humanism**

As mentioned above Hunger listed love for books as a distinguishing mark of Humanism ; devotion to books, in particular, to his own books, is indeed one of the most striking and recurring ideas in Metochites' writings. He expresses his affection for books in various ways in his poems ; he considers his books as his real children, the offspring of his mind that has seen the light through great pains (24). The thought that his books might have been damaged during the looting of his palace, or that they may get lost after his death is almost an obsession for Theodore, and becomes a source of constant anguish that results in numerous appeals to Gregoras to preserve his books for the future generations. In addition to that, books are for Metochites faithful friends that accompany man throughout life and are able to offer him relief, especially during hard times ; in poem XII, a poem addressed to Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, the author affirms that the love of wisdom increases every joy of life and alleviates any private or public pain, and he recalls how literature and scholarship often delivered his spirit from sorrows and freed him from anxiety (25). A few lines later Metochites mentions as well his poetic writings, the last to be composed and those in which his heart rejoices, as it grieves in constant sorrows (26) ; this remark about the soothing effect of poetry on Theodore's soul is rather interesting as it seems to explain the composition of lengthy hexametric poems during the years spent in the Chora.

(24) See as just one of the numerous occurrences I. ŠEVČENKO-J. FEATHERSTONE, *Two Poems by Theodore Metochites*, Brookline, Mass., 1981, p. 36, v. 212-213 : τάων δὴ πολὺ γ' ἀμφιμέμηλα, φίλων, ἅτε τέκνων, ἅττα μογοστόκοισ' ὠδῖσι γένοντ' ἄρ' ἔμοιγε.

(25) CUNNINGHAM-FEATHERSTONE-GEORGIOPOULOU, *Theodore Metochites's Poem to Nikephoros*, p. 107, vv. 151-156 : Τοῦ γε περὶ σοφίην μάλ' ἔρωτος
ἀποτράφθ' ἔμπης
οὔποτ' ἐγὼν δύναμ'· εἰνθάδε δὴ μοι πᾶσά θ' ἑορτὴ
σὺν τε χάρις βιότοιο δοκεῦσ' ἀέξει πουλύ,
πάντα δέ τ' ἄχεα, κοινά τ' ἴδιά τε, μέτρι' ἔμοιγε
ἠὲ κατὰ φύσιν ἐνθεῦτεν γίνετ'· αὐτῶν ἔκ τε
κεῖαρ ἐμὸν τράπετ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλῃ γαληνιάζον.

The love for antiquity and for books, the capacity to draw a line and separate public and political function from the time devoted to scholarship, and the relief that Metochites found in reading ancient writings and in composing his own resembles the way of thinking of and of feeling about Antiquity displayed by many western humanists, and, in this particular case, by Niccolò Machiavelli, who, like Metochites, was a powerful statesman in Florence in the sixteenth century. Although nearly two hundred years separate these two intellectuals, there are many remarkable similarities between them and it is worthwhile to consider them shortly. Machiavelli started his political career rather young as secretary of the Republic of Florence in 1498, and soon he became one of the right-hand men of the head of the Florentine government. Because of his position, he took part in numerous diplomatic missions in Italy and abroad ; the close observation of and the contact with different forms of power helped him comprehend the evolution of states and the dynamics of politics throughout Europe. In 1512 the republican government of Florence fell and the Medici family gained the power over the city once again ; as a member of the previous government Machiavelli was deprived of his appointment, imprisoned and, eventually, exiled to S. Casciano where, due to his forced inactivity, he dedicated himself to continuous and intense reading and to the composition of his major works ([27]). Parallels and similarities in the life of Metochites and Machiavelli leap to the eye immediately : a rather precocious political career, loyalty to their masters, Andronicus II and Pier Soderini, and, in the end, disgrace and exile because of their political affiliation ; their affinities, however, were not only in their life but also in their admiration and passion for the study of Antiquity. Metochites' interest and profound knowledge of ancient texts has often emerged in the previous pages together with Gregoras' description of how his master was capable to separate and to fulfill both political and scholarly functions ; the same happened with Machiavelli, and

(26) *Idem*, p. 109, vv. 225-229 :
σὺν δ' ἄρα τοῖς τίθεμ' αὐτὸς καὶ τά περ εἰν μέτροισιν
εἶπε' ἐνήνοχα ποιητικαῖς δὴ χαρίτεσσιν,
ὑστάτια τάδε, κεῖαρ δῆτ' ἐμὸν ἀχνύμενον δὴν
τοῖσδε ἀχέεσσι συνεχέεσσι βαιὸν ἀείρων,
ἔκ τε τιθεύμενος ἄρα κακοσχόλων μελεδωνῶν.

(27) R. MARCHESE-A. GRILLINI, *Scrittori e opere*, Città di Castello, 1986, II, 1, pp. 250-256.

there is a famous epistle that displays a surprising correspondence of feelings between the Italian humanist and the Byzantine statesman, or, as one might say, the Palaeologan "humanist".

In this letter, addressed on December 10 1513 to his friend Francesco Vettori, Machiavelli describes his life in S. Casciano, where he had been confined on the orders of the Medici ; he offers an extremely interesting portrait and focuses mainly upon his daily activities during his forced idleness. The narration is divided in two phases : the account of the days, spent around his villa hunting, settling down daily matters and playing cards with the villagers, and that of the evenings spent in his study room reading and conversing with the great writers of Antiquity :

> "On the coming of the evening, I return to my house and enter my study ; and at the door I take off the day's clothing, covered with mud and dust, and put on garments regal and courtly ; and reclothed appropriately, I enter the ancient courts of ancient men, where, received by them with affection, I feed on that food which only is mine and which I was born for, where I am not ashamed to speak with them and to ask them the reasons for their action ; and they in their kindness answer me ; and for four hours of time I do not feel boredom, I forget every trouble, I do not dread poverty, I am not frightened by death ; entirely I give myself over to them" ([28]).

It is exactly this last part of the letter that bears great similarity with the attitude of Metochites toward Antiquity. Both scholars, in fact, expressed in their works profound awe of ancient culture – in the case of Machiavelli this feeling is further underlined by means of the imaginary change of clothes that the writer performs on the threshold of the study room – and proclaimed the soothing and liberating effect that studying and writing had on their souls embittered and anguished by exile ([29]). It is

(28) N. MACHIAVELLI, *The Chief Works and Others*, transl. A. GILBERT, Durham, N.C., 1965, II, p. 929.

(29) M. MARTELLI, *Niccolò Machiavelli, Tutte le opere*, Florence, 1971, pp. 1158-1160 : *'Venuta sera, mi ritorno in casa, et entro nel mio scrittoio ; et in su l'uscio mi spoglio quella veste cotidiana, piena di fango et di loto, et mi metto panni reali et curiali ; et rivestito condecentemente entro nelle antique corti degli antiqui huomini, dove, da loro ricevuto amorevolmente, mi pasco di quel cibo, che solum é mio, et che io nacqui per lui ; dove io non mi vergogno parlare con loro, et domandarli della ragione delle loro actioni ; et quelli per loro humanitá mi rispondono ; et non sento per 4 hore di tempo alcuna noia, sdimentico ogni affanno, non temo la povertá, non mi sbigottisce la morte : tucto mi transferisco in loro'*. The close and intimate relationship with the great men

fascinating to encounter a statement almost identical to that of Machiavelli in Metochites' *Ἠθικός* ; there Theodore against the uncertainties and the fickleness of life exalts the role of classics and of books in general, which he calls a refuge of friends, advisers and masters, the best one could ever find ([30]). In addition to that, he emphasizes their function in healing sorrows through their truthful words, and the opportunity books offer to those who turn to them to find all what they need without traveling by land and sea, without toiling, but just by staying in one's own library ([31]) : Metochites resembles Machiavelli in believing in the possibility of immersing oneself completely in books and forgetting the contingent phenomena of life and its grief.

Certainly the two scholars had different backgrounds due also to the fact that Machiavelli did not know Greek ; however, we know that he had read in translation Thucidides, Plutarch, Polibius and Aristotle among others, all authors that Metochites knew very well and that influenced the composition of several essays of the *Miscellanea*. It is this amplitude of interests, which mingled history, literature and politics, together with the attitude toward and the relation with Antiquity and its culture that seems to unite Metochites with Machiavelli.

of Antiquity is present also in the works of Petrarch who wrote two letters to Cicero, and who affirmed to have spent in his company ten tranquil leisurely days ; cfr. the strikingly similar *Familiares* XII, 8 in M. Bishop ed., *Letters from Petrach*, Bloomington, 1966, pp. 109-110.

(30) Polemis, *Θεόδωρος Μετοχίτες : Ἠθικός*, p. 110, l. 9-16 :
Καίτοι γε τίνας ἄν τις μᾶλλον καὶ φίλους καὶ συμβούλους ἀμείνους εὑρήσει ἢ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν βίβλων διαλεγομένους ἡμῖν παλαιοὺς ἐκείνους ἄνδρας, οἳ καὶ πείρᾳ πρότεροι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔγνωσαν καὶ προεῖδον καὶ σοφίᾳ τὰ κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐσταθμήσαντο πάντα ; τίνες δ' ἂν καὶ παραμείναιεν ἀχώριστοι τούτων πλέον, τίνες ἄρα καὶ κρεῖττον, ὁποῖον ἂν εἴη, λόγοις ἀληθινοῖς καὶ γενναίοις τὸ λυποῦν σωφρονίσαιεν ;

(31) Polemis, *Θεόδωρος Μετοχίτες : Ἠθικός*, p. 116, l. 1-12 :
Τοῖς δ', οἶμαι, λόγου συντρόφοις ἀνδράσιν ἔξεστιν ἄρα ἀπόνως τε καὶ ἀθρόον τοῖς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδοκίμοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ νοῦν συνειληχόσιν ὅτι πλεῖστον ξυνεῖναι καὶ διαλεγομένων ἐπακροᾶσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα, περὶ ὧν δέοιτ' ἄν τις, καὶ μηδὲν ὁτιοῦν πολυπραγμονήσασι μηδὲ περιεργασαμένοις μηδ' ἀναγκασθεῖσι κατὰ ζήτησιν ἴσως γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄλλοτ' ἄλλας περιόδους ἔστιν αὐτόθεν οἴκοι ξυλλαχεῖν μετὰ ῥαστώνης ἁπάσης, ὅτου τις ἂν εἴη χρεῖος, καὶ ἅμα ὁ πόθος τἀνδρὸς ὅστις ἄρα, ἅμα ἡ ζήτησις, ἅμα ἡ ξυντυχία, χωρὶς πλάνης ἡστινοσοῦν, χωρὶς δαπάνης, χωρὶς πραγμάτων ἁπάντων.

Another relevant element in the discussion of Theodore's "humanism" is the strong pedagogical imprint he gave his works ; throughout the poems one easily notices how strongly the author believes that his scholarly writings will be useful to human kind, and also how much relevance he bestows upon education itself. In the poem to Gregoras ([32]), Metochites leaves to his faithful disciple a sort of spiritual testament and many suggestions on the best way to preserve his master's and his own wisdom ; Theodore advises his pupil to care for eloquence and rhetoric, to devote himself to the study of philosophy, especially logic and physics, and finally he invites him to study mathematics and astronomy ([33]). Certainly the principal reason for these exhortations is the author's preoccupation for the survival of his work, nevertheless, it is possible to sense Metochites' genuine conviction that rhetoric, as well as philosophy and mathematics, helps men understand God's creation and achieve their wholeness.

Theodore had already discussed at length the fundamental role of education in another of his writings, the *Ἠθικὸς ἢ περὶ παιδείας* ([34]), a treaty composed around 1305 ([35]) and perhaps addressed to one of his sons ([36]), in the attempt to persuade him to engage unceasingly with studies. Here the author took also the opportunity to express his opinions on culture, on the necessity of education, as well as on the contrast between *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* ([37]). This last issue appears frequently in Metochites' thought, and in the *Miscellanea* ; the view of the author about it is rather conflicting, for he longed for a quiet life of study and envied those among his friends who were leading such a life, but as a well educated and wealthy person he felt obliged to take part in

(32) Ševčenko-Featherstone, *Two Poems*, pp. 28-45.

(33) *Idem*, vv. 19-196 *passim*.

(34) Polemis, *Θεόδωρος Μετοχίτες : Ἠθικός* ; Gigante, *Logos basileus. Cenni introduttivi all'inedito protrettico di Teodoro Metochite*, in *JÖB*, 32/4 (1982), pp. 359-378.

(35) Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique*, pp. 140-141 ; Polemis, *Θεόδωρος Μετοχίτης : Ἠθικός*, pp. 8-9.

(36) Gigante, *Logos basileus*, p. 362.

(37) For the detailed content of the *Ἠθικός* see Polemis, *Θεόδωρος Μετοχίτης : Ἠθικός*, pp. 10-14.

public life and to get involved, not only, though, for the common welfare, but also for the tempting appeal that fame had on him ([38]).

The idea that an educated man had the duty to participate in public and civil life was certainly a well-established principle throughout Antiquity, and it held a place in Renaissance Italy too, as the majority of the humanists were not only intellectuals but were deeply engaged in the ruling of their cities as chancellors and ambassadors ([39]). It seems that Theodore could not find a way to reconcile these two divergent impulses, as the sense of regret for a life distant from public affairs dominates throughout his personal poems ; however, considering his familiar background and the high opinion he had of himself, one may reckon that Metochites disliked his involvement in public life, and the power that derived from it, in words rather than in deeds.

With regard to the issue of learning and education, which plays such a central role in Metochites' thought, it seems plausible to identify its origin in his personal history ; after all, following the fall into disfavour of his father after the death of Michael VIII, Theodore could not expect to achieve any relevant position within the imperial administration, but he could only hope to attain fame and redemption from paternal fault through erudition and scholarship. Eventually, things turned out very differently ; however, the starting point of his career and of his friendship with Andronicus II was the excellent impression he made on him pronouncing the *Eulogy of Nicea* ([40]). It was probably because of his past vicissitudes that Metochites acquired the conviction that culture and education were the only goods which could not be stolen away – unlike wealth and fame – which could withstand disgrace, and, perhaps more importantly, which could preserve one's name for eternity. Theodore's interest in education and in παιδεία, as a way to lead a life fulfilled to the utmost, calls to mind the similar concern that blazed among western humanists in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and the idea that the

(38) On the regret for the loss of his past quiet life see the poem addressed to Theodore Xanthopoulos, J. FEATHERSTONE, *Theodore Metochites's Eleventh Poem*, in *BZ*, 81 (1988), pp. 253-264 ; on the impossibility of the λάθε βιώσας see MÜLLER-KIESSLING, *Theodori Metochitae*, § 72, pp. 481-484.

(39) On the civic aspect of western Renaissance humanism see A. RABIL jr., *The Significance of 'Civic Humanism' in the Interpretation of the Italian Renaissance*, in A. RABIL jr. ed., *Renaissance Humanism. Foundations, Forms and Legacy*, Philadelphia, 1988, I-III, I, pp. 141-174.

(40) Foss, *Nicea, a Byzantine Capital*, pp. 164-203.

*studia humanitatis* contributed to the education of fulfilled human beings ([41]) ; suffice it to mention the Italian humanists Guarino da Verona and Vittorino da Feltre, who devoted much of their life to teaching and pedagogy. The former founded the first authorized private school in 1420 in Verona ; there he lived together with his pupils, he taught them gradually in various subject without neglecting the harmonious development of the body by means of activities such as dance and hunt. The latter, a former pupil of Guarino, transformed in 1423 the leisure pavilion of the court of Mantua in the *Casa Giocosa*, where playing and learning had an equally relevant role in the education of children and in their way to the development of all their potentialities through physical exercise, religious and moral education, and the assiduous reading of classics. Like Vittorino, who strove to reconcile the ideals of classical culture with the principles of Christian faith in his ideal παιδεία – an issue that had worried from the early starts of Christianity numerous Christian thinkers in the attempt to find an acceptable compromise between the two – many other humanists felt as well that their growing interest in the study of non Christian texts could raise suspicion or even reprimand, thus they often had to defend their engagement with pagan books. For instance, in a letter addressed to Brother Giovanni da S. Miniato Coluccio Salutati, one of the first generation humanists, claimed that while reading the books of the gentiles in search for truth he was still proceeding in the way of God because every truth derives from God, actually is part of Him. Then Salutati affirmed that his reason to pursue classical studies was not vainglory, rather an intense desire to convey his knowledge and to be beneficial to his fellow human beings and to those to come ([42]). The firm belief in ancient texts as conveyers of truth, as well as of παιδεία and, to

(41) See Maristella LORCH, *Petrarch, Cicero and the Classical Pagan Tradition*, in A. RABIL jr. ed., *Renaissance Humanism*, I-III, I, pp. 71-94 ; BLACK, *Humanism*, pp. 274-277.

(42) C. SALUTATI, *Letter to Giovanni da S. Miniato*, in G. PONTE, *Il Quattrocento*, Bologna, 1966, pp. 144-146 : *'Noli, venerabilis in Christo frater, sic austere me ab honestis studiis revocare. Noli putare quod, cum vel in poetis vel aliis gentilium libris veritas queretur, in vias Domini non eatur. Omnis enim veritas a Deo est, imo, quo rectius loquar, aliquid est Dei [...] Nullum autem verum extra Deum est, ut qui verum querit sine dubio Deum querat [...] Quamobrem non arguas fratrem tuum, quod querat inter fabulas veritatem. Nullum enim dicendi genus maius habet cum divinis eloquiis et ipsa divinitate commertium quam eloquium poetarum [...] Nec me putes unquam ad inanis fame gloriam, ut sentire te video, laborasse, sed cupiditate sciendi communican-*

a certain extent of φιλανθρωπία belongs to Metochites' thought too. In the *Δοξολογία*, the first of his poems, where Theodore describes at length his life and achievements, he dedicates ca. sixty lines to the newly built library in the Chora complex, and states that the library is the real treasure of the monastery, a φιλανθρώπευμα πάγκοινον (43), an act of philanthropy given by God to all mankind. Yet Theodore is well aware of the objections and suspicions which may derive from a too close study of pagan works, thus, as Salutati did in his letter, he too feels the need to justify his love for Antiquity by affirming that the study of profane literature allows men to understand how superior is Christian wisdom in respect to ancient wisdom, and that it strengthens them against the evil seduction of false doctrines (44). In addition to that, Metochites affirms that παιδεία and Christian ἀρετή go side by side and have many similarities, especially the fact that both culture and virtue can never be taken away or be affected by envy, but are perennial possessions for whoever owns them (45).

*dique quod Deus tradidit ; ut aliis et posteris, sicut alii nobis suisque temporibus profuerunt, sic aliquid et ego prodessem ; quod michi videtur scientibus non minus debitum, quam agricolis arbores serere, que pervenire debeant ad nepotes'*. See also KRISTELLER, *Renaissance Thought*, pp. 169-172 ; ID., *Changing Views of the Intellectual History of the Renaissance since Jacob Burckhardt*, in *The Renaissance*, ed. T. HELTON, Madison, 1961, pp. 37-38 ; one may also mention the translation and circulation of Basil the Great's Letter to the youth by Leonardo Bruni as a support to the study of pagan texts proposed by the humanists.

(43) M. TREU, *Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites* (*Programm des Victoria-Gymnasium zu Postdam*), Postdam, 1895, p. 31, vv. 1158-1161 :
ἐντὶ μὲν οὖν ὅδε θησαυρὸς τᾷ γε μουνᾶ πουλὺς
ἄφθιτος ἀμείωτος ἀεὶ μετὰ πᾶσαν χρῆσιν
καί τ' ἀγαθῶν νυ παρασκευή, φιλανθρώπευμα
πάγκοινόν γ' ἐκκείμενον ἔς τ' ἄρα πάντας βρουτούς.

(44) *Idem*, p. 32, vv. 1170-1174 :
κοὐδὲν ἔλαττον ὅσοι Χριστοῦ κέκλεντ' ὄνομ' αὐτοῦ
ἀμφί τέ τιν' ἕτερ', ὄφρα τε μάλα τά τ' ἄρ οἰκεῖα
τά τ' ἀλλότρι' ὁρῷεν, ὅσῳ τε κρείσσονα πολλόν
κείνων ἡμέτερα τάδε, καί τ' ἄντα σφιν ἔχοιεν
ἵστασθαι κρατεροί, δαήμονες εὖ πολέμοιο.

(45) POLEMIS, *Θεόδωρος Μετοχίτες : 'Ηθικός*, p. 98, l. 18-21 :
Λόγῳ μέντοι πάνυ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν κοινὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μεγίστη συγγένεια πρός τι τὴν τῶν ὄντων καὶ τοῦ βίου παντὸς σύνεσιν καὶ ἱστορίαν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔτι τὴν εὕρεσιν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ θεωρίαν.

There is another characteristic that distinguished and separated Theodore from his contemporaries and predecessors : Metochites' desire for eternal glory, and his strong belief that his writings will gain him it after his death, as if, only in that way, life and writing acquired their true meaning. Theodore insists on and expresses in several passages of his poems the importance to preserve his work because it will give him immortality among the generations to come ([46]). With respect to the belief that culture is a medium to attain glory and immortality, it is very interesting to notice that Metochites does not limit culture to literary or scholarly work only, but includes sculpture, architecture and painting side by side with literature, as means to defeat oblivion after death ; in this way, he does not lessen the value of manual and visual arts in favour of more conceptual ways of expression that had often been considered nobler ; on the contrary, to support his idea he mentions famous artists of the past, such as Phidias, Zeuxis and the Byzantine mosaicist Eulalios, as men who attained immortal fame through their art ([47]). One can still find proof of this belief not only in Metochites' writings, but also in the buildings and in the lavish decorations of the Chora complex ([48]) to which Theodore bound his memory for the centuries to follow.

and p. 100, l. 25-28 :
Καὶ ταῦτα δὴ μάλιστα λόγῳ πρὸς ἀρετὴν κοινά, τό τε μόνιμον κτωμένοις παντάπασι καὶ πιστὸν καὶ τὸ μηδόλως ἐχθροῖς δουλεύειν μήθ' ἡττᾶσθαι, κἂν ὅτι μάλιστα βλάπτειν ζητῶσι, μήτε προδήλοις ἁρπαγαῖς ἰσχύουσι.

(46) Ševčenko-Featherstone, *Two Poems*, p. 42, vv. 307-309 :
τὰ μὲν ἄρ ὀψιγόνοισιν ἐμεῦ ὀπάσουσι βροτοῖς
μνημοσύναν ἴσως μάλα κεν πολύδοξον, ἱμερτήν
δι' ἄρ' ἑκάστοις ἀνθρώποισι πολύ γ' ἐρίηρα.

(47) Polemis, *Θεόδωρος Μετοχίτης : Ἠθικός*, p. 166, l. 15-23 :
Εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ αὖ οἵ φασιν ἀθάνατον μόνον ὑπὸ παιδείας γίνεσθαι τὸν σπουδαῖον. Λείπεται γὰρ τάνδρί, φασι, μνήμη πολυμήκης ἑξῆς καὶ κλέος ἀείζωον, ὑφ' ὧν ἔλιπε λόγων. Τοῦτό γε μὴν οὐ τοῦ σοφοῦ μόνον ἔοικεν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀμέλει καὶ ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλοις καὶ μικροῖς τε καὶ μείζοσι, καὶ Φειδίου καὶ Πολυγνώτου καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς Εὐλαλίου, Ζευξίππου τε καὶ Λυσίππου, εἴθ' οὕτινος βούλει, οἳ δόκιμοι γεγόνασιν ἐν τέχναις αἰστισιν ἄρα καὶ ὧν ἔργα χειρῶν παραμένειν ἔχει.

Ševčenko, *Theodore Metochites, the Chora*, pp. 50-51. One could also think of Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* as an indication of the changing status of artists during the humanism and Renaissance.

(48) On the Chora monastery see Underwood ed., *The Kariye Djami*, I-IV ; Natalia Teteriatnikov, *The Dedication of the Chora Monastery*, in *Byz.*, 66 (1996), pp. 188-207.

An equivalent yearning for immortality is evident in western humanism as well ; the Renaissance man wishes to express his experiences and wishes to be remembered for his glory, as personal glory represents a way of prolonging his existence through the memory of those outliving him. This aspiration to trespass the boundaries of physical existence can be traced for example in the construction of monumental graves, which become a sort of public monument and means for one's glory to be attested in the future. Funerary architecture, however, was not the only way to secure oneself a place throughout the centuries : artistic patronage and commission of works of art were another way to achieve or increase personal prestige, and the construction of Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara or Palazzo Te' in Mantua, are examples of this phenomenon and are comparable to Metochites' restoration of the Chora.

If the evidence presented so far has failed to illustrate that many ideas and aspects of Metochites' personality are analogous to the way of thinking of several western humanists, I would like to dwell briefly upon the figure of Petrarch and to consider some of his views on culture, books and study, which are remarkably similar to some of the thoughts expressed by Metochites in his writings. Among the Italian scholars mentioned so far, Petrarch, who has long been recognized as the first humanist, is probably the one that resembles Theodore the most, not only due to chronology – Petrarch was born in 1304 – but also due to the vicissitudes of his life ; for both literati were at the service of a lord, they were actively involved in political tasks and they wrote extensively both prose and poetry. Furthermore, both were torn between worldly activity and desire for contemplation ; as Metochites in some of his poems expressed his longing for *vita contemplativa*, similarly Petrarca in his *De vita solitaria* affirmed that solitude is the ideal condition of life, as it allows man to dedicate himself totally to reading the works of antiquity and writing new books, which will be read by the next generations and will be beneficial to them (49). This wish for transmitting one's knowledge to posterity, as seen earlier, is a unifying thread among the authors considered in this article, together with the tendency to consider books as living beings that con-

(49) F. PETRARCA, *De vita solitaria*, VI, Milan, 1992, p. 86 : *'Legere quod scripserunt primi, scribere quod legant ultimi, et beneficii literarum a maioribus accepti, qua in illos non possumus, in posteros saltem gratum ac memorem animum habere, in eos quoque qua possumus non ingratum, sed nomina illorum vel ignota vulgare'*.

verse with men, procure them glory, immortality and consolations in times of sorrows ([50]).

Whether one considers humanism a merely philological and literary movement or makes allowances also for a spiritual component in it, it seems indisputable that some considerations are a recurring and unifying element in the *Weltanschaung* of fourteenth and fifteenth century Italian humanists and that one may identify them also in the thought of this Byzantine statesman. In order to illustrate the similar attitude and the consonance of feelings between Metochites and Petrarch, I would like to quote a few passages from Petrarch's letters that, in my opinion, are self-explanatory and illustrate very well what I have been discussing so far ; the first two belong to the *Epistolae familiares* and come respectively from letters to Giovanni dell' Incisa and to Giovanni Colonna di San Vito, the last excerpt comes from a letter to Boccaccio and belongs to the *Seniles*.

*Fam.* III, 18 :

> "There is indeed something peculiar about books [...] Books please inwardly ; they speak with us, advise us and join us together with a certain living and penetrating intimacy, nor does this instill only itself into its readers, but it conveys the names and desire for the others" ([51]).

*Fam.* VI, 4 :

> "I write for myself and while I am writing I eagerly converse with our predecessors in the only way I can ; and I gladly dismiss from mind the men with whom I am forced by an unkind fate to live. [...] I exert all my mental powers to flee contemporaries and seek out the men of the past. As the sight of the former offends me, so the remembrance of the latter and their magnificent deeds and glorious names fill me with unthinkable, unspeakable joy" ([52]).

(50) On the desire for glory in Petrach see LORCH, *Petrarch, Cicero and the Classical*, pp. 71-94.

(51) In *F. Petrarca Rerum familiarum libri* I-VIII, trans. A. S. BERNARDO, N. York, 1975, p. 157. F. PETRARCA, *Le familiari*, ed. V. ROSSI, Florence, 1933, I, p. 139 : *'Quinimo, singulare quiddam in libris est : [...] libri medullitus delectant, colloquuntur, consulunt et viva quadam nobis atque arguta familiaritate iunguntur, neque solum se se lectoribus quisque suis insinuat, sed et aliorum nomen ingerit et alter alterius desiderium facit'.*

(52) In BISHOP, *Letters from Petrarch*, p. 68.

F. PETRARCA, *Opere*, ed. M. MARTELLI, Florence, 1975, I, pp. 502-503 : *'Altera [spes] est, quod et michi scribo, et inter scribendum cupide cum maioribus nos-*

*Sen.* XVIII, 2 :

"To read – this is what I do – and write, which you bid me relinquish, is a light effort, or rather a delightful rest, which makes me forget heavy labors. No knapsack is as easy to move as a pen, nor more enjoyable. Other pleasures slip away, and bruise as they tickle ; the pen tickles as you take it in hand, and it delights when it is put down, and benefits not only its masters but many others, often even those who are far away, sometimes even those who follow after thousands of years. What I am about to say seems to me very true : of all earthly delights, just as none is more noble than letters, so none is more enduring, none sweeter, none more faithful, none that accompanies its possessor through all vicissitudes with such simple equipment and with never a bad taste" ([53]).

## Concluding Remarks

Although I could present further examples of the closeness between Theodore and western humanists, it is now time to draw some conclusions ; it is hard to decide on the issue of Metochites' humanism, however, it is possible to express an opinion about it on the basis of the elements examined so far. Undoubtedly Theodore was a product of his times and was deeply Byzantine in his culture, nevertheless he demonstrated to possess independence of judgment, a sense of historical perspective and ideas that made him, if not a precursor of a modern way of thinking, at least a man who stood at the end of his epoch and on the threshold of a new era to come.

*tris versor uno quo possum modo ; atque hos, cum quibus iniquo sidere datum erat ut viverem, libentissime obliviscor ; inque hoc animi vires cunctas exerceo, ut hos fugiam, illos sequar. Sicut enim horum graviter conspectus offendit, sic illorum recordatio magnificique actus et clara nomina incredibili me afficiunt atque inextimabili iocunditate'.*

(53) F. PETRARCH, *Letters of Old Age, Rerum senilium libri* I-XVIII, vol. II, trans. A. S. BERNARDO-S. LEVIN-Reta A. BERNARDO, Baltimore, 1992, p. 653. F. PETRARCA, *Prose*, ed. G. MARTELLOTTI, Milan, 1955, pp. 1155-1156 : *'Legere hoc meum et scribere, quod laxari iubes, levis est labor, imo dulcis est requies, que laborum gravium parit oblivionem. Nulla calamo agilior est sarcina, nulla iucundior ; voluptates alie fugiunt et mulcendo ledunt ; calamus et in manus sumptus mulcet, et depositus delectat, ac prodest non domino suo tantum sed aliis multis sepe etiam absentibus, nonnumquam et posteris post annorum milia. Verissime michi videor dicturus : omnium terrestrium delectationum ut nulla literis honestior, sic nulla diuturnior, nulla suavior, nulla fidelior, nulla que per omnes casus possessorem suum tam facili apparatu, tam nullo fastidio comitetur'.*

Modern scholars, who were adverse to the idea of the existence of a "Byzantine Humanism", have blamed the Byzantines for their unoriginality, for the absence of a sense of discovery and the lack of a true enthusiastic revival of the classics, which, on the contrary, played a conspicuous role in western Humanism. One could say, however, that some of these accusations are quite unjust, and that they stem from a very western-oriented concept of culture and of its development : as Byzantium was an independent civilization which evolved throughout the centuries in its own way, one ought neither to expect it to undergo the same changes of western European civilization, nor ought to blame it for its differences. With regard to the lack of a "veritable revival of classic texts in Byzantium", one should also bear in mind that while Italian humanists, for example, treasured Greek texts so much because they just began to be available to scholars after a very long period of oblivion and inaccessibility, those same texts had been the very core of Byzantine education for centuries : tragedies, orations, philosophic dialogues, therefore, would not equally affect an Italian scholar of the fourteenth century and a Byzantine reader, and would hardly stir a sense of novelty in the latter. In spite of that, however, one cannot deny that Metochites conceived new and innovative ideas in his writings, as well as thoughts that are to be found almost *verbatim* in the works of several western humanists. Theodore's view of παιδεία as a means to achieve a noble life that reconciles classical culture and Christian virtue, his fascination for Antiquity, the yearning for glory through one's literary works and, finally, the exaltation of books as a bulwark against the fickleness and the sorrows of life are all expressions of a more modern – and I would not fear to use the word humanistic – sensitivity, even by the principles of the most recent views on western humanism. Hence, although Metochites remained a man of his epoch in many respects, he rightly deserves the title of humanist, as well as a comprehensive investigation of his writings that will finally do justice to such an exceptional and engaging intellectual.

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# SOZOMEN ON JULIAN THE APOSTATE

Sozomen devotes Book V and the first two chapters of Book VI of his *Church History* to events during the reign of Julian the Apostate. He relies on literary works by Socrates, Gregory of Nazianzus and others which he supplements with documentary evidence, oral testimony and autopsy (1). This article will build upon and refine the contribution of earlier and more general studies of Sozomen's treatment of Julian (2) by examining how he uses his sources and assessing his contribution to our knowledge of this emperor.

It is obvious from the outset that Sozomen does not slavishly imitate his sources. Socrates begins his account of Julian by describing his birth and education, and how he gained the sovereignty (III,1,5). Sozomen, however, eschews this biographical approach and focusses his first chapter on Julian's rise to power. Here, he also anticipates the end of Julian's reign, for he inserts two prophecies of his early death (V,1,4-5 & V,1,8-9), and attributes the failure of the Persian Expedition to his poor generalship (V,1,9).

Sozomen starts with the bald statement that the army proclaimed Julian Augustus after he defeated the barbarians on the Rhine (V,1,1). This is a close paraphrase of Socrates' equally concise report (II,47,1-2), and neither historian identifies the victory as the famous Battle of Strasbourg (3). Like Socrates, Sozomen gives Julian's success as the reason for his acclamation, but he adds that the soldiers liked Julian because of his moderation and his mildness (μετριότητος καὶ ἐπιεικείας). He is thus more favourable to Julian than is Socrates who says that Julian was lovable

(1) G. SCHOO, *Die Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Sozomenos*, Berlin, 1911. J. BIDEZ and G. C. HANSEN, *Sozomenus Kirchengeschichte*, Berlin, 1960, pp. XLIV-LXIV, 413-429, and *passim.*

(2) E.g. G. F. CHESNUT, *The First Christian Histories,* Paris, 1977, and D. ROHRBACHER, *The Historians of Late Antiquity*, London, 2002.

(3) On this campaign, see D. HUNT, *Julian* in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XIII, 1998, p. 51.

(ἐπέραστος) to his troops because of his victory, and who, in his obituary of the emperor, dismisses his mildness as pretended (III,21,16). Sozomen next states that Julian appointed his own officials, made public Constantius' letters inviting the barbarians into Gaul, and promoted paganism (V,1,2), information which he selects from a later passage of Socrates (III,1,35-39). However, there are more important differences between the two historians than the arrangement of common material. Unlike Socrates, Sozomen has no interest in the details of Julian's acclamation, and thus he omits the story of how a soldier crowned Julian with his torque, completely ignoring Socrates' carefully crafted contradiction of Libanius' *Epitaphios* (*Or.* 18,99) (4). Similarly, because Sozomen is not interested in whether or not Julian was really a philosopher, he does not repeat Socrates' criticism that Julian failed to act towards Constantius like a true philosopher after his elevation to Augustus (III,1,36-38).

At this point, Sozomen turns from Socrates to Gregory of Nazianzus. He echoes Gregory's statements (*Or.* IV,46) that Julian went East in order to seize the rest of the Empire and that his claim that he was going to Constantius to defend his elevation was only a pretense. However, Sozomen is not just a cut and paste historian, but one who analyses events and deduces historically plausible explanations. Here, he concludes that Julian expected to be able to take Illyricum at this time because Constantius was kept in Syria by the threat of a Persian invasion (V,1,3).

In the next section, Sozomen reports that, when Julian reached the border of Illyria, green grapes were growing out of season and his men's clothing was marked by the dew with the sign of the cross (V,1,4-5). Sozomen summarizes the resultant dispute about the meaning of these omens, and concludes that events proved that they were unfavourable to Julian, despite his positive interpretation at the time. Since this story appears in no earlier surviving text, it is probably from an oral source (5).

According to Gregory of Nazianzus, Julian's supporters said that he launched his assault on Constantius because his success had been foretold (*Or.* IV,47). Gregory declares that Julian was not the beneficiary of demons, but, rather, had arranged for Constantius to be assassinated by one of his household. Sozomen repeats Gregory's assertion that Julian

(4) D. F. Buck, *Socrates Scholasticus on Julian the Apostate*, in *Byz.*,73 (2003), p. 305.

(5) Schoo. p. 145.

attacked Constantius' domains because of foreknowledge and the encouragement of demons, although, like every other author in antiquity, he ignores Gregory's accusation that Julian had Constantius assassinated (6). Instead, he sees Julian's early death as the proof that these omens were false (V,1,8). He also reports, and does accept as true, another prophecy that Julian would be killed by the Persians in battle (V,1,8-9). Such predictions are known to have been in circulation, although the source of this one has not been identified (7).

Since Sozomen's family had experienced persecution in Gaza (V,15,14), it is not surprising to find that Sozomen is more interested in portraying Julian as a persecutor than is Socrates. Thus he begins his second chapter by saying how much the Christians feared persecution under Julian. He gives three reasons for their fear, all of which reinforce the threat posed by Julian: they had grown unaccustomed to persecution, they remembered the former persecutions, and they knew that Julian hated Christianity (V,2,1). Sozomen then illustrates Julian's private, personal paganism by recounting three incidents which he finds in Gregory's *First Invective*. The first is Julian's pagan baptism (*Or.* IV,52 and V,2,2). The second is his finding the image of a cross enclosed by a crown in the entrails of a sacrificial victim (*Or.* IV,54 and V,2,3-4). Sozomen explains the pagan interpretation of the image more fully than does Gregory, and also gives reasons why it really meant that Christianity would triumph. The third example is a much less detailed and dramatic version of Gregory's story (*Or.* IV,55-56) of how, when Julian descended into an adytum for a pagan initiation, he became frightened, automatically made the sign of the cross, and drove away the demons (V,2,5-6). In particular, Sozomen omits the fact that Julian made the sign of the cross a second time, but he adds a fuller explanation of how force of habit caused Julian to act as he did. Sozomen concludes that Christians regretted Julian's paganism all the more since he had been brought up as a Christian (V,2,7). This reflection is inspired by Gregory (*Or.* IV,52), but Sozomen expresses the idea more fully and uses it, not as the introduction to these events, but as the conclusion.

(6) J. BERNARDI, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 4-5*, Paris, 1983, n. 2, p. 151.

(7) E.g. EUNAPIUS, *Histories*, fr. 26 in *FHG* IV. However, it should not be assumed that Eunapius was Sozomen's source. See D. F. BUCK, *Did Sozomen use Eunapius' Histories ?* in *Museum Helveticum*, 56 (1999), pp. 15-25.

Sozomen then weaves together his sources to produce a continuous narrative of Julian's early life. He repeats Socrates' reasons (III,1,6-8) why Gallus and Julian survived the massacres of 337 (V,1,8-9) and follows this with a summary of Gregory's account (*Or.* IV,22-30) of the years that Julian and Gallus spent at Macellum (V,2,9-13), an episode which Socrates does not record. However, Sozomen cannot have relied solely on Gregory who does not name Macellum, describe it as having baths, gardens and fountains ([8]), or specify that it was for St. Mamas that Julian and Gallus were building a shrine ([9]). It is probable, therefore, that Sozomen learned these details from the people who had spoken with eyewitnesses of the building of the martyrium, and to whom he appeals as guarantors of the truth of his account (V,2,12). Overall, the episode contributes to making Gallus into a "rechtgläubige Gegenfigur zu Julian" ([10]).

When Sozomen's second chapter on Julian is considered as a whole, it is evident both that he has used Socrates' first chapter as his narrative framework, and that there are fundamental differences between them. He is less informative than Socrates about Julian's education, for he does not name his teachers at Constantinople, Nicocles and Hecebolius (III,1,10), nor does he say anything about Julian's vicarious study under Libanius at Nicomedia (III,1,14-15). This lack of interest in Hellenic intellectual culture is characteristic of Sozomen, and is one of the more obvious ways in which he differs from Socrates ([11]). Sozomen is also less concerned than Socrates with proving that Julian had a long-standing desire to rule the Empire, for he omits the omen of the civic crown which fell on Julian's head in Gaul (III,1,29), as well as Julian's telling his friends that he would become emperor (III,1,21). On the other hand, Sozomen emphasizes Julian's paganism by adding Gregory's stories about the shrine to St. Mamas, the entrails, and the adytum (*Or.* IV,25-26 & 54-56), as well as his comment (*Or.* V,23) that Julian communed with diviners at Athens (V,1,19). Moreover, by placing the account of Julian's personal paganism

(8) On Macellum, see Anne HADJINICOLAOU, *Macellum, Lieu d'exil de l'empereur Julien* in *Byz.*, 21 (1951), pp. 15-22.

(9) Cf. J. BIDEZ, *La Vie de l'Empereur Julien*, Paris, 1930, pp. 30-31.

(10) H. LEPPIN, *Von Constantin dem Grossen zu Theodosius II*, Göttingen, 1996, p. 85.

(11) BUCK, *Did Sozomen*, p. 16.

before that of his Christian childhood, Sozomen "highlights the contrast between the persecuting emperor and the pious child" ([12]).

In his first chapter, Socrates says that some people thought that Constantius had sent Julian to Gaul so that he would perish. He retorts that Constantius would not have married his sister to Julian if he had intended to destroy him, and then leaves his readers to make up their own minds (III,1,30-31). Sozomen reworks this passage as the conclusion to his second chapter (V,2,22-23) where he is able to use the events which he has already described to refute the claim that Constantius had malicious intent in sending Julian to Gaul. Thus he acknowledges that Constantius did act against Julian, but declares that he did so only after Julian was proclaimed Augustus. However, he does not fully exonerate Constantius, for he speculates that he was either jealous of Julian or fearful that he would seek revenge for the way in which Constantius had mistreated Gallus and himself during their youth.

Sozomen begins chapter 3 with a summary of Julian's pro-pagan and anti-Christian measures (V,3,1-4). His first specific example is Julian's refusal to aid Nisibis (V,3,5), which Georg Schoo thinks is "selbstdg. nach Kaisergesetzen" ([13]), and which may have been aimed at his non-Christian readers ([14]). He continues with a longer account of the jurisdictional disputes in Gaza which arose from conflict between pagan and Christian groups, and which he says continued in his own time with the attempt of the Bishop of Gaza to extend his authority over the church in Maiuma (V,3,6-9). Here, Sozomen is drawing upon personal knowledge of events in his homeland ([15]).

Sozomen next tells how Julian punished the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia because its Christian population had destroyed the pagan temples (V,4,1-5). In fact, Sozomen has the fullest surviving account of this event. Libanius warns the Antiochenes that Julian reduced Caesarea to the status of a village because of its undisciplined conduct (*Or.* XVI,14), and Gregory of Nazianzus remarks that the people of Caesarea were mistreated by Julian who had been provoked by their attack on the Temple of Fortune (*Or.* IV,92 & *Or.* XVIII,34), but neither has a fraction

(12) ROHRBACHER, p. 241.
(13) SCHOO, p. 145.
(14) LEPPIN, p. 84.
(15) SCHOO, p. 145.

of the detail found in Sozomen whose sources were probably "selbstg. nach Kaiser-gesetzen und-Briefen" ([16]). Sozomen then returns to Socrates for his explanation of how Julian ensured that his persecution did not produce Christian martyrs (V,4,6-7) and for the verbal confrontation between Julian and the blind Bishop Maris of Chalcedon (V,4,8-9) ([17]). Sozomen's treatment of Bishop and Emperor is quite different, however. Socrates uses the episode to demonstrate not only why Julian avoided making Christian martyrs, but also why Julian issued his edict against Christian teachers, i.e. so that Christians would not have the ability to refute pagans, as Maris had refuted him (III,12). For Sozomen, this episode merely illustrates that Julian thought mildness would be more effective in promoting paganism. As a result, Julian appears less vicious than he does in Socrates' version.

Sozomen continues his account of Julian's anti-Christian measures in chapter 5, for which his main sources are Julian's letters and Socrates. Not only is this chapter a good example of how Sozomen treats his sources as pieces of a mosaic, but it also provides the first concrete indication that Sozomen had access to a collection of Julianic documents. The first sentence of the chapter echoes a sentence from Julian's letter (*Ep.* 15) ([18]) summoning Aetius to court, a letter which Sozomen later uses as the basis for his account of Aetius' recall (V,5,9). Most of the information in this chapter derives from the letter (*Ep.* 41) in which Julian dictates how the people of Bostra are to treat Christians. Sozomen's description of Julian extracting compensation from Christians who had destroyed temples during the reigns of Constantine and Constantius (V,5,5) resembles the punishment which Julian decreed for Edessa (*Ep.* 40). Socrates (III,1,44-49) is his source for the explanation of how Julian tried to discredit the memory of Constantius with both pagans and Christians, as well as for the punishment of the eunuch Eusebius (V,5,6-8). In addition to these literary sources, Sozomen also uses documentary evidence, for he refers to the receipts issued to those who were compelled to refund pagan property given to them by Constantine (V,5,4) ([19]).

(16) *Ibidem.*

(17) *Ibidem.*

(18) Julian's letters are cited from the edition by W. C. WRIGHT, *The Works of the Emperor Julian,* vol. III, London, 1969.

(19) SCHOO, p. 146.

Sozomen devotes chapter 7 to the killing of George, the Arian Bishop of Alexandria, on 24 December 361 ([20]). Although he draws upon Socrates (III,2), Sozomen's account is quite different in both content and arrangement. In both Socrates (II,14) and Sozomen (III,7,9), George first appears when the Alexandrian Arians depose the pusillanimous and unpopular Gregory and install him as Bishop of Alexandria because he is zealous and effective. Here, Sozomen closely paraphrases Socrates' deft characterization of George, the people of Alexandria, and the importance of this see. However, he writes only one sentence about how George persecuted the people of Egypt after Athanasius was expelled (IV,4,1), while Socrates gives a much longer account of this period, most of which is quoted from Athanasius' *Apologia de Fuga Sua* (II,28,1-15). Sozomen does record the conflict between Athanasius' and George's supporters for control of the churches of Alexandria in 357 and 358 (IV,10,8-12) ([21]). This section includes a popular uprising against George in which he was nearly lynched, and thus prefigures his eventual death. Socrates ignores these events. The *Historia Acephala* (V,6) which has a similar, but chronologically more precise account, may be Sozomen's source ([22]).

Sozomen carefully lays the groundwork for the killing of Bishop George in the last chapter of Book IV (IV,30,1-2). His basic source is Socrates (II,45,16-17), but where Socrates speaks only in general terms of George as a persecutor hated by the demos, Sozomen details the grievances of several specific groups against George. Moreover, while Sozomen declares that George was widely detested, he declares that the pagans had the strongest motive for killing the Bishop and announces that he will treat this in detail later.

Socrates composes a sparse, consistent and plausible narrative in chronological order (III,2) which demonstrates that the demos, not the supporters of Athanasius, lynched George (III,3,1-3). According to Socrates, George's cleansing of a disused Mithraeum provoked the pagans into attacking the triumphal Christian procession and then killing George. Socrates supplements his brief account by quoting Julian's epistolary rebuke to the people of Alexandria (III,3,4-25).

(20) *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (1997), s.v. *George of Cappadocia*, p. 665.

(21) On this period, see C. Haas, *The Alexandrian Riots of 356 and George of Cappadocia*, in *GRBS*,32 (1991), pp. 281-301.

(22) Schoo, p. 123.

Although Sozomen used Socrates, he gives more information and his narrative is not as unified and chronological ([23]). He also places more emphasis on Julian being ultimately responsible for George's death by twice declaring that, as soon as the pagans learned that Julian was emperor, they attacked George (V,7,2&7). Sozomen first describes George's initial imprisonment – a fact omitted by Socrates – and then his lynching. He argues that the pagans, not Athanasius' followers as the Arians claimed, had the strongest motives and thus were guilty of the killing. Then, Sozomen recounts the cleansing of the Mithraeum, the procession and the riot, but only as examples of why the pagans hated George, not as the direct cause of George's death as they are in Socrates' narrative. His version is also less inflammatory than Socrates', since he does not accuse the pagans of performing human sacrifice in the Mithraeum, nor do the Christians carry skulls in their procession. At the end of the chapter, Sozomen reinforces his contention that the pagans were guilty by pointing out that Julian blamed the people in general, not the Christians whom he would surely have liked to implicate. Unlike Socrates, he does not quote Julian's letter directly.

The *Historia Acephala* (VI,8) has an account which, apart from its greater chronological precision, is very similar to Sozomen's first part. Thus it states that the Alexandrians rose up against George when they learned of Julian's accession, and imprisoned and executed him. It does not describe the cleansing of the Mithraem and the subsequent riot because these incidents were only added in the fifth century as proof of pagan guilt ([24]). Hence Sozomen appears to have used the *Historia Acephala* (*vel. sim.*) as his source for the first three sections of chapter 7, and then returned to Socrates.

The next four chapters, 8 through 11, all concern the persecution of Christians and are taken from a variety of sources ([25]). The remarks with which Sozomen closes this part of his history reveal his purpose and method. He says that, although these martyrdoms happened at different

(23) M. CALTABIANO, *L'Assassinio di Giorgio di Cappadocia*, in *Quaderni Catanesi di Studi Classici e Medievali*, 7 (1985), pp. 52-59.

(24) *Idem*, p. 58.

(25) For the history and literary treatment of individual martyrs, see F. SCORZA BARCELLONA, *Martiri e confessori dell'età di Giuliano l'Apostata: dalla storia alla leggenda*, in *Pagani e cristiani da Giuliano l'Apostata al sacco di Roma*, Rubbetino, 1995, pp. 53-83.

times, he has narrated them together for the sake of clarity, for he wants to prove that Julian's reign was marked by martyrdoms, even though Julian himself may have disapproved of such mistreatment (V,11,12).

Chapter 8 records how Julian's homonymous uncle despoiled and defiled the church at Antioch, and then died of a disease of the bowels. Although Sozomen takes the story of the desecration and death from John Chrysostom's *De Sancto Babyla* (92) ([26]), he writes a much fuller account. Chrysostom is only interested in Julian's uncle as one more example of a persecutor whom God punished with a horrible death, while Sozomen tells how he first extracted information about the treasures from their keeper, Theodoritus, and then killed him ([27]). Schoo thinks that Sozomen got this additional information from an oral source ([28]).

Chapter 9 describes several martyrdoms in Gaza which clearly derive from oral sources ([29]). Sozomen states that he heard how the women and the cooks had attacked Eusebius, Nestabus and Zeno (V,9,4). However, his description of Julian's reaction to these riotous killings (V,9,11-13) is inspired by Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* IV,93). Gregory himself gives no details of the martyrdoms, for his interest lies in the moderate and lawful response of the governor and his subsequent exile by Julian who was angry that he had punished Hellenes for attacking Christians. Like Gregory, Sozomen records that Julian deposed the governor, though he omits the exile, and he ascribes similar sentiments to Julian about the unimportance of killing Christians. Indeed, Sozomen intensifies Gregory's criticism of Julian, for he adds that the people of Gaza expected that the emperor would punish them for rioting. He then makes an invidious comparison with Julian's response to the killing of Bishop George by declaring that he did not even send a letter of rebuke to Gaza. This leaves the impression that Julian was persecuting Christians more as time went on, a pattern which had already been observed by Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* IV, 85) ([30]).

(26) J. CHRYSOSTOME, *Discours sur Babylas*, edd. Margaret SCHATKIN, Cecile BLANC, B. GRILLET, *Sources Chrétiennes*, #362, Paris, 1990.

(27) For the hagiographical literature on Theodoritus, see SCORZA BARCELLONA, pp. 74-76.

(28) SCHOO, p. 146.

(29) *Ibidem.*

(30) As noted by SCORZA BARCELLONA, p. 54.

Chapter 10 contains three episodes arranged climactically. The first concerns the monk Hilarion whose only connection with martyrdom is that he avoided it by flight (V,10,1-4). In their apparatus, Bidez and Hansen attribute this section to Jerome's *Life of Hilarion*. Schoo, however, is doubtful, for Sozomen never names either the *Life of Hilarion* or Jerome. In Schoo's opinion, the similarities between Sozomen and Jerome are such that it is impossible to say for certain that he did or did not use the *Life of Hilarion*, particularly since the differences could arise from Sozomen's personal knowledge, given that Hilarion came from Gaza ([31]). The next episode describes the horrific killing of virgins by the people of Heliopolis (V,10,5-7). Here, Sozomen summarizes the account by Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* IV,86-87) and then adds an explanation for this atrocity which he found in Eusebius (*VC*, III,58): the banning of temple prostitution at Heliopolis by Constantine. The third episode, the killing of Bishop Mark of Arethusa (V,10,8-14), also derives from Gregory (*Or.* IV,88-91) and makes a fitting conclusion to this chapter, for Sozomen pares away Gregory's rhetoric and writes a compact and effective narrative which demonstrates Christian resistance to torture and proclaims salvation for martyrs, damnation for their pagan persecutors, and defeat for Julian.

Chapter 11 concludes this series of martyrdoms. It, too, is a composite. Sozomen closely follows Socrates' account of the roasting alive of Macedonius, Theodulus and Tatian (III,15). He repeats almost verbatim their invitation to turn them over so that they would not taste half-cooked (V,11,1-3), which is not only nicely sarcastic, but also clearly implies that the governor, Amachus, was a cannibal ([32]). The other martyrdoms in this chapter do not appear to have a literary source.

Sozomen returns to the persecution of Christians in chapter 15. His main sources are Julian's edicts and his own family history, which he supplements with material from Rufinus and Gregory of Nazianzus, but not Socrates. Both his choice of sources and the information which he selects from them are what would be expected of a lawyer ([33]). The first episode

(31) SCHOO, pp. 76 & 77.

(32) For accusations of cannibalism, see J. RIVES, *Human Sacrifice among Pagans and Christians*, in *JRS*, 85 (1995), p. 74 ff.

(33) Cf. J. HARRIES, *Sozomen and Eusebius: The Lawyer as Church Historian in the Fifth Century*, in C. HOLDSWORTH and T. P. WISEMAN, *The Inheritance of Historiography 350-900*, *Exeter Studies in History*, 12 (1986), pp. 45-52.

in this chapter is his version of Julian's expulsion of Bishop Athanasius from Alexandria (V,15,1-3). Sozomen gives the substance of Julian's legalistic justification (*Ep.* 24), while ignoring the story of Athanasius' escape from his pursuers, which is the main concern of Socrates (III,14,1-6) and Rufinus (X,35). He does, however, take from Rufinus Athanasius' famous comparison of his exile to a little cloud. The third episode is Julian's attempt to have Bishop Titus removed from Bostra (V,15,11-12), for which his source is another of Julian's surviving letters (*Ep.* 41). His use of it is typically purposeful, for he omits Julian's lengthy and vigorous defence of his treatment of Christians, while selecting the emperor's cleverly logical and lawyerly attempt to incite the people of Bostra against their bishop. Between these two episodes, Sozomen tells how Julian expelled Bishop Eleusis from Cyzicus (V,15,4-10). Neither Schoo nor Bidez and Hansen identify a source for this story. However, given that Sozomen places it where he does, between two episodes whose sources are official letters by Julian, and given that he was a lawyer, it is probable that he again drew upon his collection of Julianic documents. In this case, Sozomen appears to be using a *libellus-subscriptio* ([34]), for he says that the people of Cyzicus sent an embassy to Julian requesting various actions, in particular the restoration of the pagan temples, and that Julian acceded to all their requests and expelled Eleusius. Sozomen then sums up these three examples by repeating Gregory of Nazianzus' assessment of Julian as a persecutor: Julian rebuked those who attacked Christians, but encouraged such attacks by his own actions (*Or.* IV,61). This summation also serves to introduce the story of how his Christian grandfather and many of his family were driven out of Bethelia in Gaza during Julian's reign (V,15,14-17).

In chapter 16, Sozomen says that Julian tried to establish a pagan church, an idea which he owes to Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* IV,111) ([35]). Although Socrates, Rufinus and Theodoret say nothing about a pagan church ([36]), and although the historical evidence does not support such an

(34) On *libelli* and *subscriptiones*, see F. MILLAR, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, Ithaca, 1977, p. 242.

(35) P. VAN NEUFFELEN, *Deux fausses lettres de Julien l'Apostat: la lettre aux Juifs <Ep.> 51 [Wright], et la lettre à Arsacius, <Ep.> 84 [Bidez]* in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 56 (2002), p. 145.

(36) *Idem*, p. 147.

interpretation of Julian's actions ([37]), Sozomen writes his account in accordance with Gregory's view. He begins by explaining that Julian introduced these measures because he was disappointed that, despite the revival of pagan sacrifices and the reopening of temples, Christianity was still the preferred religion, and because he realized that the pagan restoration would not survive him unless he put an enduring structure in place. He then gives a summary of Julian's actions (V,16,2-4) for which Gregory is his source (*Or.* IV,111). As usual, he omits Gregory's rhetorical and illustrative material, such as comparisons to the siege of Jerusalem by the Assyrians in II Kings 18 (*Or.* IV,110), and to monkeys imitating human actions (*Or.* IV,112). As proof of what he has said, Sozomen quotes Julian's letter to Arsacius, the High Priest of Galatia (*Ep.* 22= V,16,5-15), a document which is very likely a forgery ([38]). Sozomen is the only source ([39]) for this letter which he may well have found in his collection of Julian's edicts.

In chapter 17, Sozomen mines three different sections of Gregory's *First Invective* to describe how Julian tried to inculcate paganism in the army. His opening statement that Julian sometimes addressed the soldiers directly and sometimes through their officers (V,17,1) is taken almost word for word from Gregory (*Or.* IV,64), and he follows Gregory's account of how Julian changed the labarum (*Or.* IV,66), although he omits the rhetorical material. Gregory (*Or.* IV,80-81) is also his principal source for how Julian incorporated pictures of the gods in his official portraits so that those who dutifully honoured him would, by the same act, worship the pagan gods. However, since Gregory does not name the gods or describe the composite paintings, Sozomen either had additional information or simply conjectured that Zeus, Ares and Hermes were represented (V,17,3-4). The chapter ends with the story of the Christian soldiers who, when they realized that they had been duped into worshipping the pagan gods at pay parade, rushed to Julian and asked him to martyr them (V,17,8-12). As usual, Sozomen is more concise than Gregory, though he preserves all the facts in his source (*Or.* IV,81-84). This is a well-constructed chapter with a climactic structure, for it begins with

(37) *Idem*, p. 148.
(38) *Idem*, p. 136 ff.
(39) BIDEZ and HANSEN, *ad loc.*

Julian's motive, outlines his practical and diabolical actions, and concludes with dramatic proof that Julian's attempt was a failure.

Julian's depriving Christians of the normal rights and opportunities of citizenship is the subject of chapter 18. Sozomen starts by stating that Christians who refused to sacrifice were excluded from the assemblies, agoras and public offices (V,18,1). Here, he follows Gregory's equally concise account (*Or.* IV,96). The bulk of the chapter, however, is devoted to Julian's infamous law forbidding Christians to teach classical literature in the schools ([40]). It is clear that Sozomen was familiar with Socrates' treatment of Julian's law, for he repeats his predecessor's erroneous statement that Christian children were prohibited from attending Hellenic schools (cf. Sozomen V,18,1 and Socrates III,16,1) ([41]). He also reiterates the motive which Socrates attributes to Julian: the emperor did not want Christians to acquire the ability to refute pagans in argument (cf. Sozomen V,18,3 and Socrates III,12,7 and III,16,17-19).

From this point on, however, Sozomen completely ignores what Socrates and Gregory say about Julian's law. The reason is clear. Gregory devotes several chapters to expressing his love of classical literature, which he believes to be the common property of both pagans and Christians (*Or.* IV,100-110), while Socrates argues at length that Christians need a proper classical education because study of the Scriptures alone does not teach reasoning, only piety, and both are necessary (III,16,17-22). In fact, Socrates considers that the disappearance of the Apollinarii's ersatz classics was an act of Divine Providence (III,16,8). Sozomen, on the other hand, declares that Apollinarius' works would have been regarded as highly as the Classics but for the prejudice in favour of antique writings (V,18,5), and reinforces his defence of Apollinarius by praising his tract, *The Truth*, for its refutation of the emperor and the pagan philosophers (V,18,6).

(40) For a thorough exposition of the anti-Christian nature of this law, see Stefania SARACINO, *La Politica Culturale dell'Imperatore Giuliano attraverso il COD.TH XIII 3,5 e l'EP. 61*, in *Aevum*, 76 (2002), pp. 123-141. It is very unlikely that Julian's intent was only to reform the teaching system, as argued by PÉREZ C. BUENACASA, *La persecución del emperador a debate: los cristianos en la politica del último emperador pagano (361-363)*, in *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 21 (2000), pp. 519-520.

(41) Gregory of Nazianzus may be the ultimate source of the idea that Julian excluded Christian pupils. See SARACINO, pp. 138-139.

There are also fundamental factual differences between Sozomen and Socrates. The most glaring discrepancy is that Sozomen speaks of one Apollinarius, whereas Socrates describes a father and son team, but they also disagree about what works were produced. Clearly, Socrates and Sozomen used different sources, but these have never been identified, and the story of these ersatz classics may be nothing more than a legend (42). No trace of them survives and, since Socrates affirms that they had utterly disappeared by his time (III,16,7), Sozomen's praise of them cannot have been the result of autopsy. Similarly, nothing has been found of Apollinarius' *The Truth*. Moreover, the exchange between Julian and the bishops with which Sozomen concludes his account of *The Truth* is also problematic. Sozomen himself is uncertain whether or not Basil wrote the letter by which the bishops replied to Julian (V,18,8), and the letter which Sozomen attributes to Julian is no longer extant (V,18,7). The sentence quoted by Sozomen has been appended to one of Julian's spurious letters to Basil (*Ep.* 81) (43).

Sozomen draws upon Socrates, John Chrysostom and Rufinus in his treatment of Julian's stay in Antioch (V,19 & 20). He begins by summarizing Socrates' account (III,17) of Julian's failed attempt to remedy a food shortage at Antioch (V,19,1-3). Although he includes the same events as Socrates and shares his opinion that Julian acted out of *φιλοτιμία* (44), his particular interest lies elsewhere. Thus Sozomen devotes the better part of two chapters to the Shrine of St. Babylas and the oracle and temple of Apollo (V,19,4-19 & 20,5-7), for which his basic source is John Chrysostom's *De Sancto Babyla*. However, Sozomen is selective and purposeful in his use of Chrysostom, for he omits both the diatribe against Julian's excuse that Babylas' corpse silenced the oracle (82-86), and the vivid description of Babylas' calling down a lightning strike on the temple (93-94). Moreover, between the accounts of the removal of the Shrine and the destruction of the Temple, he inserts the story of how the Christian Theodore was tortured because of his role in the translation of the remains of St. Babylas (V,20,1-4), which he took from Socrates'

(42) Cf. P. SPECK, *Sokrates Scholastikos über die beiden Apolinarioi*, in *Philologus*, 141 (1997), pp. 362-369.

(43) WRIGHT, n. 1, p. 286.

(44) Cf. SOCRATES III,17,2 (*φιλότιμον*) and SOZOMEN V,19,1 (*ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας*).

acknowledged source, Rufinus (X,37). Indeed, he retains more of what Rufinus says than does Socrates, e.g. that Theodore sang the same psalm when tortured as the procession had done, and that Sallust persuaded Julian to cease torturing Theodore lest he be exposed to ridicule. In addition, the juxtaposition of Gallus' building of the shrine of St. Babylas (V,19,13) with Julian's removal of it (V,19,17) recalls the brothers' unequal success in constructing the shrine to St. Mamas (V,2,12-14), and reinforces the image of Gallus as the Christian *Gegenfigur* to Julian.

Sozomen next relates that Julian removed a statue of Christ at Paneas in Phoenicia and replaced it with one of himself which was subsequently destroyed by lightning (V,21,1-4). He declares that this story demonstrates both the power of Christ and divine wrath (V,21,1). Clearly, it also parallels the preceding one about St. Babylas and the Temple of Apollo. Although Bidez and Hansen note that Philostorgius also has an account of Julian and these statues, his version of these particular incidents is fundamentally different and, indeed, there is no proof that Sozomen ever used Philostorgius ([45]). Sozomen probably learned about the events at Paneas by word of mouth and autopsy, for he states that both the rescued statue of Christ and the blasted statue of Julian were on display in his own time (V,21,2 & 3). Moreover, Sozomen cites Eusebius (*H.E.* VII,18), not Philostorgius (VII,3), as his source for the information about the healing herb which grew at the base of the statue of Christ (V,21,3). The focus of this chapter thereupon shifts and it concludes with stories about the curative powers of a fountain at Nicopolis and a tree at Hermopolis which have no connection with Julian.

Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem is the subject of chapter 22 ([46]). Although Sozomen's principal source is Socrates (III,20), who relies principally on Rufinus (X,38-40), he adds important material from Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* V,4&7), and it is probable that he supplemented and corrected his written sources with eyewitness evidence. This chapter is a good example of how Sozomen combines a number of sources into a consistent and purposeful narrative. He takes from Socrates

(45) SCHOO, p. 83. BIDEZ and HANSEN, *ad. loc.* and pp. LIII-LV.

(46) F. BLANCHTIÈRE, *Julien Philhellène, Philosémite, Antichrétien: L'affaire du Temple de Jerusalem (363)*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 31 (1980), pp. 61-81. Theresa URBAINCZYK, *Observations on the Differences between the Church Histories of Socrates and Sozomen*, in *Historia*, 46 (1997), pp. 366-369.

(III,20,4) the basic reason why Julian decided to rebuild the Temple, which was that only there could the Jews sacrifice (V,22,4). Both record the same miracles in the same order: the earthquake (III,20,8 & V,22,7), the fire (III,20,10 & V,22,11), and the crosses on the clothing (III,20,14 & V,22,12), but Sozomen is not a slavish imitator. For example, Socrates states that the fire came from Heaven, while Sozomen says that it came either from inside the Temple or directly from the earth. He also condenses Socrates' very circumstantial account. Although both Socrates (III,20,6) and Sozomen (V,22,4) record that Julian supplied the materials for the rebuilding, Sozomen omits the itemized list. Similarly, Socrates specifies that Bishop Cyril of Jerusalem quoted from Daniel about the destruction of the Temple (III,20,7), and Sozomen says only that the Jews hoped to falsify the prophecies of Christ (V,22,6).

Their conclusions are fundamentally different. Socrates ends his account with the utter destruction of the Temple and the refusal of the Jews to convert to Christianity (III,20,14), but Sozomen claims that many became Christian when the crosses appeared on their clothes (V,22,13). Clearly, Sozomen rejected Socrates in favour of Gregory who describes an enthusiastic rush to convert (*Or.* V,7). This is Gregory's most important contribution to Sozomen's version, but not his only one. Thus he learns from Gregory that the Jews thought that the time was right to rebuild the Temple (*Or.* V,3 & V,22,6), and that the women not only contributed their jewels to the project, but even helped to carry earth (*Or.* V,4 & V,22,5). However, Sozomen is selective in his use of Gregory. He omits what Gregory says about a tornado preceding the earthquake, a cross appearing in the sky, and a mysterious force closing the doors of the Temple against those seeking refuge (*Or.* V,4). Although he repeats Gregory's information that the fire came from the Temple when workmen tried to force their way in (*Or.* V,4), he adds that others say that it appeared when they tried to move a mound of earth V,22,11). Such differences arise from Sozomen's preference for personal testimony. Thus he appeals to oral sources for his account of the earthquake (V,22,7: *λέγεται*) and for the two versions of where the fire came from (V,22,11: *οἱ μέν...οἱ δέ*). He also urges those who doubt his story of the conversions to ask those who heard from eyewitnesses what had happened (V,22,14). Here Sozomen displays a lawyer's care for the chain of evidence in persuading his readers to accept his version.

Despite his dependence on Socrates and Gregory, Sozomen has his own understanding of Julian's reason for rebuilding the Temple. Socrates

thinks that Julian wanted the Jews to join with him in sacrificing and that they eagerly participated in the rebuilding because they wanted to inflict suffering on the Christians (III,20,1-5). Gregory says that Julian wanted to use the Jews against the Christians (*Or.* V,3). Sozomen agrees that Julian wanted to grieve the Christians by favouring the Jews, but he declares that Julian's real motive was to inveigle the Jews into embracing paganism and sacrifices, and that events prove that this was so (V,22,1-3). The completeness of Julian's failure and the power of the Christian God are demonstrated by the miraculous appearance of the crosses which impelled the workmen to convert (V,22,12-14). This account of Julian and the Temple is thus a good illustration of how Sozomen uses his sources in accordance with his conception of the meaning of an historical event.

Sozomen devotes the first two chapters of Book VI to Julian's invasion of Persia and his death. Libanius' *Epitaphios* is his fundamental, but not sole, source, while Socrates contributes nothing to this part. Indeed, Socrates and Sozomen have completely different theories as to why the invasion failed and construct their accounts accordingly ([47]). Socrates maintains that Julian wrongly rejected Persian offers to make peace, both before he invaded (III,19,10) and at Ctesiphon (III,21,4), and that he did so because he was a warmonger and had an Alexander complex (III,21,6) ([48]). Although Sozomen does not mention the Persian embassies or compare Julian to Alexander, he still makes him bear the guilt for Jovian's peace treaty with Persia. Because Julian did not foresee that the army would need supplies on its return journey and waged a scorched earth campaign on his way down the Euphrates (VI,1,4), the Romans faced starvation at Ctesiphon and did not have the provisions needed for a retreat (VI,1,6). In Sozomen's view, this self-inflicted shortage accounts for Julian's eagerness to follow the old Persian guide on a supposed short-cut to Roman territory.

Both Sozomen (VI,1,1) and Libanius (*Or.* XVIII,214) begin their narratives of the invasion with the statement that Julian crossed the Euphrates. Then Libanius says that Julian skirted a nearby city and marched directly to one which had a great, old temple of Zeus where he prayed for a successful invasion. Sozomen omits the substance of Julian's

(47) Cf. ROHRBACHER, pp. 270-271.
(48) BUCK, *Socrates Scholasticus*, pp. 313-314.

prayer, but, unlike Libanius, he names the two cities: Julian visited the temple of Zeus in Carrhae and avoided Edessa because it was Christian (VI,1,1). Very likely, Sozomen had read Julian's angry edict to the warring Christian factions in Edessa (*Ep.* 40) ([49]).

Next, Sozomen inserts a precis of a letter from Julian to Arsaces, King of Armenia (*Ep.* 57)(VI,1,2-3). The letter is a forgery which may have been written in the mid-360's ([50]), and may have been included in Sozomen's collection of Julianic documents. It is easy to see why Sozomen quoted it, for not only does it give more specifics about Julian's instructions to Arsaces than does Libanius, but it also portrays the emperor as a blasphemous, bombastic bully.

Although Sozomen compresses Libanius' narrative of Julian's progress through Mesopotamia (*Or.* XVIII,217-244) into a short paragraph (VI,1,4), he is very interested in the climax of the campaign, for he writes a detailed and generally faithful summary of Libanius' account of events at Ctesiphon (VI,1,5-8 = *Or.* XVIII,244-263). Two points deserve comment. First, Sozomen's statements that the army could not retrace its steps because it had devasted the country, and that it could not linger at Ctesiphon are accurate reflections of Libanius' description of its situation (VI,1,6 = *Or.* XVIII,248-249). However, Sozomen's assertion that Julian threw away the provisions (*ἀποβαλεῖν τὰ φορτία καὶ τὸ σιτηρέσιον*) in the ships so that his soldiers would fight more keenly (VI,1,7) appears to be his own invention. According to Libanius (*Or.* XVIII,250), Julian ordered the ships to be emptied (*κεναὶ*) so that he could embark troops quickly and at short notice. Libanius says nothing which implies that Julian destroyed the off-loaded material, nor does Ammianus Marcellinus in his account of the same operations (XXIV,6,4). Clearly, Sozomen is trying to prove that Julian was responsible for the fact that the Roman army was starved into making a disadvantageous peace.

Sozomen then inserts the story of how an old Persian deceived Julian into leading his army into the desert (VI,1,9-12). His source cannot be disentangled from the welter of conflicting accounts of this action ([51]).

(49) F. PASCHOUD, *Zosime, Histoire Nouvelle* II1, Paris, 1979, n. 32, p. 105 cites this letter and notes that going to Edessa would have required a long detour.

(50) J. VANDERSPOEL, *Correspondence and Correspondents of Julius Julianus*, in *Byz.*, 69 (1999), pp. 465-467.

(51) For a survey of the versions, see PASCHOUD, n. 73, pp. 182-184.

Although Bidez and Hansen suggest a comparison with Gregory of Nazianzus (*Or.* V,11) ([52]), the two versions are quite different, for Gregory speaks of a Persian noble who persuades Julian to burn the boats, while Sozomen repeats Libanius' justification for destroying them (*Or.* XVIII,262). However, Gregory may be Sozomen's source for the brief statement that the army was now suffering from a lack of provisions (*Or.*V,12; cf. VI,1,13), since Libanius actually implies the opposite by reporting that the soldiers had taken twenty days' rations with them (*Or.* XVIII,264).

Sozomen follows Libanius' description of how Julian was stabbed during a skirmish (VI,1,13 and *Or.* XVIII,268), but his treatment is completely different. Libanius sets Julian's death in a tragic, climactic structure by claiming that the Persians had intended to send an embassy the next day to negotiate peace (*Or.* XVIII,268), while Sozomen says that the Persians attacked when the Roman army was suffering from fatigue and hunger (VI,1,13). Ignoring Libanius' account of Julian's final hours and the contrasting reactions of Romans and Persians to the emperor's death, Sozomen immediately raises the question of whether the assassin was a Roman, a Persian or a Saracen (VI,1,13-14). He then quotes Libanius' argument that the killer could not have been in the Persian army, but must have been one of those who were opposed to the emperor's polytheism (VI,1,15-16 = *Or.* XVIII,274-275). Although Libanius does not actually use the word Christian, Sozomen declares that Libanius blamed the Christians, and that he was probably right to do so (VI,2,1).

The main purpose of Sozomen's last chapter on Julian is to demonstrate that he fell victim to divine wrath (VI,2,2) ([53]), and he relates four anecdotes as proof of this. In the first, one of Julian's friends who was on his way to join him in Persia had a vision of an assembly of apostles and prophets, two of whom left the gathering and disposed of Julian (VI,2,3-5). Here, Sozomen relates a legend which arose at Antioch in honour of two Arian saints, whose names he suppresses, and was soon transmitted

(52) BIDEZ and HANSEN, *ad loc.*

(53) Cf. ROHRBACHER, p. 271 and LEPPIN, p. 81. A contemporary Persian relief also attributed the victory over Julian to divine intervention. See M. AZARNOUSH, *La mort de Julien l'Apostat selon les Sources Iraniennes*, in *Byz.*, 61 (1991), pp. 328-329.

to Caesarea and Armenia ([54]). The second is taken from Palladius' *Lausiac History* (4). The monk Didymus of Alexandria, who was much grieved by Julian's persecution, fell asleep and heard in a vision that Julian had died at that very hour. Although this story is evidence of divine interest in Julian rather than divine wrath, it does serve to illustrate once again the distress which Julian caused Christians (VI,2,6-8). The third, which may come from an oral source ([55]), does demonstrate that Julian was a persecutor and that he was destroyed by divine wrath, for, in response to his threats and insults, his Christian interlocutor retorts that the Son of the Carpenter is making his coffin (VI,2,8-9). Sozomen's fourth and most compelling proof is that Julian himself realized whence came the deadly blow and why he was struck down (VI,2,10-11). He reports that Julian threw blood from his wound into the air, and gives two different explanations of this act. The first is that Julian had seen Christ, and the second is that he was angry at the Sun for failing to protect him. Sozomen does not specify his sources for these opinions, saying only λέγεται γάρ and οἱ δέ φασιν, though Bidez and Hansen suggest a comparison with Philostorgius.

Finally, a number of natural disasters are ascribed to Julian's reign as further evidence of divine displeasure (VI,2,14-16), not always with strict regard to chronological accuracy. Perhaps the most egregious example is the description of the inundation of Alexandria (VI,2,14-15) which was caused by a tsunami which can be securely dated to 21 July 365 ([56]). Thus Sozomen is clearly wrong to say that it occurred when Julian was either Augustus or Caesar (VI,2,14). Moreover, his error must be deliberate, for Socrates correctly places the event during the period of Procopius' revolt against Valens (IV,3). Although Sozomen may have been inspired by Libanius' description of the disasters consequent on the death of Julian (*Or.* XVIII,292-293) ([57]), his polemical intent and his providentialist viewpoint are obvious.

Sozomen's *Church History* demonstrates that Julian the Apostate was an emperor who was destroyed by Divine wrath, and whose persecution

(54) N. H. BAYNES, *The Death of Julian the Apostate in a Christian Legend*, in *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays*, Westport, 1974, pp. 280-281.

(55) SCHOO, p. 147.

(56) G. KELLY, *Ammianus and the Great Tsunami*, in *JRS*, 94 (2004), p. 144.

(57) *Idem*, pp. 146-148.

of Christians and invasion of Persia were both utter failures. Within this providential framework, Sozomen strives to write an historically plausible account of Julian's reign. In doing so, he proves to be the master, not the slave, of his varied sources, for he takes only what he needs from each and arranges his material in accordance with his narrative plan and his own understanding of the causes of events. An independent thinker, he rejects Gregory of Nazianzus' endorsement of Hellenic culture, and so frequent and fundamental are his differences with Socrates, that his failure to acknowledge his debt to his predecessor occasions little surprise. Despite these virtues, however, Sozomen adds little to our knowledge of Julian, and thus his chapters on Julian are most interesting and valuable as an example of a fifth century Christian's reaction to the last pagan emperor ([58]).

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# INTENTIONAL ASYMMETRY IN BYZANTINE IMAGERY : THE COMMUNION OF THE APOSTLES IN ST SOPHIA OF OHRID AND LATER INSTANCES

*For Elka Lazarova-Bakalova,*
*nihil virtúti ínvium*

The starting point of this essay lies with a widespread and correct conviction that symmetry and proportion ruled over pictorial language and iconography in Byzantium and the neighbouring countries (1). As the basic concept of Byzantine aesthetics, symmetry dominated its art production in general and characterized positive and triumphal contextual appearances in particular (2). Its counterpart – the principle of asymmetry – was commonly used as denominator of negative connotations, e.g. in representing heretics and enemies (3). However, there are also numerous examples of symmetry spoiled intentionally, but in a positive or positivist context. These appear as another persuading material exposing complex layers of Byzantine iconography, enabling us to perceive that Byzantine art was not monolith at all and that it duly interacted with society as its functional instrument (4). The asymmetrical rendering in a church program, in a composition or on a figure only, was usually inflicted by

(1) A. KAZHDAN and A. CUTLER, *Symmetry*, in *ODB*, 3, pp. 1988-1989, with a notion that asymmetry in art started as late as the 13th Century, but always as an exception. Also see V. BICHKOV, *Byzantine Aesthetics. Theoretical Problems*, Belgrade, 1991, pp. 102, 108-110, 143-144, 210 (in Serbian).

(2) For influence on art exerted by rhetoric, especially of thesis and antithesis, the technique established on the principle of symmetry see H. MAGUIRE, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, Princeton, 1981, passim.

(3) See K. CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics in Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters*, Cambridge, 1992.

(4) R. CORMACK, *Writing in Gold. Byzantine Society and its Icons*, London, 1985, pp. 9-17 ; R. CORMACK, *Painting the Soul. Icons, Death Masks, and Shrouds*, London, 1997, pp. 8, 15.

particular theological or political ideas, proving in its own way the existence of originality ([5]) as an ongoing practice of medieval society and of its needs ([6]). On two earlier occasions I tried to deal with similar topics found within the royal iconography ([7]) and the fresco-icons ([8]). Here I would like to analyze only several asymmetric images from the Byzantine and the medieval Serbian art, some of which have already been studied, while others were only mentioned in literature, with no ambition to enumerate all known instances.

The first in line and striking example of asymmetry are the apsis frescoes of St Sophia, the cathedral basilica of Ohrid (painted ca 1050), the ensemble of which has quite often been a matter of special scholarly interest ([9]). Byzantinists have long ago detected the personal impact of the ktetor, the Ohrid archbishop Leo, on the iconography of the cathedral's sanctuary ([10]). Being one of the key figures during the major ecclesiastical debate – the Schism controversy from the middle of the

(5) See articles in *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music. A Collection of Essays*, ed. A. LITTLEWOOD, Oxford, 1995.

(6) See A. KARTSONIS, *Anastasis. The Making of an Image*, Princeton, 1986 ; L. BRUBAKER, *Politics, Patronage, and Art in Ninth-Century Byzantium : the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus in Paris (B. N. gr. 510)*, in *DOP*, 39 (1985), 1-13 ; A. LIDOV, *Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Space as a Form of Creativity and Subject of Cultural History*, in *Hierotopy. Studies in the Making of Sacred Space*, International Symposium, ed. A. LIDOV, Moscow, 2004.

(7) B. CVETKOVIĆ, *Christianity and Royalty : The Touch of the Holy*, in *Byz.*, 72, 2 (2002), pp. 347-364.

(8) B. CVETKOVIĆ, *Icon in the Context : Towards its Functional Adaptability*, in *The Cult of Saints in the Balkans*, II, ed. M. DETELIĆ, in *Liceum*, 7 (2002), pp. 41-60 (in Serbian), originally presented in English at the International conference *The Intertwining of Cultural Influences : Medieval and Baroque Art from Budapest to Kotor*, April 7-8, 2001, University College, London.

(9) For a survey see C. GROZDANOV, *Étude de la peinture dans Sainte Sophie d'Ohrid*, in *Études sur la peinture d'Ohrid*, Skopje, 1990, pp. 24-34, fig. 1 (in Macedonian). Also see H. MAGUIRE, *Icons of Their Bodies. Saints and Their Images in Byzantium*, Princeton, 1996, pp. 80-85.

(10) V. N. LAZAREV, *Istoria vizantijskoi zhivopisi*, Moskva, 1986, pp. 80-81 ; S. RADOJČIĆ, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten ochrider Malerei*, in *Zbor.* 8-2 (1964), pp. 355-382 ; V. J. DJURIĆ, *Byzantine Frescoes in Yugoslavia*, Belgrade, 1974, pp. 9-11 (in Serbian) ; A. LIDOV, *Obraz "Khrista arkhierea" v ikonograficheskom programme Sofii okhridskoi*, in *Zograf*, 17 (1986), pp. 5-19. Also see A. LIDOV, *Byzantine Church Decoration and the Great Schism of 1054*, in *Byz.*, 68 (1998), pp. 381-405.

11th c. – the archbishop Leo of Ohrid ([11]) decisively influenced content of the painted programme of St Sophia church ([12]). But it is the central part of the *Communion of the Apostles* (Fig. 1) that makes me pose the question : why did the painter distinguish only St Peter, crushing the symmetric outlook of the scene ? Although some authors spoke of two symmetrical groups of apostles ([13]), St Peter is however the only one represented gesturing (in prayer ?) with unusually lowered bare arms with outstretched hands, while all the other apostles raise hands covered under their mantles ([14]). Was it just a feature intended to break the monotonous unified sequence of apostles or specially conceived symbolic image without a precedent ?

If we take a look at dozens of similar scenes in Byzantine art, we shall find no exact analogy. On the contrary, the Communion scenes generally

(11) J. MEYENDORF, *Leo of Ochrid*, in *ODB*, 2, p. 1215 ; R. CORMACK, *Byzantine Art*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 122-126.

(12) R. LJUBINKOVIĆ, *Les influences de la vie politique contemporaine sur la décoration des églises d'Ohrid*, in *Actes du XII^e Congrès internationale d'études byzantines*, III, Belgrade, 1963, p. 221 ; A. GRABAR, *Deux témoignages archéologiques sur l'autocéphalie d'une église : Prespa et Ohrid*, in *Zbor.* 8-2 (1963), pp. 163-168 ; A. GRABAR, *Les peintures murales dans le choeur de Sainte-Sophie d'Ohrid*, in *CA*, 15 (1965), pp. 257-263 ; C. GROZDANOV, *Rittrati di sei papi nella cattedrale di Sancta Sophia a Ochrida*, in *Balcanica*, 2/1 (1983), pp. 3-11 ; A. M. LIDOV, *Christ the Priest in Byzantine Church Decoration of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, in *Acts. XVIII^th International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Selected Papers, Moscow 1991.* Volume III : *Art History, Architecture, Music*, Shepherdstown, 1996, pp. 162-164 ; Sh. E. J. GERSTEL, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries. Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary*, Seattle-London, 1999, pp. 58-59. Also see A. WHARTON-EPSTEIN, *The Political Content of the Paintings of Saint Sophia at Ohrid*, in *JÖB*, 29 (1980), pp. 315-329, with the notion that the portraits of SS Cyrill and Clemens of Ohrid are absent from St Sophia paintings. However, that their portraits have been included in the 11th c. program of St Sophia, was shown by C. GROZDANOV, *Apparition et introduction des portraits de Clément d'Ohrid dans l'art médiéval*, in *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske*, 3 (1967), pp. 49-58 ; C. GROZDANOV, *Le Martyrologe de l'Évangile d'Aseman et la peinture murale ancienne de Macédoine*, in *Eodem*, 21 (1985), pp. 18-26 (both in Serbian).

(13) RADOJČIĆ, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten ochrider Malerei*, p. 360.

(14) On gestures see K. WESSEL, *Gesten*, in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, II, pp. 766-783 ; E. BAKALOVA, *Function and symbolism of gestures in medieval art*, in *Izkustvo*, 5 (1989), pp. 2-9 (in Bulgarian) ; B. KÖTTING, *Geste und Gebärde*, in *RAC*, col. 895-902.

FIG. 1. — Communion of apostles, St Sophia in Ohrid, ca 1050 (after V. J. Djurić)

follow steady symmetric schemes ([15]). As the closest analogy for the Ohrid scene there has been shown the headpiece miniature from the manuscript *Stavrou* 109 which, except for the Christ's figure, does not match the Ohrid apostles really ([16]). The apostles in the miniature are obviously shown densely gathered in two parallel groups, while in the Ohrid fresco they are painted in line, one by one. What may be deduced from the vast material is that something must have been intentional about the Ohrid Communion, especially viewing, on the one hand, the rigid "bilateral symmetry" of the angels painted on the lateral walls of the sanctuary mirroring one another and, on the other hand, the varied apostle figures in the Ascension scene ([17]). Hands covered under a mantle are usually understood as an old gesture of prayer expressing utmost respect for the holy ([18]). The uncovered arms of St Peter may be taken as a sign of a special importance or of a person's more privileged position, as it was recently proposed for the gestures in *Coisl.* 79 ([19]). But this is the very

(15) KAZHDAN and CUTLER, *Symmetry*, p. 1989 emphasize that the Communion is the perfect example for symmetry in art.

(16) WHARTON-EPSTEIN, *The Political Content of the Paintings of Saint Sophia at Ohrid*, p. 320, fig. 7.

(17) RADOJČIĆ, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten ochrider Malerei*, p. 361 ; MAGUIRE, *Icons of Their Bodies*, p. 84.

(18) L. BRÉHIER, *Les institutions de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris, 1970, pp. 61, 143, 163.

(19) I. KALAVREZOU, *Ceremony*, in *ODB*, 1, p. 402.

point where the problem lies : would Leo of Ohrid, the author of the notorious encyclic letters against the West and the instigator of harsh polemics with the Rome, dare emphasize St Peter in such an acclamatory manner in his own cathedral ([20]) ? So the question is : what was the meaning of St Peter's being unusually emphasized ?

The gestures of St Peter may resemble a sort of prayer called *inclinatio plena* or inclination of bust, appropriate if one is attending a church service, and especially during consecration of bread and wine, during reciting of the Credo and while standing in front of an image of Christ or a saint ([21]). In that sense St Peter's gestures would be in accord with the liturgical context of the fresco. But what makes St Peter's position more difficult are the gestures of all the other figures in the scene, bearing in mind that the Christ's gesture, seemingly blessing the right group of apostles, cannot be pressed, being but a way of blessing all the present in front of him. Nevertheless, from a beholder's angle the combination of all the elements in the Ohrid Communion scene provides access to clear semiotic distinction with Christ turned away from St Peter, blessing, as it may seem, towards the apostolic group led by Paul. If we recall the famous apsis scene from the Sta Constanza in Rome, we see the figures only of Christ and of St Peter, with Peter on the Christ's *right* side, where the Lord passes on his legacy *only* to the bishop of Rome ([22]). On the other hand, SS Peter and Paul have been treated in an identical way in another Rome church, at Sta Pudenziana, where the two, although made prominent amongst other apostles, are blessed by Christ in a balanced manner ([23]). The fact that St Peter was represented in the Ohrid Communion scene with no direct analogy needs an elaborate explanation, especially since his gesture *only* resembles the inclinatio plena prayer (Fig. 2).

The renewed christological disputes in the 12th c. between the Rome and the Constantinople are known to have produced new themes in church programmes, such is the Officiating bishops ([24]). St Basil's liturgy, the

(20) For Leo's encyclical letters see *PG*, 120, 836 sq.

(21) J. C. SCHMITT, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris, 1990, pp. 305-307.

(22) W. OAKESHOTT, *The Mosaics of Rome. From the Third to the Fourteenth Centuries*, Belgrade, 1977, p. 60, fig. 40 (in Serbian).

(23) *Idem*, pp. 61-62, fig. 42-45 .

(24) G. BABIĆ, *Les discussions christologiques du XII*ème *siècle et l'apparition de nouvelles scènes dans le décor absidal des églises byzantines*, in *Zbornik za*

FIG. 2. — Communion of apostles (detail), St Sophia in Ohrid, ca 1050 (after V. J. Djurić)

prototype of the theme, was painted on the north wall of the Ohrid St Sophia sanctuary, as the new original composition bound to immediate historical context, where the eucharistic bread laid on the altar table is but identically shaped as the one held by Christ in the Communion scene ([25]). Drastic difference in gestures between St Peter and the other apostles in the Ohrid Communion do recall another possible symbolic meaning, separating the covered from the naked hands. Knowing the importance of the right and left side in iconography ([26]), and of the specific form of the bread in Christ's hand, the Ohrid Communion scene therefore may have

*likovne umetnosti Matice srpske*, 2, 1966, pp. 11-31 (in Serbian) ; EADEM, *Les discussions christologiques et le décor des églises byzantines au XII^me^ siècle. Les évêques officiant devant l'Hetimasie et devant l'Amnos*, in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, II, Berlin, 1968, pp. 368-386.

(25) DJURIĆ, *Byzantine Frescoes in Yugoslavia*, pp. 9-11.

(26) See E. DINKLER and V. SCHUBERT, *Rechts und Links*, in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, III, col. 511-515 ; *Right and Left. Essays on Dual Symbolic Classification*, ed. R. NEEDHAM, Chicago-London, 1973 ; B. CVETKOVIĆ, *Christianity and Royalty : The Touch of the Holy*, pp. 351-357, fig. 2-5.

been a disguised comment of the Byzantine ecclesiastics over one of the main topics of the 11th Century Schism, namely, the eucharistic bread (27). The gesture of the crossed and covered hands of all the other apostles in the scene may have signified the throne, i.e. the bishopric sea, as an old known symbol (28) : if this is the way we should understand St Peter's gestures, with the Constantinopolitan bishops prominently displayed in the main apsis (29), then the symbolic context of its decoration must have had multilayered significance, seemingly put one step further. It may have alluded the primacy in defending the basic dogmas of the Orthodoxy were being taken over from St Peter's see (Rome) by that of St Paul's, the New Rome (Constantinople) (30).

The gestural isolation of St Peter's figure in the Ohrid Communion scene brings forth ideas connected to the very polemics of the time, perfectly matching the apparent "Petrine physiognomy" of the popes represented in diaconicon apsis (31). Deciphering the sense of a religious scene and its allegorical or symbolical meaning lay deep in foundations of the Byzantine way of thinking, from Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagite to Nicholas Mesarites (32). There were no haphazard details in iconography, so the artists always painted on purpose (33). If we bring to mind the gestures of the king David repenting in front of the prophet Nathan (34), or of the repenting Byzantine emperor Leo VI (?) from the famous mosaic in St Sophia in Constantinople (35), then St Peter's figure might most

(27) J. MEYENDORF, *Azymes*, in *ODB*, 1, p. 241 ; GERSTEL, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries*, 47 et passim.

(28) J. D. ŞTEFANESCU, *L'Illustration des liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et l'Orient*, in *Annuaire IPHO*, III, Bruxelles, 1935, p. 446.

(29) RADOJČIĆ, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten ochrider Malerei*, p. 377 ; GERSTEL, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries*, pp. 58-59.

(30) A. KAZHDAN, *Primacy*, in *ODB*, 3, p. 1719 ; J. BRIA, *Dictionary of the Orthodox Theology*, Belgrade, 1999, pp. 424-428 (in Serbian).

(31) Already stated in WHARTON-EPSTEIN, *The Political Content of the Paintings of Saint Sophia at Ohrid*, p. 321.

(32) V. BICHKOV, *Byzantine Aesthetics. Theoretical Problems*, Belgrade, 1991, pp. 104, 147, 224-225.

(33) *Idem*, pp. 229, 308.

(34) C. GROZDANOV, *La peinture murale d'Ohrid au XIVe siècle*, Ohrid, 1980, pp. 73-74 (in Macedonian).

(35) N. OIKONOMIDES, *Leo VI and the Narthex Mosaic of Saint Sophia*, in *DOP*, 30 (1976), pp. 151-172. For a revised interpretation see CORMACK, *Byzantine Art*, pp. 122-125.

convincingly resemble a man in repentance. If so, he may have been shown, compared to the other apostles in the Ohrid Communion scene, renouncing and repenting as a symbolic comment of the Ohrid prelates over the Schism issue, with St Peter as temporal and topographical symbol of the *other side*. It would by no means have been impossible resolution of this particular sort of St Peter's symbolic usage, having in mind the seriousness of the Schism ([36]), but also the results of the recent research of the Christ's gestures ([37]), of the disguised symbolism generally practised in Byzantium and the neighbouring countries ([38]), and of the important analogies where Judas leads the left group of the apostles in the Communion scene, as in Arilje ([39]).

However, the symbolic context of St Peter in the Ohrid Communion scene could not have been the one way message for the educated, while being "obscure for the lower clergy and common laity" ([40]), not only because of St Peter's direct usage in known antiheretical commentaries, as the Khludov psalter (St Peter trampling over Simon the Magician) ([41]). Given that St Peter's gestures are close to the ones already mentioned (repenting king David and Leo VI), and with a number of proskynesis

(36) P. J. ALEXANDER, *The Donation of Constantine at Byzantium and its Earliest Use Against the Western Empire*, in *Zbor.* 8-1 ; J. MEYENDORF, *Filioque*, in *ODB*, 2, p. 985 ; P. A. HOLLINGSWORTH, *Donation of Constantine*, in *ODB*, 1, pp. 648-649 ; J. MEYENDORF, *Schism*, in *ODB*, 3, pp. 1850-1851 ; BRIA, *Dictionary of the Orthodox Theology*, pp. 448-456.

(37) See I. KALAVREZOU, *Irregular Marriages in the Eleventh Century and the Zoe and Constantine Mosaic in Hagia Sophia*, in *Law and Society in Byzantium : Ninth-Twelfth Centuries*, ed. A. E. LAIOU and D. SIMON, Washington D.C, 1994, pp. 241-259.

(38) See I. KALAVREZOU, N. TRAHOULIA and Sh. SABAR, *Critique of the Emperor in the Vatican Psalter Gr. 752*, in *DOP*, 47 (1993), pp. 195-219 ; B. CVETKOVIĆ, *Model and Message : On the Usage of Art*, in *XX^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Collège de France - Sorbonne, 19-25 août 2001. Pré-actes. III. Communications libres*, Paris, 2001, p. 407.

(39) D. VOJVODIĆ, *Wall Paintings of the Church of Saint Achilleos in Arilje*, Belgrade, 2005, pp. 134-135, 282-283, fig. 3-4 (the figure of Judas is marked by the omission of nimbus).

(40) GERSTEL, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries*, p. 47.

(41) A. GRABAR, *L'Iconoclasme byzantin. Dossier archéologique*, Paris, 1943, pp. 214-133 ; K. CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics in Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters*, passim ; CORMACK, *Byzantine Art*, pp. 99-102.

examples of prostrate *ktetors* (42), drives discussion over its meaning even further.

The Ohrid Communion scene itself brings forth new arguments, since the leavened eucharistic bread held in the Christ's left hand is obviously not divided yet, as well as the one in the scene of St Basil's liturgy (43). With such central theme surrounded by legions of patriarchs, archbishops and popes from all Christianity, it thus becomes possible to understand St Peter's figure as the learned way of Leo of Ohrid to stress the Eastern arguments during christological polemics with the popes of Rome. Therefore, the whole sanctuary programme should be taken as the positivist comment attempting at redefining the Christ's church with all its constituent parts, whereas the leavened eucharistic bread, prepared for the communion but still not divided, might allude to the church unity.

The unusual St Peter's figure is but a construct of several possible models. Firstly, the basis must have been the Gospel context of St Peter's denial, as perfect background for polemical treatise of Leo of Ohrid. The illustrations of Peter's denials, e.g. in Staro Nagoričino (painted 1315-1317) (44) and Pološko (painted 1343-1345) (45) (bearing in mind that Peter has his hands against the flame to warm himself up), or in much older and more famous Khludov psalter (46), do provide analogies with St Peter's gestures in the Ohrid Communion scene. Contextual analogies, though disguised, must also have been Judas and his eucharistic betrayal, often employed in Byzantine illustrations of the Communion of the apostles (47) and of the Last Supper (48), but also the gestures of the

(42) See I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden, 1976, fig. 2, 16-18, 26, 45, 52.

(43) RADOJČIĆ, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten ochrider Malerei*, p. 359-360 ; R. LJUBINKOVIĆ, *La peinture murale en Serbie et en Macédoine aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, in *Études d'histoire de l'art et de civilisation du Moyen âge*, Belgrade, 1982, p. 70. Also see M. RADUJKO, *L'Action d'élévation et de partage de l'Agneau dans la Communion des Apôtres de l'église de la Vierge à Kincvisi*, in *Zbor.*, 34 (1995), pp. 203-219.

(44) B. TODIĆ, *Staro Nagoričino*, Belgrade, 1993, fig. 50.

(45) DJURIĆ, *Byzantine Frescoes in Yugoslavia*, fig. 94.

(46) See M. V. SHCHEPKINA, *Miniatjury Khludovskoi psaltiri*, Moscow, 1977 (miniature illustrating Psalm 38, 13 on fol. 38v).

(47) GERSTEL, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries*, pp. 63-66.

(48) M. ČANAK-MEDIĆ and B. TODIĆ, *Monastery of Žiča*, Belgrade, 1999, p. 41 (in Serbian).

participants from illustrations of the Mocking of Christ ([49]). The direct pictorial analogies extend as far as the examples of the repenting king David, especially the ones from St Sophia and St Nicholas Bolnički in Ohrid ([50]), or the prostrate ktetors, such is the Basil's portrait from the manuscript Megali Panagia I, with an inscription explicitly stressing his own sins and vices ([51]).

In the end, it is important to note the possible liturgical sources for the gesture of St Peter in the Ohrid Communion. The readings for the Holy Week do make repeated mention of Judas betraying Christ and of St Peter denying of Christ as well. The evening service for the Holy Wednesday, when speaking of Judas' corrupt communion, provides the analogous image of the St Peter's gestures : there the hands of Judas are "stretched out" as St Peter's arms are stretched out in the Ohrid painting ([52]). The images of Judas and of St Peter have been connected already in the service readings. In the matins for the Holy Friday one reads of the "image of Judas, of the "twelve sheep and pupils" and of St Peter's triple Denial, who but brings forth *the tears of repentance* to the Lord, saying : "Oh God, purify me and save me" ([53]). Exactly those images of St Peter's denial and of Judas are found on the margins of the Khludov psalter, as learned comments on their moral inadequacies ([54]).

Since the Byzantine emperor Philippicus Bardanes commanded destruction of the wall paintings representing the 6th Ecumenical Synod ([55]), the Ohrid Communion scene with its ecclesiastical context is something expected in its own time. Conversely, the iconography of the

(49) TODIĆ, *Staro Nagoričino*, fig. 63.

(50) GROZDANOV, *La peinture murale d'Ohrid au XIV^e siècle*, pp. 69, 73-75 ; G. SUBOTIĆ, *L'École de peinture d'Ohrid au XV^e siècle*, Belgrade, 1980, pp. 105-107 (in Serbian).

(51) SPATHARAKIS, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 58, fig. 26.

(52) *Lenten Triodion*, Moscow, 1811, f. 447 ; *Great Typicon*, Belgrade, 1984, p. 187.

(53) *Lenten Triodion*, f. 470.

(54) See M. V. SHCHEPKINA, *Miniatjury Khludovskoi psaltiri* (miniature illustrating Psalm 38, 13 on fol. 38v, and miniature illustrating Psalm 39, 15 on fol. 40v).

(55) C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453. Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, 1972, p. 141.

two leading apostles and their symbolism developed in a quite fruitful way in the later history ([56]).

* * *

I would like to point out several other examples of the intentional asymmetry in the Byzantine and medieval Serbian painting. In the Saviour's church of the Mileševa monastery, Southwestern Serbia (nave frescoed by the Thessalonican masters in 1225-1228), the major asymmetric rendering is to be seen on the western pair of pillars in the nave ([57]). The eastern surface of the southwest pillar is painted with a gigantic standing figure of *St Stephen the Protomartyr* (Fig. 3), the protector of the Serbian royal dynasty, which is twice larger than the other figures of saints or historic portraits ([58]). St Stephen is facing identically giant figure of Christ painted at the southern side of the templon barrier, paired with also large figure of the Virgin Paraklissa, shown at the northern side of the altar. Two facts can explain the enormous St Stephen's figure, the only one of the size in the nave. Firstly, it stresses the traditional place of the royal throne set beneath, and secondly, it asymmetrically mirrors the portraits of *SS Boris and Gleb*, painted on the opposite northeastern pillar, in the second zone, above SS Theodore Tiro and Theodore Stratelates (Fig. 4). The visual connection of St Stephen's figure with the figures of SS Boris and Gleb is strenghtened by the twofold scene of the Christ's Presentation to the Temple, painted above. The fresco icons of the Russian martyrs Boris and Gleb appeared in Serbian painting for the first and only time in Mileševa, due to the unique-

(56) MAGUIRE, *Icons of Their Bodies*, p. 56 ; GERSTEL, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries*, pp. 59-63 ; A. DAVIDOV-TEMERINSKI, *Concordia apostolorum : the Representation of the Embrace of Peter and Paul in the Church of Sts Apostles at Mušnik near Prizren*, in *Post-Byzantine Art in Balkans*. International Conference, in *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti*, 32-33, Vol. I (2003), pp. 85-105 (in Serbian).

(57) For Mileševa see S. RADOJČIĆ, *Mileševa*, Belgrade, 1963 (in Serbian) and articles in *Mileševa dans l'histoire du peuple serbe*, ed. V. J. DJURIĆ, Belgrade, 1987.

(58) D. VOJVODIĆ, *Contribution to Understanding of the Iconography and Cult of St. Stephen in Byzantium and Serbia*, in *Mural Painting of Monastery of Dečani. Material and Studies*, ed. V. J. DJURIĆ, Belgrade, 1995, pp. 537-563 (in Serbian).

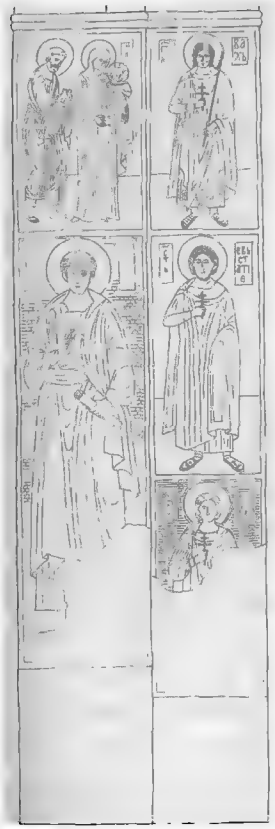

FIG. 3. — Southwest pillar, Mileševa, 1225-1228 (after B. Živković)

FIG. 4. — Northwest pillar, Mileševa, 1225-1228 (after B. Živković)

ness of their fate. The choice was evidently made by St Sava of Serbia, the actual Serbian archbishop of the time, the uncle of the *ktetor* and the creator of the Mileševa iconography ([59]). Introducing the unique icons of SS Boris and Gleb in the Mileševa fresco program, St Sava vividly expressed

(59) For St Sava as the creator of the Mileševa fresco programme, see : V. J. DJURIĆ, *La dynastie serbe et Byzance sur les fresques à Mileševa*, in *Zograf*, 22, 1992, 23-25 (in Serbian).

his deepest concern on the fratricide destiny of the ruling family in Serbia, which he unfortunately proved unable to prevent ([60]).

Crucial historic events were often reflected in programs of the major city or monastery churches. These were sometimes achieved with symmetrical or even opposing disposition of certain figures but of different or asymmetric categories. The exquisite feature of the Mileševa fresco program is in the narthex, where the portrait of the Serbian king *Stephen the First-Crowned* on the north wall faces that of the Byzantine Emperor *Alexios III Angelos*, the father-in-law of the former, on the south ([61]). The first turns eastward and is dressed as a Byzantine dignitary, unlike the second, shown frontally and clad in imperial attire. Though asymmetric, their opposing portraits pointed out newly risen status of the early Nemanides, showing Serbian king directly related by blood to the Byzantine Emperor.

In a similar way important ecclesiastical and political facts of the Byzantine Ohrid archbishopric seat influenced iconography of the frescoes painted on both sides of the templon in the church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid, Southwestern Macedonia (painted 1294/1295). The *apostles Peter and Andrew* were painted on the south wall facing local saints, *Clemens of Ohrid and Constantine Cabasilas*, shown on the northern wall in front of the templon barrier, stressing the facts of the old autocephalous status of the Ohrid archbishopric see ([62]).

The opposition of the Serbian medieval élite to the church union of Lyon in 1271 led even to deposition of the actual archbishop Danilo I ([63]). Conversely, the ideas of defending orthodoxy were reflected in the fresco programme of the Trinity church in the monastery of Sopoćani, Southwestern Serbia (nave and narthex painted *ca* 1276). The special

(60) I. M. DJORDJEVIĆ, *Representations of SS Boris and Gleb in Mileševa and Serbian-Russian Connections in the First Half of the 13th Century*, in *Saint Sava in Serbian History and Tradition*, ed. S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, Belgrade, 1998, pp. 295-307 (in Serbian).

(61) For the most recent identification of the Byzantine emperor with Alexios III Angelos, see B. CVETKOVIĆ, *Byzantine Emperor and Frescoes in Mileševa Narthex*, in *Balcanica*, 32-33 (2003), pp. 297-310 (in Serbian).

(62) B. TODIĆ, *Frescoes in the Virgin Peribleptos Church Referring to the Origins of the Archbishopric of Ohrid*, in *Zbor.* 39 (2001/2002), pp. 147-163 (in Serbian).

(63) M. ANTONOVIĆ, *Sur les causes de la destitution de l'archevêque Danilo Ier*, in *Zbor.* 34 (1995), pp. 107-116 (in Serbian).

accent given to the *apostle Andrew* (64) (in two scenes in the altar and in the northern choir), with asymmetrically positioned Serbian Synod among Ecumenical Councils, expose the Sopoćani frescoes as deeply influenced by the antiunionist policy (65). Such an example bear witness of high intellectual climate of the medieval élites, especially viewing the opposite situation, as in Our Lady church near Kotor, South Montenegro. Painted in 1451, after the Florence-Ferrara Union of 1439/1440 was agreed upon, its frescoes have mixed Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox iconography, and inscriptions in Latin, Greek and Old Serbian (66).

The images of the holy doctors were often painted at window sides in medieval wall paintings. But the asymmetric rendering of the busts of *SS Kosmas and Damianos* in the King's church (painted 1314-1318) at the monastery of Studenica, Central Serbia, as I showed it elsewhere, has no parallels (67). The anargyroi were not shown frontally as was usual, but completely turned to the portraits below (Fig. 5 a-b), where the ktetors, king Milutin and queen Simonis, stand offering the model of their foundation to the patrons (68). The small chapel devoted to SS Joachim and Anna has been interpreted as a votive gift of the royal couple faced with their dynastic marriage being barren. Symbolically compared to Joachim and Anna, the Serbian royal couple aimed to be granted God's mercy as the Virgin's parents had been after their long and sincere prayers (69).

(64) On the role of the Apostle Andrew during the conflicts between Rome and Constantinople over the primacy of the Christian archbishoprics see F. DVORNIK, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of Apostle Andrew*, in *DOS*, IV, Cambridge MA, 1958.

(65) B. TODIĆ, *Apostle Andrew and Serbian Archbishops on the Frescoes of Sopoćani*, in *Papers of the Third Byzantine Studies Conference*, ed. Lj. MAKSIMOVIĆ, N. RADOŠEVIĆ and E. RADULOVIĆ, Belgrade-Kruševac, 2002, pp. 361-379 (in Serbian).

(66) V. J. DJURIĆ, *Dans l'ombre de l'union de Florence : l'église de la Sainte-Vierge à Mržep (Bouches de Kotor)*, in *Zbor.* 35 (1996), pp. 9-56 (in Serbian).

(67) For the study on unusual iconography of the *anargyroi* in Studenica see B. CVETKOVIĆ, *König Milutin und die Parakklesiai des Hl. Joachim und der Hl. Anna im Kloster Studenica*, in *Balcanica*, 26 (1995), pp. 251-276.

(68) For unusual almost spatial treatment of the figures, see L. HADERMANN-MISGUICH, *Aspects de l'ambiguïté spatiale dans la peinture monumentale byzantine*, in *Zograf*, 22 (1992), pp. 4-11.

(69) CVETKOVIĆ, *König Milutin und die Parakklesiai des Hl. Joachim und der Hl. Anna im Kloster Studenica*, pp. 270-276.

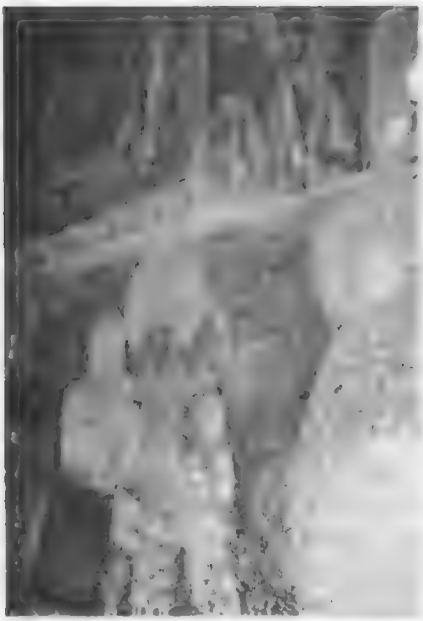

FIG. 5a. — St Kosmas, King's Church in Studenica, 1314-1318 (photo : B. Cvetković)

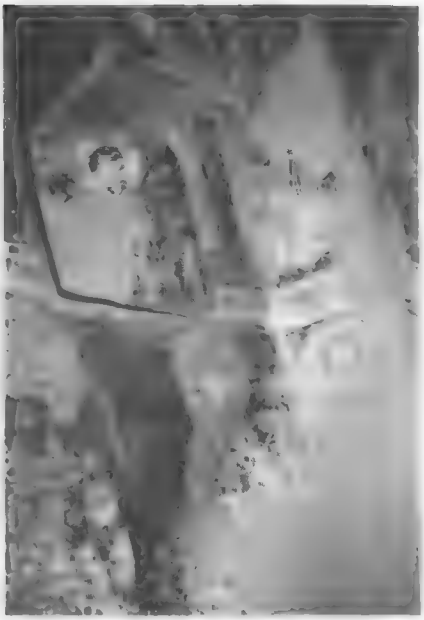

FIG. 5b. — St Damianos, King's Church in Studenica, 1314-1318 (photo : B. Cvetković)

Another interesting detail of the King's church wall paintings is found in the holy altar. *The Communion of the Apostles* (Fig. 6) is painted in the apsis in two symmetrical parts, with Christ shown twice ([70]), on the left giving his body (bread) to the apostles, and on the right his blood (wine) ([71]). The altar tables, also shown twice, are covered with identical elaborately adorned textile weaved as a net of medallions with inscribed stylized floral motifs. There is but only one asymmetric medallion, with the classical motive of fleur-de-lys, a heraldic lily, painted on the left (northern) part of the scene in between Christ and St Peter. The lily has often had clear Marian and christological symbolism ([72]). But why was it

(70) G. BABIC, *L'Église du Roi à Studenica*, Belgrade, 1987, fig. VIII-XI (in Serbian).

(71) For Communion scenes see CORMACK, *Writing in Gold*, pp. 31-33.

(72) E. REVEL-NEHER, *L'Arche d'alliance dans l'art juif et chrétien du second au dixième siècles. Le signe de la rencontre*, Paris, 1984, pp. 54-55 :

FIG. 6. — Communion of apostles, King's Church in Studenica, 1314-1318 (after G. Babić)

inserted at the Communion scene at all, painted on St Peter's side and not on St John's ? Did it therefore have any particular meaning ? Was it a pure theological speculation or an ecclesiastical metaphor of a painter ? Was it a comment alluding to the King's mother, Queen Jelena d'Anjou, to her apparent Roman Catholic and Western origin ? The motive of fleur-de-lys, a heraldic lily, is to be seen obviously emphasized in her own foundation, the monastery of Gradac, Southwestern Serbia. There it is shown held by St Tryphon, whose figure was painted on the northern wall of the western bay, above the sarcophagus of the Queen (73).

E. MERCENIER, *La prière des églises de rite byzantin*, II, 1, *Fêtes fixes*, Chevetogne, 1962, pp. 219, 220, et passim ; *Psalmes*, 2,1 : 2,2. For a Serbian source on lily see *Six writers of XIV Century*, ed. D. BOGDANOVIĆ, Belgrade, 1986, pp. 299-300. Also, see K. VAJCMAN, M. HADŽIDAKIS and S. RADOJČIĆ, *Icons*, Belgrade, 1986, p. 136, fig. 131 (in Serbian) with the famous Cretan icon painted by E. Tzanes showing St Anne and the Virgin with a lily.

(73) D. POPOVIĆ, *The Royal Tomb in Medieval Serbia*, Belgrade, 1992, pp. 85-86 (in Serbian). On St Tryphon's iconography, see S. GABELIĆ, *From the Iconography of St. Tryphon*, in *Kulturno nasledstvo*, 28-29 (2002-2003), pp. 107-120.

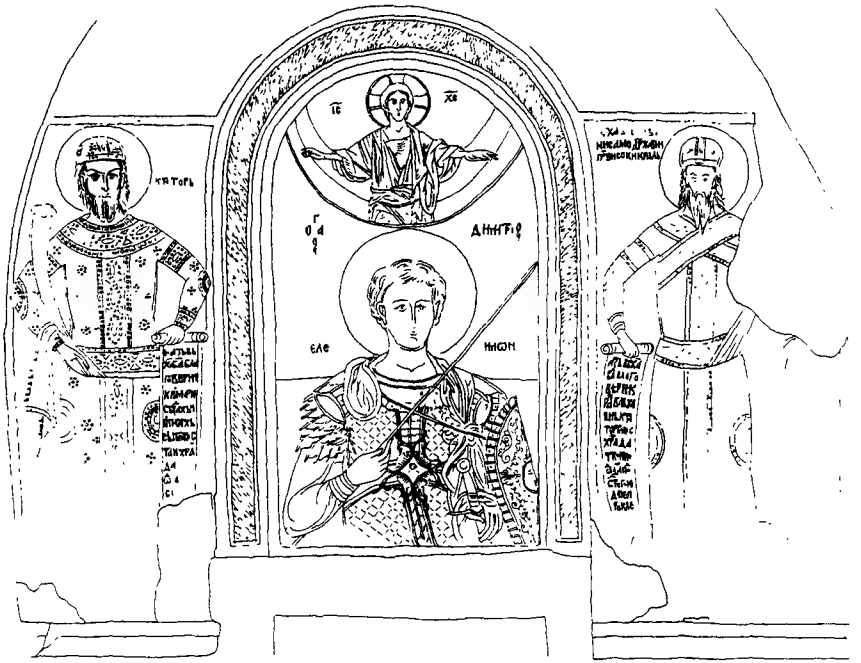

FIG. 7. — Royal portraits, Markov manastir, 1376 (after B. Živković)

Examples of intentional asymmetry are also detectable at Markov monastery, near Skopje, Northern Macedonia (painted in 1376). Although badly damaged, the founders' portraits in the northwestern part of the church do show their original structures and are at the same time the royal portraits. The Christ's bust is closer to the portrait of *king Marko* than to the portraits of his parents, the late *king Vukašin and queen Jelena* (74), what was earlier noted (75). But the asymmetry is more visible in the posture and gestures on the portraits of Marko and Vukašin painted above the door on the southern façade (Fig. 7). Shown with a long horn in his right and with a charter scroll in his left hand, *king Marko* was

(74) N. NOŠPAL-NIKULJSKA, *On Ktitor's Composition and Inscription in Marko's Monastery, village Sušica, Skopsko*, in *Glasnik Instituta za nacionalna istorija*, 15 (1976), pp. 227, 231, fig. 1 (in Macedonian).

(75) See CVETKOVIĆ, *Christianity and Royalty : The Touch of the Holy*, pp. 353-354.

identified as the New David, the one anointed with the holy chrism, being ruler of a newly founded dynasty ([76]). What formerly has escaped attention is the damaged figure of the *king Vukašin*, also shown holding a charter scroll, but in his right hand instead. The left one is now totally destroyed, and from a small particle of his *loros* it is clear that originally the king must have been represented rising his left arm high. The gesture does not match his son's, shown lowered along the body line and the long horn. What the old king was shown with in his left hand probably will never be known. Was it a cruciform scepter or a small martyr's cross, a sign of his death at the Marica battle in 1371 ? Did he hold anything at all ? Having in mind that the late king deliberately chose St Demetrius as the patron saint of his monastery, as his own Christian name had been "king Dimitrije" ([77]), the gesture on the fresco, whatever it may have looked like, must had been connected to the idea of Vukašin as the New Demetrius. It is plausible as St Demetrius painted in bust in the niche above the door turns towards king Vukašin. Also, it has been shown that the cult of St Demetrius with the Serbs and other Slav nations was always used when stately matters were at issue ([78]). The king Marko as the exponent of a new dynasty needed such a dense asymmetric iconography in a moment when rebellious nobility from the North of the state had refused to acknowledge his accession to the throne ([79]).

The asymmetric positioning of the portraits of *kings Marko and Vukašin* is also found in the Archangels monastery (painted after 1371) in

(76) V. J. Djurić, *Trois événements dans l'état serbe du XIV^e siècle et leur incidence sur la peinture de l'époque*, in *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti Matice srpske*, 4 (1968), pp. 87-97 ; S. Marjanović-Dušanić, *Rex imago Dei : Sur une version serbe du Miroir de Prince d'Agapetos*, in *Papers of the Third Byzantine Studies Conference*, ed. Lj. Maksimović, N. Radošević and E. Radulović, Belgrade-Kruševac, 2002, pp. 135-148 (both in Serbian).

(77) I. Djurić, *Mémorial du Protaton de Mont Athos de la fin du XIV^e siècle*, in *Zbor.* 20 (1981), p. 160 (in Serbian).

(78) See D. Obolenski, *The Cult of St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki in the History of Byzantine-Slav Relations*, in *Balkan Studies*, 15 (1974), pp. 3-16 ; B. Cvetković, *Frescoes from the Western Bay of St Demetrius Church in the Patriarchate of Peć and King Milutin's Cult*, in *Art Studies Quarterly Sofia*, 4 (2000), pp. 3-9 (in Serbian).

(79) I. M. Djordjević, *The Representation of King Marko on the South Façade of the Church St. Demetrius in the Marko's Monastery*, in *King Marko in History and Tradition*, Prilep, 1997, pp. 299-308 (in Serbian).

their own capital, the city of Prilep, Central Macedonia ([80]). The God's hand is differently applied as a symbol ([81]) and it is notable that Marko's portrait was painted much higher than Vukašin's, what may have pointed out his being the late ex-king. The asymmetry is obvious in the church interior too (painted ca 1275). On the northern wall of the western bay, in the second zone under the dome, the whole semicircular area was covered with the *Miracle at Chonae* only, which is twice larger than the other scenes of the Archangels cycle. This was the best way to emphasize the scene as one of the most important miracles of the Archangel Michael ([82]).

Topography of a fresco ensemble is a field of numerous interesting settings. It is well known that the figures of the holy martyrs are mostly found on arches and pillars, according to their prophylactic symbolism ([83]). Similarly, the *holy stylites* were mostly painted on lunettes, pillars and capitals, following the motive which was common for this category of saints ([84]). In some cases the half-figures of the *holy hermits* were mostly shown at inner sides of windows, e.g. in St George at Kurbinovo, St Archangels in Prilep or Saviour's church in Mesembria. The Dormition church of the Ljubostinja monastery, Central Serbia (painted *ca* 1415), is in this sense quite interesting ([85]). Here we find the asymmetric rendering of frescoes supported by asymmetric architectural setting, which brings into discussion whether and to what extent architects and painters worked close in conceiving a church plan ([86]). Namely, the opposite doors of the

(80) S. MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ, *The Rulers' Insignia and the State Symbolism of Medieval Serbia*, Belgrade, 1994, p. 64 (in Serbian).

(81) As shown in CVETKOVIĆ, *Christianity and Royalty* : *The Touch of the Holy*, p. 364, fig. 7, where God's Hand places the crown on king Marko's head, but only blesses towards king Vukašin's.

(82) S. GABELIĆ, *Cycles of the Archangels in Byzantine Art*, Begrade, 1991, pp. 103-111 (in Serbian) ; EADEM, *Byzantine and Postbyzantine Cycles of the Archangels (11th-18th Century). Corpus*, Belgrade, 2004, pp. 55-56, fig. 61-62.

(83) J. P. MIGNE, *Germani Historia ecclesiastica et mistica contemplatio*, in *PG* 98, col. 384.

(84) I. M. DJORDJEVIĆ, *Die Säule und die Säulenheiligen als hellenistisches Erbe in der byzantinischen und serbischen Wandmalerei*, in *JÖB*, 32/5 (1982), pp. 93-100.

(85) See B. CVETKOVIĆ, *La représentation de la dynastie des Lazarević dans le monastère de Ljubostinja et le problème de datation des peintures murales de Ljubostinja*, in *Saopštenja*, 37-38 (1995-1996), pp. 67-78 (in Serbian).

(86) See R. OUSTERHOUT, *Master Builders of Byzantium*, Princeton, 1999, passim.

northern and southern choirs in the Ljubostinja nave have been constructed in a totally different manner. The northern door is low, with a blind niche on its outer façade, while the southern door is almost double higher, with an open window above the door jamb. In such a situation the painters made use of the sides of the southern door and painted there the figures of *St Daniel the Stylite* and of *St Symeon Stylite* facing each other, along with the columns with large capitals which they were usually represented with. Contrary, at the sides of the northern door only *geometric decoration* was painted ([87]).

This asymmetric counter positioning of a stylite and of a decorative pattern is not unique. Another one is found in the *exonarthex* of the monastery of Sopoćani, painted 1338-1345. A special entrance iconography on the original western façade, involving royal portraits and various other symbolical representations, includes the holy ancestors of the second *ktetor*, king Dušan. The first on the north side is the dynasty founder, St Symeon Nemanja, in front of his grandson, St Symeon (the ex-king Uroš I and the first ktetor of Sopoćani) and the latter's wife, Queen Jelena d'Anjou ([88]). It has been recently identified that a figure of the Nemanja's holy namesake, *St Symeon the Stylite*, is painted beside him, on a narrow surface of the northern pillar ([89]). On the other side of the wall, on the corresponding narrow side surface of the southern pillar, although in front of the royal portraits, only a *decorative pattern* had been applied and not a saintly figure, witnessing that the painter did not have to put there any figure.

In the very *exonarthex* there is one more example of intentional iconographic asymmetry. A small compartment of the south porch leaning to the western wall of the chapel dedicated to St Symeon Nemanja, now has frescoes preserved only on its northern wall. In the first zone one can still detect figures of the three holy women, while in the semicircular zone

(87) See N. ANTIĆ-KOMNENOVIĆ, *The Painting of the Monastery of Ljubostinja*, in *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja*, 11-2 (1982), p. 30 ; S. DJURIĆ, *Ljubostinja*, Belgrade, 1985, p. 87, fig. VI-VII, fig. 22, 82-83 (both in Serbian).

(88) See V. J. DJURIĆ, *Sopoćani*, Belgrade, 1991, p. 160 (in Serbian).

(89) B. ŽIVKOVIĆ, *Sopoćani. Les dessins des fresques*, Begrade, 1984, p. 38 ; I. M. DJORDJEVIĆ, *King Dragutin's Chapel at Djurdjevi Stupovi*, in *Račanski zbornik*, 3 (1998), p. 51 ; I. DRPIĆ, *Three Scenes from the Cycle of Christ's Miracles and Public Ministry in the Sopoćani Exonarthex*, in *Saopštenja*, 34-2002 (2003), p. 109 (all in Serbian).

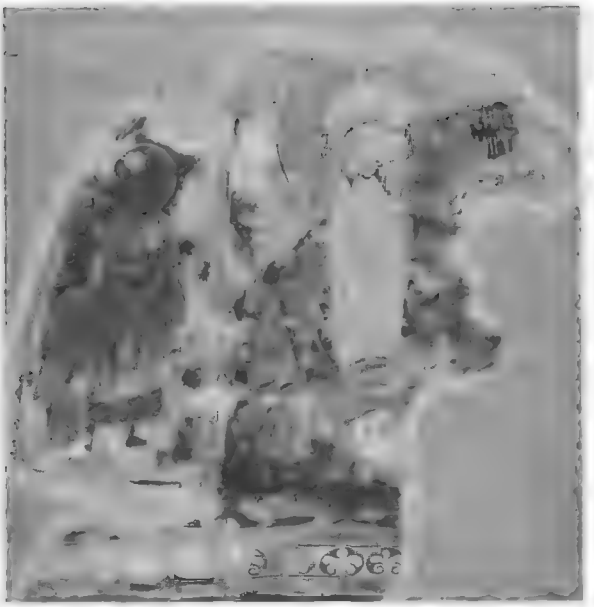

FIG. 8. — St Symeon Nemanja and St Demetrius, Sopoćani, ca 1345 (photo : Gallery of Frescoes in Belgrade)

above there is the huge bust of *St Symeon Nemanja* on the right, paired with tiny little figure of a saint, firstly identified as St Stephen ([90]). After a better calque has been done, it became evident that this saint had a small cross in his hand ([91]), which made scholars identify him as *St Demetrius* ([92]). With the programme consisted of the portraits of holy women and of the enormous icon of Nemanja (Fig. 8), the Serbian national saint venerated for being *myroblytos* ([93]), it may be concluded

(90) DJURIĆ, *Sopoćani*, pp. 160-162.

(91) ŽIVKOVIĆ, *Sopoćani. Les dessins des fresques*, p. 39.

(92) R. D. PETROVIĆ, *The Frescoes on the Southern Part of the Exonarthex of the Sopoćani Monastery from the XIV^th Century*, in *Novopazarski zbornik*, 25 (2001), pp. 69-76 (in Serbian).

(93) See : D. POPOVIĆ, *The Veneration of Simeon Nemanja as a Saint. A Contribution to the Study of the Cult of Relics Among Serbs*, in *Zbor.* 37 (1998), pp. 43-53 ; CVETKOVIĆ, *Frescoes from the Western Bay of St. Demetrius Church in the Patriarchate Peć and King Milutin's Cult*, pp. 3-9 (both in Serbian). For St Demetrius see CORMACK, *Writing in Gold*, p. 50 sq.

that the porch may have been conceived as a space defined for women to pray for their devotional or corporeal benefits (94).

An interesting asymmetric structuring of the main fresco cycle of the Lord's miracles and parables can be seen in the monastery church at Kalenić, Central Serbia (painted 1420-1425) (95). The two scenes are made at least twice larger than the others from the cycle, namely, the *Marriage at Canaa*, painted on the eastern side of the southern choir, and the *Multiplication of the Loaves*, covering the larger part of the same zone on the western wall of the nave. Illustrating Christ's first and most important miracle, the *Canaa* fresco was excellently visible to all present at the liturgy facing the altar, while the *Multiplication* scene attracted the attention of the faithful in the same manner, as they turn around to leave. The actual reason for making them larger than the other scenes was evidently liturgical, both being references to eucharist, symbolizing through images of wine (Christ's blood) and bread/fish (Christ's body) Christ's passion and its soteriological significance (96). In a more general sense of the popular devotion, the very positioning and large dimensions of the *Canaa* fresco had solid grounds in the orthodox wedding practice, where the story of the Marriage at Canaa is quoted during the service, while the blessed wine given by a priest to the bride and groom is compared to the miraculous wine at Christ's Canaa (97).

* * *

(94) R. TAFT, *Women at Church in Byzantium : Where, When and Why ?*, in *DOP*, 52 (1998), pp. 27-87 ; S. GERSTEL, *Painted Sources for Female Piety in Medieval Byzantium*, in *Eodem*, pp. 89-111 ; A.-M. TALBOT, *Women's Space in Byzantine Monasteries*, in *Eodem*, pp. 113-127.

(95) B. CVETKOVIĆ, *Inscription de Gérasime et ktitors du monastère de Kalenić*, in *Saopštenja*, 29 (1997), pp. 107-122 (in Serbian).

(96) D. SIMIĆ-LAZAR, *Kalenić et la dernière période de la peinture byzantine*, Skopje-Paris, 1995, pp. 102, 120-125, fig. XIV, 20. The two scenes are also emphasized in Chora, placed above the mosaic icons of Christ and the Virgin, see : R. OUSTERHOUT, *Temporal Structuring in the Chora Parekklesion*, in *Gesta*, 34/1 (1995), pp. 66-68.

(97) L. MIRKOVIĆ, *Orthodox Liturgics*, 2, Belgrade, 1983, pp. 137-138 (in Serbian).

I hope the above analyzed examples have additionally contributed to a better understanding of the authentic Byzantine sentiment and especially of the nuanced way medieval men expressed their subtle theological, ecclesiastical or political ideas. Only sometimes do the techniques they used look very close to our own today.

*Regional Museum*
*Jagodina (Serbia).*

Branislav CVETKOVIĆ.

# ORIENTAL COSTUMES AT THE BYZANTINE COURT. A REASSESSMENT

In the very first issue of *Byzantion* Nikolai Kondakov published a seminal work in the field of Byzantine dress studies, 'Costumes Orientaux à la cour Byzantine' (1). Ever since, that article has been cited, but it must be acknowledged that that is rather more because of the absence of critical attention to the subject area than necessarily on account of the article's own merits. This discipline is still embryonic, yet it is now in a period of new growth, and that makes this an appropriate moment to reassess Kondakov's theories.

Kondakov's primary purpose was to attempt to define the nature of one garment referred to frequently in the *Book of Ceremonies*, the *skaramangion*. He justly observed that the *skaramangion* "appears to be the most popular costume in Byzantium, especially at court" (2), and yet added significantly that it "was not attributed to anyone as a costume of honour characteristic of a rank" (3). This observation bears some elaboration, for its significance has not been properly appreciated, either by Kondakov or subsequent scholars (4). The *Klêtôrologion*, the earlier court manual

(1) N. P. KONDAKOV, *Costumes Orientaux à la Cour Byzantine*, in *Byz.*, I (1924), pp. 7-49.

(2) IDEM, p. 13.

(3) IDEM, p. 11.

(4) The only researcher of the twentieth century to give extensive attention to dress has been Elizabeth PILTZ, who did little to extend, or to elaborate on, prior work : *Trois Sakkoi Byzantines*, Stockholm, 1976 ; *Kamelaukion et Mitra : Insignes Byzantins Impériaux et Ecclésiastiques*, Stockholm, 1977 ; *Costume in Life and Death in Byzantium*, in *Byzantium and the North : Transactions of the Nordic research course in Byzantine art history*, Uppsala, 1989, pp. 153-165 ; *Le costume officiel des dignitaires byzantins à l'époque Paléologue* (*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*), Uppsala, 1994 ; *Middle Byzantine Court Costume*, in

which formed the kernel of the *Book of Ceremonies*, first indicates this, placing much more emphasis on accessories such as torques, batons and diptychs than on dress of any sort as emblems of rank, and certainly makes no mention of this garment in its essential prescriptive passages relating to the highest ranks (5).

Still more informative passages are to be found in the *Book of Ceremonies*. For example, on the day of the Festival of Lights, after attending a service in Hagia Sophia at which he must wear a *divêtêsion* and *tzitzakion*, the Emperor exchanges these for a *skaramangion* in order to go to dinner. At the same time the *Patrikioi* set aside their ceremonial robes (*ἀπαλλάσσουσι*) in favour of *skaramangia* (6).

Similarly, on the Saturday of Easter the *Spatharokoubikoularioi* and the *Koubikoularioi* going to dinner at the imperial tables, changing out of their ceremonial robes (*ἀπαλλάξαντες*), don *skaramangia* (7). On the same occasion as that just mentioned, the Emperor himself wears a white *skaramangion* with a gold border, while some "friends" also wear white *skaramangia*, and other "friends" coloured ones. This impression of most, or even all, of the court wearing them is explicitly repeated elsewhere in the text (8). The above case is the only instance where the colour of courtiers' *skaramangia* is stated. This may be because the default colour of garments in the *Book of Ceremonies* is understood to be white, or because courtiers were at liberty to use whatever opulent cloth pleased them. In contrast, whenever the Emperor wears one, on all but three occasions it is specified to be either white or purple, or one of those colours with ornamentation, or highly ornate, such made with brocade cloth.

These passages suggest overwhelmingly that, rather than being an important ceremonial garment, the *skaramangion* was rather in effect the

*Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, Henry MAGUIRE (ed.), Dumbarton Oaks, Washington DC, 1997, pp. 37-51. Maria PARANI also contents herself with brief citation of Kondakov's article, describing it as "convincingly argued" : *Reconstructing the Reality of Images*, Leiden, 2003, p. 57 n. 27.

(5) PHILOTHEOS, *Klêtôrologion*, N. OIKONOMIDES (ed. and tr.), in *Les Listes de Préséance Byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles*, Paris, 1972, pp. 87-99 and 125-129.

(6) Constantine PORPHYROGENNETOS, *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, J. J. REISKE (ed.), Bonn, 1839 (hereafter *De Cer.*) p. 142, ll. 9-12.

(7) *De Cer.* p. 184, l. 7f.

(8) *De Cer.* pp. 108, ll. 16f. ; 114, 13f. ; 124, 24f. ; 128, 4f. ; 159, 19 ; 149, 10 ; 170, 8.

"casual wear" of men of rank attending court, perhaps to be worn generally when no ceremonial garb (*ἀλλάξιμα / allaxima*) was decreed by protocol.

Mention of *skaramangia* also occurs in Constantine Porphyrogennêtos' advice on the conduct of imperial expeditions. They are prominently featured as necessary gifts for foreign rulers, and diverse forms and qualities are catalogued (9). This source also brings to the fore an alternative use of the term. In celebrating the Emperor's return from a successful military campaign, various places on the processional route are to be hung with *skaramangia* (10). These might be garments, but the *Book of Ceremonies* makes it clearer by speaking of *great skaramangia* (*σκαραμάγγια μέγαλα*) (11). Taking these as unusually large, or perhaps particularly ornate, garments is implausible. As Haldon observes, it very much more likely means that these swathes of the ornate cloths of which such garments were made were hung (12). Such double usage of a technical term for both cloth and garment occurs often in medieval Greek (13), as well as in Arabic textile and dress terminology (14), and is also found in this period with the Byzantine technical term for a form of armour, *klivanion* (*κλιβάνιον*) (15).

*Skaramangia* are only rarely referred to in other middle Byzantine literature. Theophanês gives us the earliest occurrence, listing one amongst booty taken from the Persian Razastos by Emperor

(9) *De Cer.* p. 469, 4-15 ; Constantine PORPHYROGENNETOS, *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, J. F. Haldon (ed. and tr.), Wien, 1990 (hereafter *Imp. Exp.*) p. 108.

(10) *De Cer.* pp. 499, 4 ; 505, 4 ; *Imp. Exp.* pp. 140 ; 148.

(11) *De Cer. pp.* 571, 10 ; 14 and 572, 2f.

(12) *Imp. Exp.* p. 275.

(13) For example *othonê* (ὀθόνη) having a basic meaning as "fine linen" and then a woman's headscarf (*Digenes Akrites* V, 43 ; J. MAVROGORDATO (ed. and tr.), Oxford, 1963 [1956], p. 144). There are also the multiple uses of *savanion*, *vêlarion* and *kamelaukion* in *De Cer.*

(14) *thawb* / (pl) *thiyab* : Y. K. STILLMAN, *Female Attire of Medieval Egypt : According to the Trousseau Lists and Cognate Material from the Cairo Geniza*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1972, pp. 44, 99, 104 ; R. B. SERJEANT, *Materials for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest*, Beirut, 1972, pp. 57, 64, 140 ; *burd* : SERJEANT, p. 243 and c ; *djâma* : SERJEANT, p. 245 and c.

(15) T. DAWSON, *Kremasmata, Kabbadion, Klibanion : some aspects of middle Byzantine military equipment reconsidered*, in *BMGS*, 22 (1998) pp. 38-50.

Herakleios ([16]). This is an account of events of the early seventh century, and we are left with the question of whether it is a retrojection by the author. Kondakov refers to an unspecified anonymous source which he claims states that Herakleios was already in the habit of wearing *skaramangia* at that time. The answer to the question is very much dependant upon a confident identification of the garment and a more certain tracing of its origins.

Writing of events he may well have witnessed, George the Monk mentions *skaramangion* twice, both with very much the same sense of informal court dress ([17]). The second episode, the coronation of Basil the *Parakoimomenos* as Caesar, makes this particularly clear in indicating that Basil was to exchange his *skaramangion* for the imperial formal robe, the *divêtêsion*. Leo the Grammarian copied these passages from the chronicle of George the Monk virtually verbatim around the middle of the tenth century ([18]).

Achmet, whose Dream Book may date anywhere from 813 to the eleventh century, but which was probably written in the mid-tenth century ([19]), mentions *skaramangion* three times. Significantly, he describes it each time by one slightly varying phrase or another as "the *kavadion* called *skaramangion*", a point to which I shall return ([20]).

The only mention of a *skaramangion* in a source securely dated to the eleventh century is by Kedrenos, who merely copies Theophanês' account of Herakleios' victory ([21]). It would be tempting to conclude that the fact that Kedrenos can recycle Theophanês in that way may indicate

(16) THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, Ch. DE BOOR (ed.), Leipzig, 1980 (1883-1885), p. 491 ; *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*, C. MANGO and J. SCOTT (tr.), Oxford, 1997, p. 450.

(17) GEORGIOS MONACHOS, *Chronikon*, J. CLASSEN (ed.), Stuttgart, 1834, p. 827 and 831-833.

(18) LEO GRAMMATIKOS, *Chronographia*, I. BEKKER (ed.), Bonn, 1842, p. 241 and p. 245-246.

(19) S. M. OBERHELMAN, *Oneirocritic Literature of the Late Roman and Byzantine periods*, unpublished PhD thesis, 1981, University of Minnesota, p. 64.

(20) ACHMET, *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, Fr. DREXL (ed.), Leipzig, 1925, p. 88.6, *καβάδι ἤτοι σκαραμάγγιον* ; 115.1, *καβάδι τὸ λεγόμενον σκαραμάγγιον* and 218.13, *καβάδι δικήν σκαραμαγγίου*.

(21) KEDRENOS, *Historiarum Compendium*, I. BEKKER (ed.), Bonn, 1839, p. 731.

that he expected his readers still to be familiar with the term and the garment through use rather than merely as a literary reference.

A hiatus in the literary sources follows, probably largely a consequence of the triumph of Atticism in eleventh and twelfth century Byzantine literature with the resulting tendency to eschew any current terminology for contemporary artefacts in favour of antiquarian euphemisms. In that period uninformative archaic terms such as *esthês*, *peplos*, *chitôn*, and *stolê* are the preferred expressions for any sort of garment (22).

The latest mention of the *skaramangion* is in Pachymerês' encomium of Andronikos II Palaiologos written before 1308 (23). Pachymerês goes so far as to describe this garment as one of "the highest marks of distinction amongst the Romans". We have seen that such a characterisation does not accord with the status of the *skaramangion* in its tenth-century use. This indicates that Pachymerês' employment of the term was an antiquarian literary contrivance not based upon direct familiarity with the real garment and its context of use. Du Cange was the earliest modern scholar to note the term in his dictionary of medieval Latin wherein he asserted that it was a foul-weather garment of military men, without an explanation of why he came to such a conclusion (24). Following the lead of Du Cange, Reiske argues in his commentary to the *Book of Ceremonies* for the *skaramangion* being some variety of cloak (25). Having made this assumption, Reiske pursues a circular argument concerning Early Roman Empire period cloaks which only once refers back to the primary term. That reference is of disputed provenance, and even so provides little support for his proposition. The author of the passage complains that Tribunes were falsely adopting "certain garments" (*περιβλήματα τινά*), for which he uses the term *skaramangion*, which were normally the

(22) M. Psellos, *Chronographie*, E. Renauld (ed. and tr.), Paris, 1967, I. 31, I.10, IV. 53, and VII. 24 ; A. Komnênê, *Alexiade*, B. Leib (ed.), Paris, 1937, similarly : II.xii ; III.v ; VIII.v ; XIII.viii and XIV.ii ; Iôannês Kinnamos, *Epitome Rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio* [= Manuel] *Comnenis Gestarum*, A. Meinke (ed.), Bonn, 1836, II. 34.4 and V. 3.205.

(23) Georgios Pachymerês, *Romaike Historia*, B. G. Niebuhr (ed.), Bonn, 1835, p. 346.

(24) Charles du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimiae Latinitatis*, Graz, 1954, vol. VII, p. 337.

(25) J. J. Reiske, *Commentarii ad Constantine Porphyrogennetos, De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, Bonn, 1839, pp. 459-460.

privilege of *Rhetors* in red and crimson, and of Philosophers in grey. While *perivlêma* (*περιβλήμα*) is known at times to be the equivalent of *palla*, Latin for cloak, in the early centuries of the common era it is not usually read as being so specific ([26]). Reiske states the author of this complaint was a certain Basil the Presbyter writing to Gregory of Nazianzos in the fourth century ([27]), however it has not been possible to trace such a letter in the collections of Gregory's correspondence. In contrast, Du Cange attributes it to a lexical manuscript by an author named Cyril ([28]).

The origin of the name is a crucial question for the identification of this garment. In his article, Kondakov accepts the opinion of Du Cange that the term is Persian ([29]). Hemmerdinger likewise lists *skaramangion* as a Persian word, repeating Phourikis' derivation from *karmania,* a region of Persia ([30]). This may be true, but more evidence is required. Such arguing from resemblances in words is fraught with risk, as witness the fact that both Kondakov and Hemmerdinger equate *skaramangion* with the later term used by the *Treatise on the Offices*, *skaranikon*, despite a radical difference in the nature and use of the two items that is revealed by a close reading of the sources ([31]).

Moving on to the matter of the form of the *skaramangion*, Kondakov spends the bulk of his article seeking to identify it as an oriental "*caftan* à cheval", apparently solely for the reason that the *Book of Ceremonies* says that the Emperor wears it while riding a horse on occasion ([32]). The number of occasions when the Emperor wears a *skaramangion* while riding is indeed the majority of those times when he goes mounted, yet it is a small fraction of the number of times he, let alone the rest of the court, is said to wear this garment. When riding but not wearing a

(26) H. G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, and H. S. JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, (ninth edition) Oxford, 1963 (1843), p. 1369.

(27) REISKE, *Comm.* p. 460.

(28) Charles DU FRESNE DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimiae Gaecitatis*, Graz, 1958, col. 1382.

(29) KONDAKOV, p. 11 ; DU CANGE, *Gloss. Graec.* col. 1382

(30) B. HEMMERDINGER, *158 noms communs Grecs d'origine iranienne*, in *Bls.*, 30 (1969), pp. 25-26.

(31) S. KARATZAS, *Byzantinogermanika* (*χάρανος-σκαράνικον*), in *BZ*, 47, (1954), pp. 320-332 ; PSEUDO-KODINOS, *Le Traité des Offices du Pseudo-Kodinos*, J. VERPEAUX (tr.), Paris, 1976, p. 145, note 2.

(32) KONDAKOV, p. 13.

*skaramangion*, the Emperor wears a *kolovion* or *divêtêsion* (33). In those rituals when a large portion of the court are mounted we also find other mounted ranks wearing *kamisia* or *spekia* (34). Nowhere in his article does Kondakov define what it is that makes the *skaramangion* more specifically an equestrian garment than others used in precisely the same way.

Further, in his use of "caftan" Kondakov immediately finds himself on treacherous linguistic ground, for the very word is much abused in recent European usage, with no precise meaning whatsoever. This confusion suffuses all that follows, as he presents a diverse array of pictorial, sculptural and ethnographical sources, which span no less than 2500 years and usually bear no definite relation to each other, or even resemblance to one another, beyond mostly, but not always, dealing with men riding horses. In addition, he seems unaware of the group of so-called "Iranian riding coats" taken from the Late Antique cemeteries of Egypt and widely fêted around Europe in the first quarter of the twentieth century, upon which he might have founded a much more persuasive case (35). As it is, most of his early and medieval sources which have any recognisable detail show men wearing short, pull-over tunics, while his later sources are a mixture of coats and jackets of Central Asian origin, and later European garments which are only distantly related.

It seems clear that Kondakov was hampered by a narrow range of truly relevant non-literary sources to inform his speculations about the form of the *skaramangion*. There is a plausible candidate, albeit one which is strangely rare in Byzantine pictorial sources for a item of such evident ubiquity. It is a garment with sleeves considerably longer than the wearer's arms. As tunics they are most familiarly and copiously depicted in the illuminated Madrid Skylitzes (ill. 1) where their use as the basic informal

(33) *De Cer.*, pp. 80.10-23 ; 84.11 ; 86.3-4 (later in the same ritual) *kôlovion* ; 105.6 and 107.6 (same ritual) ; 594.2 *divêtêsion*. The latter actually says that all are in their "regalia", which would normally mean *divêtêsion* for the emperor, and is more certainly so here when it is paired with the most eminent crown, the Great White *stemma*.

(34) *De Cer.*, pp. 81, 12f. ; 82, 2, 12.

(35) D. Benazeth and Patricia Dal-Pra, *Quelques remarques à propos d'un ensemble de vêtements de cavaliers découverts dans des tombes égyptiennes*, in *L'armée romaine et barbare du troisième au quatrième siècle*, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1993, pp. 367-382 ; Cäcilia Fluck and G. Vogelsang-Eastwood (eds), *Riding Costume in Egypt : Origin and Appearance*, Leiden, 2004.

wear of the court is well represented by the contexts, just as is indicated for the *skaramangion* in the literature. A very few other immediately recognisable examples occur during the middle Byzantine era in pictures of the raising of Lazarus, where one of the mourners protects his nose from the charnel stench with the sleeve of his tunic (ill. 2). Other examples do not show the sleeve covering the hand, but are recognisable from the volume of fabric bunched on the forearms (ill. 3). One of these dates from the century of composition of the *Book of Ceremonies*, albeit from what was at that time outside the empire (ill. 4). Yet they become quite prolific in sources of the fourteenth century. Looking further afield, the Persian antecedence attributed to the *skaramangion* is shared by the long-sleeved tunic in illustrations of the Sassanian era (ill. 5) ([36]). The erratic pattern of the Byzantine sources may be ascribed to its Persian antecedence being well known and therefore it being regarded as a foreign fashion not suitable for the idealised picture of life normally presented in upper class Byzantine art, a characteristic it would share with other items of tenth-century regalia like the *paragaudion* (παραγαύδιον), the coat (καβάδη / καβάδιον), and the turban (φακεόλιον), all mentioned in literature of the time, including the *Book of Ceremonies*. The *skaramangion* being a garment of the court classes, it would not be expected to be found in lower class artworks such as steatite carvings, which can have more tendency to realism ([37]).

Further confirmation of the identification of *skaramangion* with a garment with very long sleeves can be found in Liutprand of Cremona's account of his visits to Constantinople, and in preceding events. Throughout Liutprand's work he frequently interpolates Greek words and phrases, both in a Greek hand and transliterated. Almost invariably he gives not merely a Latin translation of the terms given in Greek hand, but for the transliterated terms uses some qualification such as "which the Greeks call...". A notable exception to this is his use of the word *scaramanga* among the annual bonuses given to imperial officers ([38]).

(36) From P. WILCOX, *Rome's Enemies 3 : Parthians and Sassanid Persians*, Oxford, 1999 (1986), p. 13.

(37) Ioli KALAVRESOU-MAXEINER, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, Vienna, 1985, for a fine survey of this material.

(38) *Antapodosis*, book 6, chapter X : *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, J. BECKER (ed.), Hannover, 1915, p. 158 ; *The Embassy to Constantinople and Other Writings*, F. A. WRIGHT (tr.), London, 1993 (1930), p. 156.

Liutprand employs this term with neither precedent nor explanation. Either this is a remarkable and unique oversight compared to his previous practice, or else he has a reasonable expectation that his readers will be acquainted with the word and its significance.

Later, in *De Legatione Constantinopolitana*, when he wished to highlight the East Romans' cultural quirks or to disparage them as manifestly effeminate he mentions three highly visible aspects ([39]). He says they are *criniti*, "hairy" (and we see from artworks that shoulder length hair was the norm for noblemen), *talari tunica induti*, "wearing ankle-length tunics" (again, well illustrated), and *manicati*, "sleeved". This last should be understood to refer to very long sleeves, for it cannot be entertained that Byzantines, in contrast to Lombardic noblemen, were normally seen with bare arms. The Lombards' usual garb was what an Eastern Roman of the tenth century would have called *roukhon paganon*, a knee-length tunic with close-fitting sleeves to the wrist ([40]).

Had the qualities that Liutprand decries been entirely unfamiliar, they are likely to have struck his readers as merely quaint and improbable exoticisms. However the former reference explicitly states that Byzantine ambassadors were commonly seen as he described in Italy.

Furthermore, this familiarity came from more than merely the persons of those ambassadors from Constantinople. During the decade prior to Liutprand's first journey to Constantinople, Emperor Romanos I had sent a remarkable cargo of gifts, in addition to military aid, to King Hugh of Italy, the very king who had been served by Liutprand's father, and whose exploits feature largely in the *Antapodosis*. Liutprand simply describes these as "handsome presents" ([41]), while the *Book of Ceremonies* enumerates the gifts in detail, stating that there were 15 *skaramangia* amongst them ([42]). These observations should be taken, with Liutprand's unexplained use of *scaramangum*, as leading to the conclusion that this mysterious garment is the *tunica talaris manicata*, entirely familiar to the

(39) *De Legatione*, chapters 37 and 40 : BECKER (ed.), p. 195 and 196 ; WRIGHT (tr.), p. 194 and 196.

(40) This is very well illustrated in the ninth-century fresco of a donor in the Oratory of St Benedict at Malles : M. CHATZIDAKIS and A. GRABAR, *Byzantine and Early Medieval Painting*, London, 1965, pl. 154.

(41) *Antapodosis*, book 5, chapter 14, BECKER (ed.), p. 137 ; WRIGHT (tr.), p. 135.

(42) *De Cer.*, p. 661, 16f.

Italians as the habitual informal attire of Constantinopolitan men of rank, just as it is portrayed so clearly in Byzantine literary sources of the ninth to eleventh centuries, and to a lesser degree in Byzantine pictorial art.

In addition to this, the evidence from Achmet, referred to above, that some *skaramangia* were coats (*kavadia*) correlates very accurately with the Persian antecedents of both the *skaramangion* and *kavadion*, and has great significance for the later development of Byzantine court regalia. Pictorial sources showing Persian and Persian-derived coats from Classical Antiquity through to the end of Late Antiquity are normally most identifiable by the fact of the coats being represented worn thrown about the shoulders like a cape (ill. 6) ([43]). Such pictures also normally show the sleeves as being very long, a characteristic which they share with the surviving examples ([44]). Some depicted coats have sleeves which are evidently vestigial, while others appear entirely functional. Their partial functionality is corroborated by highly informative passages describing Persian customs given by Xenophon.

> *καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ πάντες παρῆσαν καταβεβηκότες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, καὶ διειρκότες τὰς χεῖρας διὰ τῶν κανδύων ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι διείρουσιν, ὅταν ὁρᾷ.*
>
> All the riders were present, having dismounted from their horses and put their hands through their coats (*κανδύων*), as they still do now whenever in the sight of the King ([45]).

And still more explicitly,

> *τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν Αὐτοβοισάκην καὶ Μιτραῖον, υἱεῖς ὄντας τῆς Δαρειαίου ἀδελφῆς ... ὅτι αὐτῷ ἁπαντῶντες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τής κόρης, ὃ ποιοῦσι βασιλεῖ μονον· ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἢ χειρίς, ἐν ᾗ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων οὐδὲν ἂν δύναιτο ποιῆσαι.*

(43) The Persepolis reliefs are amongst the earliest and best examples, while the latest are found on Sassanian metalwork such as pieces in the Sackler Gallery in Washington, and, within Byzantium, sixth century ivories, an Alexandrian one in the British Museum (inv. M&LA 79,12-20,1) and a Lombardic example in the Bargello Museum (inv. Brunelt-Denon 19c). Veronika GERVERS-MOLNÁR, *The Hungarian Szur : An Archaic Mantle of Eurasian Origin*, Toronto, 1973 collects numerous examples in addition to these.

(44) BENAZETH and DAL-PRA, p. 368, FLUCK and VOGELSANG-EASTWOOD, passim.

(45) XENOPHON, *Cyropaedia*, bk. 8, ch. 3, s. 10 : T. E. PAGE *et al.* (eds), W. MILLER (tr) vol. II, London, 1914 p. 353-4.

> In that year Cyrus killed Autoboisakês and Mitraios, who were sons of the sister of Darius ... because on meeting him they had not passed their hands through their *korai*, which they do for the king alone. The *korê* is longer than a sleeve, and while in it the hand can do nothing (46).

The practice of covering the hand in the presence of the ruler can be seen in both Persian and Byzantine art right up to the Madrid Skylitzes manuscript. Within the period of the *Book of Ceremonies*, the now lost life-size statue of King Gagik of Vaspurakan (ill. 4) shows a long-sleeved *kavadion* precisely, with the long, ample sleeves pulled back onto his forearms to allow him to make his donation. The reconstruction of what I suggest is a *skaramangion* (ill. 7) based upon a late twelfth century manuscript (ill. 3) shows both the length of the sleeve covering the hand and the bunching and drop of the sleeve on the forearm, resembling both the original manuscript and the Gagik statue.

The weight of these various pieces of evidence come together to show that while the *skaramangion* was a garment which could be worn while riding as Kondakov proposed, the essential characteristic that distinguished it from other tunics or coats worn on horseback is, rather, in having very long sleeves which fall beyond the wearer's hands.

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(46) XENOPHON, *Hellenika*, bk. 2, ch. 1, s. 8 : KRENTZ (ed. and tr.), Warminster, 1989, p. 70.

FIG. 1. — A courtier with his hands enveloped in the sleeves of his tunic. *Madrid Skylitzes*, f. 42v.

FIG. 3. — Donor with long sleeves bunched on his fore-arms, wearing the Persian ancestor of the *skaranikon*: frontispiece, *Bodleian Rowe* 6, late twelfth century. See also illustration 7.

FIG. 2. — Mourner at the tomb of Lazarus muffling his face with the sleeve of his tunic, *Dionysiou* codex 187, f.44v, c. 1059.

FIG. 4. — Model of a now lost statue of King Gagik of Vaspurakan wearing a coat with very long, full sleeves pulled back onto his forearms, early tenth century.

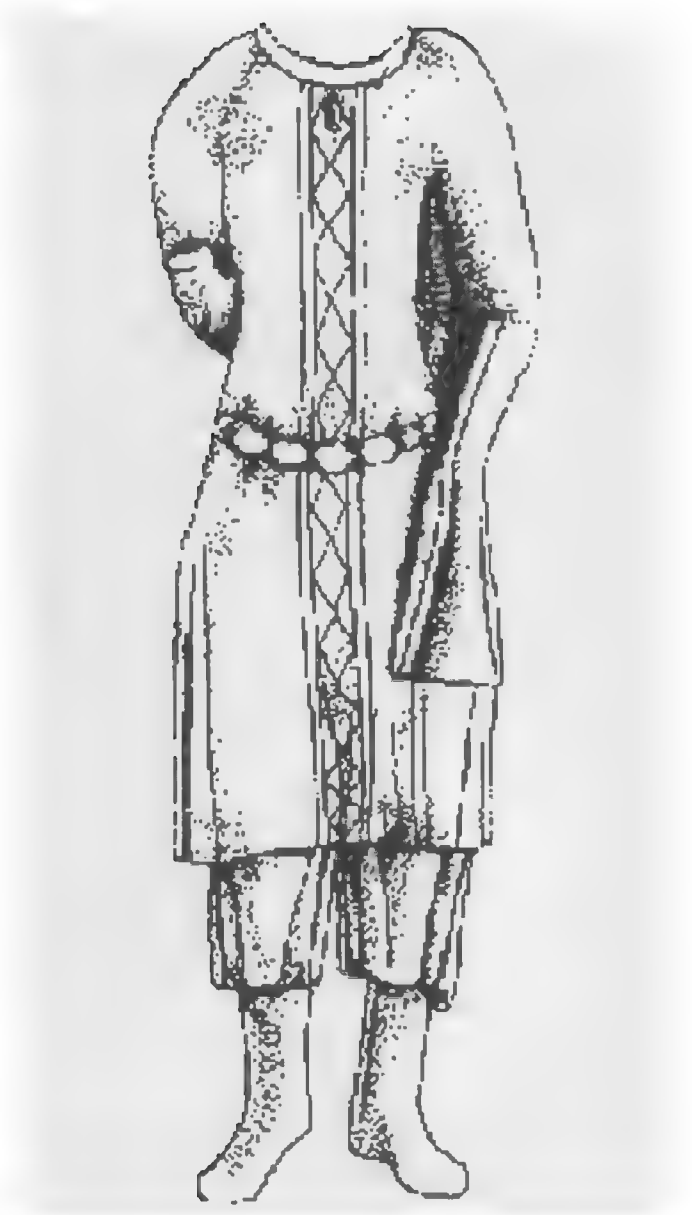

FIG. 5. — An Iranian bone carving of the second century showing a tunic with very long sleeves.

FIG. 6 — A fifth-century Lombardic ivory plaque showing long sleeved coats. Bargello Museum, Brunelt-Denon collection.

FIG. 7. — Reconstruction of a *skaramangion* based upon *Bodleian Rowe* 6, frontispiece. See illustration 3.

# REASSESSING VIEWS REGARDING THE "DARK AGES" OF BYZANTIUM (650-850) (*)

## I

In studying the literature of whichever period and country, one must undoubtedly also study the historical and social circumstances which affect the period in question so as to understand how the literature was influenced by surrounding circumstances. It is only then that one will be in a position to characterize a particular period as a "Golden Age", "Silver Age", "Dark Age", "Period of Great Silence", or whatever name a student or researcher might devise, and we accept and even take it for granted that it is its appellation.

Studying the historical conditions of the period we are examining and being fully informed of the circumstances of these two centuries (650-850) (1), we directly realize that the byzantine literature during that period did not stop to serve the needs of the society under the new circumstances (2).

(*) I would like to thank Prof. P. Yannopoulos for his suggestions about this study ; as my first published work I dedicate it to Prof. S. I. Kourouses, Prof. of Byzantine Literature in the University of Athens, and supervisor of my M. A. and PH. D. theses.

(1) Many traditional literary works characterize the 7th and 8th centuries as the "Dark Ages", i.e. ages of intellectual darkness and illiteracy, which the Greek Eastern world, just as the Latin Western world, supposedly experienced ; see B. HEMMERDINGER, *La culture grecque classique du VII^e^ au IX^e^ siècle*, in *Byz.*, 4 (1964), pp. 125-133. The expression "Dark Ages ", as K. Demoen states, refers not only to the scarcity of the historical sources during this period, but also suggests that this period experienced a regression of civilization, particularly with regard to literary and artistic culture ; see K. DEMOEN, *Culture et rhétorique dans la controverse iconoclaste*, in *Byz.*, 68 (1998), pp. 311-355.

(2) E. CHRYSOS, *Illuminating Darkness by Candlelight : Literature in the Dark Ages*, in *Actes du Colloque International Philologique*, Paris, 2002, pp. 13-24.

Almost until 1950, there was in the relevant bibliography the idea that in Byzantium, for almost two centuries during the aforementioned period (650-850), literature ceased to be promoted, and every sign of intellectual movement (3), interest in and production of secular literature had completely disappeared (4). According to this view, only theology was continuously subject of special interest, and never descended into a condition of total devastation, that prevailed literature in all fields except ecclesiastical from 650-750 as A. Ehrhard, who had written the section on theology in Krumbacher's book, characteristically notes (5). A. Kazhdan similarly divides the period 650-850 into two smaller phases : a larger one from 650-775, characterized by a limited production of literary activity, in contrast with a shorter phase from 775-850, which was marked by richer literary production (6). While views such as these came to predominate

(3) S. LAMPAKIS, *Ἡ δῆθεν «Μεγάλη Σιγὴ» τῶν Γραμμάτων*, in *Ἱστορικὰ Ἐλευθεροτυπίας*, 169 (2003), pp. 44-49. This notion can be found in the book of the well-known English historian E. GIBBON, *A History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, London, 1788-1789, V, p. 511, but what mainly contributed to the spreading of this idea was that it was expressed in the introduction of the book "History of Byzantine Literature" by K. KRUMBACHER, *Ἱστορία τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Λογοτεχνίας*, Athens, 1897, I, p. 20 (Greek version).

(4) D. GUTAS, *Greek Thought and Arabic Culture : The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early Abbasid Society (2nd - 4th / 8th - 10th)*, London, 1998, p. 177. The case is most succinctly and emphatically presented in the work of J. F. Haldon : there is, after the late 620s and early 630s, and up until the later eight or early ninth century, a more or less complete disappearance of secular literary forms within the Byzantine Empire.... Similarly, this period provides no example of geographical, philosophical, or philological literature. Interest in the secular, pre-Constantinian, much less pre-Christian, culture of the past was, for a century or so, a rarity, J. F. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century : The Transformation of a Culture*, Ch. 11, *Forms of representation: language, literature and the icon*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 425, 427.

(5) KRUMBACHER, I, p. 73. The Russian historian A. Vasiliev also had similar ideas in his History, with the only difference, according to his point of view, the period of time when literature had silenced was for almost a century, from 610–717, see A. VASILIEV, *Ἱστορία τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας (324-1453)*, Athens, 1995, I, p. 293 (Greek version).

(6) A. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650- 850)*, Athens, 1999. Even in the section of the Byzantine Archeology F. Kitzinger restricts the period of the various archeological monuments to the period from 565-727, see F. KITZINGER, *Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm*, in *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress*, München, 1958. Furthermore, S. Runciman rightfully insists that the causes in the West that produced

among philologists, they are no longer acceptable in either Greek or foreign language bibliography. For almost 50 years now, a reassessment and new way of dealing with the issue has begun to emerge (7).

In his article about the *Δῆθεν Μεγάλη Σιγὴ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐν Βυζαντίῳ (650-850) ('Αρχαιογνωσία καὶ πνευματικαὶ ἐκδηλώσεις)*, N. B. Tomadakis examines the views according to which the period 650-850 came to be called "Dark Ages" or "Period of Great Silence", attributing responsibility of this appellation not to authentic Byzantists, but to the *students of history* who approach the problem from the point of view of the secular knowledge of antiquity, and thus largely ignoring the role of ecclesiastical or religious education during the period in question. Such a perspective leads to a judgment of this period as a lack of the θύραθεν παιδεία (8). The same viewpoint is recently supported by A. Cameron who argues that the *modern historians* who have in the past regarded this as a Byzantine dark age have privileged select sources, namely, those sources with which they are themselves most familiar, ignoring the vast amount of other material such as homilies, disputations, questions and answers, polemical treatises, acts of ecclesiastical sessions (9).

A similar viewpoint is expressed by Daniel J. Sahas, who notes that for some very strange or wrong reason, or lack of it, when the Syrian-Palestinian area succumbed to the Arabs, *early historians and contemporary Byzantinists* ceased to study the writers of these previous Eastern Provinces as heirs of Byzantium, ignoring the spread of the Hellenism in region of Syria-Palestine and its influence on both Christians and Muslims during the Umayyad Caliphate (661-750). It is by such means, then, that this period has come to be called the "Dark Ages" of Byzantium, which has required a neglect of the life, character and activities of the major personalities of the period including Sophronius the Sophist, Maximus the Confessor, Anastasius Sinaites, Andreas of Crete, Cosmas of Maiuma and especially the towering figures of John of Damascus and Theodore Abu Qurrah. A thorough examination of this

dark ages, are not found in the Greek Eastern world, S. RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Art : an European Art*, Athens, 1966, second article, *Byzantium and the Western World*, p. 68.

(7) LAMPAKIS, *Ἡ δῆθεν «Μεγάλη Σιγή» τῶν Γραμμάτων*, see supra.

(8) N. B. TOMADAKIS, in *EEBS*, 38 (1974), pp. 5-26.

(9) A. CAMERON, *Byzantium and the Past in the Seventh Century : The Search for Redefinition*, in *Variorum*, 1996, pp. 250- 276.

region and period in the light of such personalities will demonstrate that the 7th and the 8th centuries could have been not as dark as is often maintained ([10]).

## II

The aim of the present paper is to show that the notion of Darkness does not apply to the period of the 7th and 8th centuries of the Eastern world of Byzantium, even if it is applied generally to all the parts of the Byzantine Empire. Even in the Eastern Provinces of Byzantium, there was during the aforementioned period, still a sense of παιδεία, the matter which proves that these Eastern Provinces were the only luminous part of the Empire. The torchbearers of this trend was a τάγμα of pious monks in Syria, Palestine and Egypt, and this reveals that the monastic establishment represents the backbone of the Church, and sometimes also of the State.

Examining the reasons behind the theory of the "Dark Ages", we shall find among others a point of view which argues that preservation of an insufficient number of texts, due to their destruction in the periods of Iconoclasm (730-787, 815-842) ; the destruction of centers of education ; the persecution of scholars, men of letters and monks who were involved in the educational procedure ; and, finally, the general impact of the Islamic conquests ([11]). According to another opinion, the hiatus that had been detected in classical studies during these two Dark Centuries of Byzantium (650-850) had no relation to the Iconoclasm, but was rather a result of the Islamic conquests of Egypt and Syria, the countries from where books came ([12]).

Socrates B. Kougeas attributes the recession of education to the loss of Egypt stating that the decline of the Byzantine literature appears immediately after the occupation of Egypt by the Arabs. Egypt was a treasury of Greek literature for almost a thousand years and it was to Byzantium a font of Classical studies. As Egypt belongs to Byzantium within it

(10) D. J. SAHAS, *Cultural Interaction during the Umayyad Period. The "Circle" of John of Damascus*, in *ARAM Periodical*, 6 (1994), pp. 35-66.

(11) G. TSAMPIS, *Ἡ Παιδεία στὸ Χριστιανικὸ Βυζάντιο*, (*Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκπαίδευσης*, 5), Athens, 1999, p. 47.

(12) P. LEMERLE, *Ὁ Πρῶτος Βυζαντινὸς Οὐμανισμός*, 3rd ed. Athens, 2001, p. 333, n. 14 (Greek version).

(Byzantium) lives the breath of Alexandrian. Classical Studies withered because only through Egypt could they draw life. Egypt was somehow the source through which the garden of Byzantium was irrigated and where the blossoms of ancient Greek education was cultivated ([13]).

However, as it appears from the historical conditions, the crisis of education must not only be attributed to the Islamic extension in the Eastern territories of the Byzantine Empire, which wove structures of education throughout Egypt, Syria and Palestine, but also to several other factors which led to the decline of studies in the higher schools of these regions from the middle of the 6th century on. These factors can be attributed to the historical developments which deeply influenced the structures of the Byzantine society as well as the education, not only in the Eastern Provinces but also in the whole Empire. These factors in brief, are :

1. The long-lasting conflict between the partisans and the opponents of the Fourth Ecumenical Synod of Chalcedon (451) and the rise of the Monophysitism,

2. The calamitous raids of the Persians in the middle of the 6th century and the beginnings of 7th century ([14]),

3. The more general intellectual and social crisis of the Empire during the period of the successors of the emperor Justinian (527-565) ([15]).

According to M. Hoffman who added another reason saying that towards the end of the 6th century, as Empire's political and military organization weakened as the result of over-extension under Justinian and growing external and internal pressure, literary production underwent a general decline. E. Chrysos cites a further reason for the 'darkness' of this period, noting that this period was considered dark not *per se*, but because there were no historical sources available to illuminate it for us ([16]). A. Kazhdan has recently argued that the problem is due to the lack

(13) S. B. Kougeas, *Ὁ Καισαρείας Ἀρέθας καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ*, Athens, 1913, pp. 135, 136.

(14) The invasion of Palestine by the Sassanid king Chosroes II (591-628) in 614 provided an opportunity for Arab raiders to sack the monastery of Mar Sabas and massacre some forty-four monks, later venerated as martyrs, see S. Smith, *Events in Arabia in the 6th Century A. D.*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 16, 3 (1954), pp. 425-468.

(15) B. I. Phidas, *Βυζάντιο*, 4th ed., Athens, 1997, p. 348.

(16) M. A. Hoffmann, *The History of Anthropology Revisited. A Byzantine View Point*, in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. 75, 5 (1973), pp. 1347-1357. Chrysos, *Illuminating Darkness by Candlelight*, see supra. The period we are

of works of literary criticism during the Dark Centuries which would have helped us to appreciate the character and the value of contemporary literary works ([17]). R. Browning also points out that the papyri in Greek became less common in the 7th century, petering out altogether by the middle of the 8th century. Inscriptions are few, very little literature was produced during the "Dark Age" of the 7th and 8th centuries, and even less has survived ([18]).

P. Lemerle had detected and marked cultural decline, reflecting in the virtual cessation of copying manuscripts and a sharp decrease in literary production, beginning as early as the late sixth century. He also declares that the most important fact is that no almost manuscript has been saved from the period in question. Since from the 6th until the 9th century A. D. substantially nothing was saved. The general impression is that the period of the so-called "Dark Ages" is characterized by the lack of manuscripts ([19]).

examining has also the appellation of "Wide Gap" or "Μέγα Χάσμα", see E. KOUNTOURA-GALAKE, *Ὁ Βυζαντινὸς κλῆρος καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τῶν Σκοτεινῶν Αἰώνων*, (*Ἐθνικὸ Ἵδρυμα Ἐρευνῶν. Μονογραφίες*, 3), Athens, 1996, p. 30, see T. K. LOUNGI, *Ἡ πρώιμη Βυζαντινὴ ἱστοριογραφία καὶ τὸ λεγόμενο "Μεγάλο Χάσμα"*, in *Σύμμεικτα*, 4 (1981), pp. 49-85, see also D. A. ZAKYNTHINOS, *La grande brèche dans la tradition historique de l'Hellénisme du septième au neuvième siècle*, in *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδον*, Athens, 1966, III, pp. 300-327.

(17) KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650- 850)*, p. 138.

(18) R. BROWNING, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, Cambridge, 1983, p. 55.

(19) LEMERLE, *Ὁ πρῶτος Βυζαντινὸς Οὐμανισμός*, p. 73. We have to accept the fact that the absence of manuscripts is mostly caused by physical destruction, LAMPAKIS, *Ἡ δῆθεν «Μεγάλη Σιγή» τῶν Γραμμάτων*, see supra, or by other factors. With reference to other factors, it is known that the Arabs, when attack churches and monasteries, plundered whatever they found, such as utensils, doors and wood, and set fire on these churches and monasteries with whatever was in them : books, icons, manuscripts, libraries etc. This could interpret P. Lemerle's words that the period of the Dark Ages is characterized by the almost complete absence of manuscripts. The archeological records also provide an evidence of Muslim destruction of Christian buildings during the Conquest and its aftermath, see R. L. WILKEN, *The Land Called Holy : Palestine in Christian History and Thought*, Yale University Press, 1992, p. 237, P. FIGUERAS, *The Impact of the Islamic Conquest on the Christian Communities of South Palestine*, in *ARAM Periodical*, 6 (1994), pp. 279-293. P. MAYERSON, *The First Muslim Attacks on Southern Palestine (A. D. 633- 634)*, in *Transactions and Proceedings of American Philological Association*, 95 (1964), pp. 155-199. In

On the other hand, at the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century, we can witness the phenomenon known as Μεταχαρακτηρισμός, which refers to the transcription of the manuscripts upper case to lower case letters (minuscule hand) ([20]), which resulted in the desertion of old manuscripts, most of which were lost having not been inscribed. The writing material moreover inevitably consisted of animal skins, i.e. parchment. While papyrus was also used, though primarily in Egypt, outside of Egypt its usefulness was curtailed due to its greater perishability in more humid climates ([21]).

These reasons could in brief account for the tendency to refer to the period as "Dark Ages", or "Big Silence" which however does not seem as dark or as silent as philologists and scholars have led us to believe.

## III

To emphasize the role of classical studies and the "θύραθεν παιδεία" as the chief criterion for the prosperity or the decline of literature in a certain period in Byzantine Literature is obviously wrong. Accordingly,

his Epiphany sermon of 634, Saint Sophronius mourned over the bloodshed, the destruction of the monasteries, the plunder of the cities and the burning of the villages by the Saracens "*Who boast that they would conquer the entire world* ", *Λόγος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα*, by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, St. Peterberg, 1888 ; Bruxelles 1963, V, pp. 166-167. In 796, due to the lack of safety in the region, many Palestinian monasteries suffered a lot of damage from the Saracens residents in the region, and occurred in saint Euthymius and saint Sabas monasteries, for instance, the slaughter of 20 monks of the Great Laura of Mar Sabas, see *Passio XX Martyrum Sabaitarum*, in *AASS*, Mart. III, p. 170 ; Y. Hirschfeld, *Euthymius and his Monastery in the Judean Desert*, in *Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani*, 43 (1993), pp. 339-371. According to the evidence of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Theophanes the Confessor, during the reign of the caliph Harūn Ar-Rashīd (768-809 μ. Χ.) : *Αἱ κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλιν ἐκκλησίαι ἠρήμωνται, τά τε μοναστήρια τῶν δύο μεγάλων λαυρῶν, τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Χαρίτωνος καὶ Κυριακοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κοινόβια τῶν ἁγίων Εὐθυμίου καὶ Θεοδοσίου. Ἐπεκράτησεν δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀναρχίας ἡ κατ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ὑμῶν μιαιφονία ἔτη πέντε. De Administrando Imperio*, ed. G. Moravcsik, 2nd ed. [*CFHB*, 1, 1967], Ch. 22, 71-76, Theophanis, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1883, I, p. 499, 23-25.

(20) L. D. Reynolds & N. G. Wilson, *Ἀντιγραφεῖς καὶ Φιλόλογοι*, Athens, 2001, pp. 78-80 (Greek translation).

(21) Gutas, *Greek Thought and Arabic Culture*, p. 176.

Krumbacher's viewpoint, concerning the period from the middle of the 7th century to the middle of the 9th century as a period of Dark Ages and of Big Silence, should be reviewed. H. Hunger points out that we know very little about the Dark Ages to have the right to reject a whole tradition for the period (22).

As Tomadakis argues, the criteria used to determine the decline of Byzantine literature cannot be based upon the non-existence of calligraphic workshops, where works of the θύραθεν παιδεία are copied, nor upon the schools where they are taught, criticized, and republished – nor indeed upon the non-existence of imitated works of classical historiographers (from Herodotus to Polybius) and the ancient Greek literary genres (23). In other words, classical studies, i.d. the θύραθεν παιδεία, should not serve as the measure for a decline in Byzantine literature. On the contrary, since the period in question reveals writers who develop literary genres beyond the precedent, we should not confine its definition to the schools, copies and comments pertaining to ancient writers (24). Furthermore, though the period of Iconoclasm, which presented John of Damascus and many other writers, could mean a crisis, but not disappearance of knowledge (25).

It is true, however, that during this period, there was no secular literary production to speak of: no historiography after Theophylaktus Simokates, no secular poetry after George of Pisidia, no secular epistolography, no secular rhetorical texts, no political treatises. There were even very few inscriptions and little new legislation, most of it anyway concerning the Church and affecting mainly the ecclesiastical life, in addition to the legislation of the Iconoclasts, as well as the *Ecloga* as a reduced version of the Justinianian legacy (26). If the traditional literary genres truly disappeared, the historical conditions of the Byzantine Empire led to the emergence of other unprecedented literary genres. Accordingly, the literary activity of this period is confined to theological texts, anagogic narrations, ecclesiastical poetry, and chronography, i. d.

(22) H. Hunger, *Βυζαντινὴ Λογοτεχνία*, Athens, 2001, I, p. 143 (Greek version).

(23) Tomadakis, in *EEBΣ*, 38 (1974), pp. 5-26.

(24) *Ibidem*.

(25) Lemerle, *Ὁ Πρῶτος Βυζαντινὸς Οὐμανισμός*, p. 72.

(26) Chrysos, *Illuminating Darkness by Candlelight*, see supra.

all pure Byzantine genres ([27]). As A. Cameron notes : In these general circumstances we might expect to find some new directions in cultural responses, perhaps a cessation or hiatus in some old forms, and overall a greater variety than before ([28]). During this period, people were in need for didactic literature ([29]) and the Church for the purposes of practical theology. The Orthodox Church had to define and defend its orthodox dogmas, and support its faith against what it saw as the heresies of Monophysitism and Nestorianism, popular in the East. Likewise the monks of Palestine required a body of doctrine to combat what is considered the new imperial heresies of Monoenergism and Monotheletism, as well as against the Jews and Samaritans, and eventually against triumphant Islam ([30]).

During the first three centuries of Byzantine Literature, when the Church was continuously confronting heresies, there were reasons for the study of Classics, because the Church sought to make use of these genres as weapons against idolatry ([31]). For this reason the Fathers of the Church

(27) A. Vasilikopoulou-Ioannidou, *Εἰσαγωγὴ στὴ Βυζαντινὴ Λογοτεχνία*, Athens, 1984, p. 32.

(28) A. Cameron, *New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature : Seventh-Eighth Centuries*, in *Papers of the First Workshop on Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, I, Princeton, 1991, pp. 81-105.

(29) In his work : *Συναγωγὴ καὶ ἐξήγησις ὧν ἐμνήσθη ἱστοριῶν ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος ἐν τοῖς ἐμμέτρως αὐτῷ εἰρημένοις ἔκ τε τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ποιητῶν καὶ συγγραφέων, Κοσμᾶ Ἱεροσολυμίτου πόνημα φιλογρηγορίου* (*PG* 38, cc. 341-679), Kosmas of Jerusalem refers to the aim of his Exegesis of Gregory of Nazianzos as follows : *Σκοπῶ δὲ τὸ τοῖς παιδευομένοις εὔληπτον καταστῆσαι τὸ πραττόμενον* (*PG* 38, cc. 341-679) ; see also A. Kazhdan, *Kosmas of Jerusalem 3. The Exgesis of Gregory of Nazianzos*, in *Byz.*, 61 (1991), pp. 396-412. It is very interesting testimony that this work claims to show some instructive goals, also this work did not attract the attention of the researchers of education of the 8th Dark Century. On the other hand this work was written as a handbook of teaching appears from the saying of the writer who intended to compose other proportional works for the Greek language as oratory and poetry. See Th. Detorakis, *Βυζαντινὴ Φιλολογία. Τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ τὰ κείμενα*, Herakleion, 2003, B΄, p. 367.

(30) A. Louth, *John of Damascus and the Making of the Byzantine Theological Synthesis*, in *The Sabbaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. by Joseph Patrich, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 98, (Leuven 2001), pp. 301-304.

(31) F. M. Padelford, *Saint Basil : Essays on the Study and Use of Poetry by Plutarch and Basil the Great*, in *Yale Studies in English*, 15 (1902), pp. 33-43.

had the habit of studying and reading the texts of the ancient writers and philosophers, always preserving a close connection with the ancient Greek heritage : the study of philosophy and literature contributed to the syneresis of the ancient world with the Christian spirit, which was supported and achieved by some Fathers of the Church. In this regard, the promotion of classical education was endorsed not only by figures like Origen and Clement of Alexandria ([32]), but also by the later Fathers from the 4th century such as Saint Basil the Great who had advised the reading of the classical writers in his *Address to Young Men on the right use of Greek Literature* ([33]). Some of the Fathers continued to hold a deep appreciation of Plato and other philosophers, of Demosthenes and other rhetoricians, as well as Homer and other poets. All of this interest in classical thought and literature was above all intended to confront numerous heresies and ideas with which the Church was constantly contending, which necessitated the explanation of the Christian faith on the basis of the concepts of ancient writers, philosophies and myths. There were thus good reasons for the Byzantine interest in the Classical Studies. During the period in question, however, there was no appropriate environment for the development of classical literature, nor was it the demand of the State or Church for a kind of "Byzantine Humanism" but it was at first the redemption of the people ([34]).

From the political and to some extent the ecclesiastical point of view it was the 7th century which witnessed the two major changes which subsequently influenced the whole tenor of Byzantine life : (1) The rise of Muhammad and the subsequent victories of the Muslims in the south and east brought a contradiction of the physical boundaries of the Christian Empire, (2) the religious challenge which was never fully met ([35]). The situation of the Byzantine Empire, during the first two centuries of the Islamic conquests was however totally different, and the conditions of the Byzantine Empire recall the words of St. Paul : *ἔξωθεν μάχαι, ἔσωθεν*

(32) P. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, Athens, 1947, I, pp. 38-41.

(33) *De Legendis Gentilium Libris*, ed. F. BOULENGER, *Saint Basile : Aux jeunes gens sur la manière de tirer profit des lettres Helléniques*, Paris, 1935.

(34) N. B. TOMADAKIS, *Ἀπὸ τῆς Μεγάλης Σιγῆς εἰς τὸν Φώτιον καὶ τοὺς ἐστεμμένους ποιητάς*, IV, in *Σύλλαβος Βυζαντινῶν Μελετῶν καὶ Κειμένων*, Athens, 1961, p. 302.

(35) J. M. HUSSEY, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford, 1986, p. 9.

φόβοι (2 Corinthians 7 : 5). From *without*, the Empire suffered one of its deepest and worst crises before 1204. Two thirds of its territory in the East, the South, the West and the North had been taken away by enemies : Arabs, Avars, Bulgars, Slavs ([36]), Lombards and Franks, with the result that its territory was reduced ([37]). The dissolution of the Persian Empire, the appearance of Islam, the settlement of the Slavs and the Bulgarians south of the Danube, the final separation of the Monophysite Churches in Egypt and Syria from the main body of the Orthodox Church, the unfriendly atmosphere and the rivalry between the Ancient Rome and the New Rome, are only some of the main facts of the 7th century ([38]).

From *within*, profound changes were taking place already in the provinces, where internal organization of towns was being transformed, and where it was becoming increasingly more difficult for the government to maintain the late Roman administrative and military apparatus ([39]). There were many movements of population, our knowledge of which is limited and scanty. Sweeping administrative changes put an end to the separation of civil and military power and to the autonomy of the cities : many cities sank to the level of agricultural villages. Schools were fewer, the level of education lower. In the 8th century the Iconoclast movement divided the Empire on a theological issue which had important political and social overtones. This was a period during which we might expect far-reaching changes to take place in the Greek language ([40]). On the other hand, the sources dried up, the economy collapsed, the urban population moved to the countryside in order to find protection and to survive there under much a simpler set of conditions ([41]).

(36) The first Huunic (or rather Bulgaric), Slavic and Avaric attacks upon the Balkan provinces of the Byzantine Empire occurred during the 7th century, see K. M. SETTON, *The Bulgars in the Balkans and the Occupation of Corinth in the Seventh Century*, in *Speculum*, 25, 4 (1950), pp. 502-543.

(37) W. BRANDES, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Seventh Century : Prosopographical Observations on Monotheletism*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 118 (2003), pp. 103-118.

(38) P. YANNOPOULOS, *Ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Οἰκουμενικότητας*, in *Ἱστορικὰ Ἐλευθεροτυπίας*, 169 (2003), pp. 6-10.

(39) A. CAMERON, *Images of Authority : Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium*, in *Past and Present*, 84 (1979), pp. 3-35.

(40) BROWNING, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, p. 54.

(41) CHRYSOS, *Illuminating Darkness by Candlelight*, see supra.

A. Kazhdan refers to other changes which took place also during that period such as : geographical, social, administrative, military, as well as serious changes in legislation and overall mentality (42). These changes are regarded by P. Lemerle as a consequence of the terrifying strikes of Islam against the Empire and the whole ancient world (43). In general, as A. Kazhdan notes, the period is characterised not only by a decline of literary activity, but also by the collapse of economical and cultural structures, at least within the urban milieu which was the centre of cultural life in Late Antiquity (44).

It is hardly surprising, then, that given the grave circumstances – when the Empire is at war at several fronts and the Eastern Provinces are taken away from it, when the Church is rent asunder from heresies and schisms – that there was very little interest in the copying of ancient writers or the study and teaching of ancient philosophy. Could anyone instead hesitate to show enthusiasm for the Church and remain devoted to the assistance and defence of its glory ? This is what the writers of this period actually did, and this manifested in the synthesis of ecclesiastical hymns, liturgical services, polemical literature and treatises against heresies.

For this reason a cessation of interest towards the classical studies may be detected, and instead the attention of the scholars of the period is directed toward *τὰς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βίβλους* (45), with the result that much of the writing is addressed to or about Muslims (46), in order *to be*

(42) KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, pp. 7-16.

(43) LEMERLE, *Ὁ Πρῶτος Βυζαντινὸς Οὐμανισμός*, p. 71.

(44) KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, p. 138.

(45) PAPADOPOULOS A, *Ἀνάλ. Ἱεροσ. Σταχ.*, V, p. 170. The expression may mean not simply books in Arabic but Muslim books, possibly the Qur'ān, folk Arabic poetry, and literature, and perhaps the developing Hadīth, i. e. the Tradition, see D. J. SAHAS, *Cultural Interaction during the Umayyad Period*, see supra.

(46) CAMERON, *New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature*, see supra. John of Damascus was familiar with the Qur'ān and Islam and wrote a short manual in Greek for use by Christians in discussing religion with Muslims, *Disputatio Christiani et Saraceni* [Dub.], ed. B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, IV [*Patristische Texte und Studien* 22], Berlin, 1981, as well as a sharp criticism of Islam in a chapter of his *Περὶ Αἱρέσεων* (*PG.* 94, cc. 763-773) G. F. HOURANI, *Islamic and non-Islamic Origins of M'utazilite Ethical Rationalism*, in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 7, 1 (1976), pp. 59-87. This chapter contains a concise refutation of the Islamic dogmas, J. NASRALLAH, *Saint Jean de Damas : Son époque, sa vie, son œuvre*, Harissa, 1950,

*ready always to give an answer to every man that asks a reason of the hope that is in them* (1 Pet. 3 : 15), especially within the domain of dogmatic public debates. Literary activity is also devoted to the supporters of the icons, providing them with texts to support their positions against both the Iconoclasts and Monothelites. The wars were directed towards the new enemies of the Empire, the Iconoclasts and the Muslims, especially during the intellectually stimulating days of the early Abbasid caliphate, when the Muslim theologians, the *mutakallimūn*, were in their heyday, and the Christians of the Oriental Patriarchies came face-to-face with the most comprehensive religious critique of the basic doctrines of their faith which any Christian had encountered since the days of Galen, Porphyry, Celsus, Iamblichus and the emperor Julian ([47]).

Literature therefore, was compelled to express the circumstances of the times. It is for this reason that the interest shifted away from classical studies and was directed instead to the ecclesiastical and religious education for the defence of the faith of the Church. In this way, the secular writers ceased to be the *literati* of the period, and their role appears to have been not so important. The monks and the monasteries instead took over the burden of the educational process with the result that all the literary men of that period were either monks or saints ([48]), such as saint John of Damascus, poet and theologian, saint Cosmas of Maiuma, melodist and writer of Canons, even if some of them, however, were from the ecclesiastical ranks, such as saint Andrew of Crete ([49]), poet and rhetorician. This signifies that all literati, as P. Lemerle notes, were men of the Church ([50]), and the period during which they lived and acted can

p. 181. As for the refutations of John of Damascus on Islam see C. H. BECKER, *Islamstudien*, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 432-439, D. J. SAHAS, *John of Damascus on Islam, the Heresy of the Ismaelites*, 1972. A. Guillaume refers that the debates of saint John of Damascus can be one of the reasons of the Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement, for when the Caliph Al Ma'mūn come to the rule in the first of the 9th Century, he ordered that the main books of Greek learning must be translated into Arabic for a complete solution of the problems. A. GUILLAUME, *Islam*, 1973, p. 129. We can conclude that the John of Damascus' influence is that which caused the intellectual intelligence to pass to the Arabs, GUILLAUME, *Islam*, see supra.

(47) S. H. GRIFFITH, *Muslims and Church Councils : The Apology of Theodore Abu Qurrah*, in *Studia Patristica*, 25 (1993), pp. 270-299.

(48) KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, pp. 7-16.

(49) *Idem*, p. 149.

(50) LEMERLE, *Ὁ Πρῶτος Βυζαντινὸς Οὐμανισμός*, p. 72.

be called the period of the Men of the Church, the men who were all almost well-educated ([51]) in the *θύραθεν παιδεία* as well as in the *πάρ' ἡμῖν παιδεία*. A distinctive example of the high degree of education for the time is the philosophical writings of saint John of Damascus ([52]), especially his *Fount of Knowledge*, which contains the first comprehensive exposition of Christian dogmas, including the teachings of the church from the 4th to the 7th century ([53]), as well as the rhetorical sermons of saint Andrew of Crete ([54]). I was astonished reading H. Hunger's opinion that from the time of the Emperor Heraclius and for two approximately centuries, i.e. the period in question, the most part of the prevalent class of monks certainly was hostile to education ([55]) !!

If we appreciate the fact that the basic work of the monks consisted of ecclesiastical hymnography and the writing of ascetic, theological and

(51) A. PERISTERIS, *Literary and Scribal Activity at the Monastery of St. Sabas*, in *The Sabbaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. by J. PATRICH, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 98 (Leuven 2001), pp. 171-194.

(52) John of Damascus took over the Aristotelian "Organon" and used the Aristotelian "Logic", adding, though, new meaning to Aristotelian terms that served Christian teaching and its essence. Based mainly on Aristotle and partly on the Neoplatonic Porphyrius, he wrote the "Philosophic Chapters" which constitute a philosophical introduction to Christian theology. He takes most of his argument from John the Philoponus, Aristotle's well known commentator. John of Damascus, though, in order to support his always Christian Orthodox viewpoints which in fact referred to Divine Providence and to problems concerning free will employed arguments and followed patterns of thought taken from the Aristotelian "Logic", G. D. ZIAKAS, *Greek Thought to Christian East and Arabic Islamic Tradition*, in *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα Θεολογικῆς*, Ἀριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Τμῆμα Ποιμαντικῆς καὶ Κοινωνικῆς Θεολογίας, 5 (1998), pp. 81-99.

(53) O. F. A. MEINARDUS, *Historical Notes on the Lavra of Mar Sabas*, in *Eastern Churches Review*, 2 (1968-1969), pp. 392-401. This work of John of Damascus is considered the model of the Byzantine Orthodoxy, see B. N. TATAKIS, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Φιλοσοφία*, (*Βιβλιοθήκη Γενικῆς Παιδείας*, 5), Athens, 1977, p. 113.

(54) M. B. CUNNINGHAM, *Andrew of Crete : A High-style Preacher of the Eighth Century*, in *Preacher and Audience, Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, ed. by M. B. CUNNINGHAM, Leiden-Boston-Köln, 1998, pp. 267-293.

(55) HUNGER, *Βυζαντινὴ Λογοτεχνία*, I, p. 59.

historical works ([56]), as well as transcription of holy texts and other books, then it is not so strange if a cessation among the monks of an interest towards the classical studies is detected, since, as Isidore of Pelusium notes, the study of the *θύραθεν* works is not so necessary for the monks ([57]). This justifies the station of the writers of this period. In addition, a neglect is supposedly detected on the part of the State and people of the Empire regarding education, with the Church, as represented by monasteries and monks, assumed control over the educational process, thereby making it able to overcome this the Dark Age period without cessation. Christianity, far from belonging to the Dark Ages, was actually the one path through the Dark Ages which was not dark, but was rather a luminous bridge connecting two luminous civilizations. The premise that faith arose in an atmosphere of ignorance and barbarism cannot be maintained. In actuality, the faith arose in the Mediterranean civilization in the full summer of the Roman Empire, and was the only vehicle that ushered the Empire out of the threat of ignorance ([58]). According to A. Kazhdan's phrase the Church occupied the vacuum created by the waning of the urban institutions ([59]), while the monasteries became the primary guardians of the social order and culture ([60]), and centres of spirituality and learning ([61]), and intellectual units that undertook the difficult task of education and preservation of knowledge ([62]).

As for the role of the emperors during this period, we can conclude that the emperor was typically the busiest and most curious in all the Empire concerning the education. At the same time, we should not be surprised if, during times of war, he did not find time to take care for the education ([63]). In this respect the emperor can hardly be blamed for being more interested in the preparation for war and effectively meeting the coming

(56) I. KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Τὸ Βυζαντινὸ Κράτος*, Thessalonique, 1993, p. 391 ; see also BAYNES and MOSS *Βυσάντιο : Εἰσαγωγὴ στὸ Βυζαντινὸ Πολιτισμό*, Athens, 2001, p. 246 (Greek translation).

(57) ISIDORI PELUSIOTAE, Βιβλίον I, ἐπιστολὴ 63η "Θαλελαίῳ μοναχῷ", *PG*, 78, c. 224 B.

(58) G. K. CHESTERTON, *Orthodoxy*, 1908, pp. 144, 145.

(59) KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650- 850)*, p. 11.

(60) *Idem*, p. 12.

(61) SAHAS, *Cultural Interaction during the Umayyad Period*, see supra.

(62) N. M. KALOGERAS, *Byzantine Childhood Education and its Social Role from the 6th century until the End of Iconoclasm*, Chicago, 2000, p. 152.

(63) TSAMPIS, *Ἡ Παιδεία στὸ Χριστιανικὸ Βυζάντιο*, p. 55.

danger, primarily, Islam, thus reflecting Socrates' words regarding external threats from his dialogue with Criton : *Μητρός τε καὶ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προγόνων ἁπάντων τιμιώτερόν ἐστιν πατρὶς καὶ σεμνότερον καὶ ἁγιώτερον* (64), as well as the ancient gnomic : *Primum vivere deinde philosophari* (65).

## IV

From the Eastern Provinces of Byzantium, especially from Syria and Palestine (66), two Movements emerged, which had the greatest effect upon the history of the Hellenic thought. The first was the *Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement* which arose at the beginning of the 9th century, a movement in which Syria played a leading role. The second was the *First Byzantine Humanism*, in which Palestine had a significant role.

I would like now to demonstrate that the Hellenic educational heritage was still alive in the Eastern Provinces of Byzantium one century after the Islamic conquests of the Hellenistic East (67), and the Greek language stubbornly persisted in Syria and Palestine after the Arab conquests (68). This will be done through a citation of literary figures who were active during the so-called Dark Ages, and whose linguistic competence and literary production were both at high levels (69). In fact, as we shall see, con-

(64) *Platonis Opera*, vol. 1. *Crito*, ed. J. BURNET, Oxford, 1900, p. 51, Sec. a, 9.

(65) G. TSAMPIS, *Ἡ Παιδεία στὸ Χριστιανικὸ Βυζάντιο*, p. 55.

(66) During the centuries preceding the Islamic invasion, Alexandria saw some feeble revival of its ancient School. Egypt, however, provided on the one hand a population fanatically Christian, and on the other abounded in occultism and mysticism. The soil was not favorable for any scientific developments. For such reason Egypt failed to act as an effective intermediary between Greek and Arabic medicine and science. The Neo-Aramaic or Syriac idiom had, from the third century onwards, gradually replaced Greek in the learned circles of western Asia, *The Legacy of Islam*, ed. by T. ARNOLD and A. GUILLAUME, see *Science and Medicine*, by M. MEYERHOFF, Oxford, 1931, pp. 312, 313.

(67) C. MANGO, *Βυζάντιο : Ἡ Αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Νέας Ῥώμης*, Athens, 2002, p. 165 (Greek translation).

(68) CAMERON, *New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature : Seventh- Eighth Centuries*, see supra.

(69) R. P. BLAKE, *La littérature grecque en Palestine au VIII^e siècle*, in *Le Muséon*, 78 (1965), pp. 367-380. The Arabian historiographer Ibn 'Asākir witnesses that the Muslims used to frequent the Christian schools of Damascus and

trary to a much-received opinion, Hellenism never disappeared from Syria and Palestine after the Islamic conquests ([70]), and Hellenic education is neither as dark or as silent during the two centuries under consideration, nor did literature cease to be cultivated. If this literary and educational activity had become silenced and darkened for two whole centuries, it would not have been be possible to emerge and flourish at a later point ([71]).

To demonstrate this argument, the following sources will be cited : (IV.1) *Vitae* of saints, (IV. 2) the literary production of the writers of the period in question, from the two main intellectual movements of the ninth century, which to say (IV. 3) the *Byzantine Renaissance* and (IV. 4) the *Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement.*

## IV. 1

In view of the silence found in the other sources, the *Vitae* of saints are very particularly important for us. In the lives of saints of the early mid-Byzantine period (8th-11th century) are not omitted the years of their scholarship, but are, on the contrary, described in every detail, it is possible to determined an enough program of their θύραθεν παιδεία : from one hand we find Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy/Dialectic i.d. the *Trivium*, and from the other Arithmetic, Geography, Astronomy, and Music, i.d. *Quadrivium* ([72]). Other *Vitae* offer help illuminate our subject by referring to persons who lived in the 7th, 8th or the first half of the 9th century.

In the *Life and Passion of the Blessed Monk Anastasius the Persian* († 628), which is supposed to have been written in the Monastery of Mar Saba, and is considered as one of the five hagiographical texts attributed to the first half of the 8th century ([73]), we read that *the abbot assigned also to him as teacher one of his brotherly disciples, a man full of discernment, who taught him τὰ τε Γράμματα τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ τὸ ψαλτή-*

to discuss the teachers (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimishq* (*History of the City of Damascus*), 3, p. 177).

(70) Tomadakis, in *Σύλλαβος Βυζαντινῶν Μελετῶν*, p. 301.

(71) Detorakis, *Βυζαντινὴ Φιλολογία*, II, see supra.

(72) H. Hunger, *Ὁ κόσμος τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Βιβλίου. Γραφὴ καὶ Ἀνάγνωση στὸ Βυζάντιο*, Athens, 1995, p. 101 (Greek translation).

(73) Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, p. 385.

ριον (74). The same reference is found also in the *Ἁγιολόγιον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας : Ἐν δὲ τῇ Μονῇ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἰουστίνου ἐκάρη μοναχός, ἐκμαθὼν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα καὶ τὸ ψαλτήριον ἀποστηθίσας.* In the *Roman Miracle* of the same Saint and Martyr we read the following : *in the first year of the reign of our lord ....Emperor Anastasius* (713-716) *.....there was a certain bishop by the name of Theopentus, a Syrian, from the city named Constantia. This man had come to this city of Rome a few years earlier. He had a small daughter, and it seemed fitting to him to consign her to a monastery to learn τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα. She was instructed ἐν τε ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὑμνοῖς, ᾄσμασίν τε καὶ ἀναγνώσμασιν* (75). We conclude from this information that the Syrians also were concerned to educate their children in Greek letters and literature.

Sophronius of Jerusalem is the last figure of the Pre-Islamic Byzantine Orient, who demonstrates rich political, religious and spiritual activity (76). According to the Epigram (77) which bears his name, Sophronius was born in the second half of the 6th century (560 or 580-638) from Greek parents in the city of Damascus in Syria. Sophronius is one of the most educated men of the Umayyad period, which is also the formative period of Islam. At a very young age he acquired the Ἐγκύκλιος Παίδευσις in the sophistic schools of the occupied Arabic city, now called Damascus (78), the most famous city in the Orient during that period.

As Ch. Von Schonborn notes, Sophronius received an education which Hellenistic Civilization offered to him (79), and this intellectual life had a great influence on him, as is evident from his works. Sophronius' biographers praise his intelligence and scholarship and, not without exaggera-

(74) F. Carmela Vircillo, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius the Persian : Hagiographic Translations and Transformations*, (*Studies and Texts* 147), Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Canada, 2004, p. 33 ; B. Flusin, *Anastase le perse et l'histoire de la Palestine au début du VII^e siècle*, Paris, 1992, p. 53 ; S. Efstratiadou, *Ἁγιολόγιον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας*, Athens, 1995, p. 35.

(75) Carmela Vircillo, *The Latin Dossier of Anastasius the Persian*, p. 167.

(76) Detorakis, *Βυζαντινή Φιλολογία*, II, p. 224.

(77) *PG* 87, 3, c. 3421.

(78) R. L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy : Palestine in Christian History and Thought*, 1992, p. 227.

(79) Ch. Von Schonborn, *Sophrone de Jerusalem ; vie monastique et confession dogmatique*, Paris, 1972, p. 117.

tion, claim that he learned every Greek and Christian writing, delving in an extraordinary way into all fields of learning *ὑπερφυῶς ἐπιστημῶν πασῶν τὸ κράτος ἀνεδύσατο* ([80]) especially philosophy and rhetoric. For this activity, he earned the title "Sophist", a title which not only shows his broad classical education, but may also imply oratorical skills, which would prove that Sophronius therefore very likely taught rhetoric in Damascus ([81]), and belonged to the profession of the "Sophist" ([82]), or speaker. Sophronius wrote polished Greek anacreontics, an accomplished verse from going back to classical Greece, and now turned to contemporary application ([83]).

A *vita* of Andreas of Crete, from a copy as early as the tenth century, suggests that encyclical education in language and literature began for the Damascenes at a very early age and progressed through advanced subjects, such as grammar : *Ἐκδικαχθεὶς δεόντως τὰ πεζὰ γράμματα, ἐν συνέσει πολλῇ διαπρέπων, τοῖς ὑψηλοτέροις ἐπιβαίνει μαθήμασι, γραμματικῆς τὸ κάλλιστον πρὸς σοφωτάτην παίδευσιν ἑαυτῷ συλλέξας* ([84]). In another *vita* of Andrew of Crete, written by Macarius Macris (†1425 a. D.), the biographer refers to the education of Andrew in this way saying : *Γραμματικήν τε (γὰρ) ἐκμανθάνει καὶ προσλαμβάνει ῥητορικὴν καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφίας δογμάτων ἐπιβατεύει μετὰ συνέσεως, καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων συγγεγονὼς καὶ τῶν μαθημάτων μνησθεὶς ὅσον κάλλιστον* ([85]).

(80) Cf. March 11, in *Propylaeum at Acta Sanctorum, Novembris*, p. 527. See also SAHAS, *Cultural Interaction during the Umayyad period*, see supra.

(81) P. TREMPELA, *Ἐκλογὴ Ἑλλήνων Ὑμνογράφων*, Athens, 1949, p. 153.

(82) This title was given to him by his friend John Moschus, for his education and intelligence. It appears in many quotations in Moschus' work *Λειμωνάριον* e. g. : *Narravit mihi et Sophistae Sophronio, PG*, 87, 3, c. 2867 ; *Παρεβάλομεν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ κῦρις Σωφρόνιος ὁ σοφιστής*, in *PG*, 87, 3, c. 2920, see S. EFSTRATIADOU, *Σωφρόνιος Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων*, in *Νέα Σιών*, 29 (1934), pp. 188-193. see also *Μέγας Συναξαριστὴς τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας, Μηνὸς Μαρτίου*, 5th ed. Athens, 1997, P. 217.

(83) A. CAMERON, *The Eastern Provinces in the 7th Century A. D. : Hellenism and the Emergence of Islam*, in *Variorum Reprints* (IV), 1996, pp. 278-313.

(84) *Ὁ Βίος τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Ἱεροσολυμίτου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου γενομένου Κρήτης, συγγραφεὶς παρὰ Νικήτα τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρικίου και κυέστορος*, PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS A., *Ἀνάλ. Ἱεροσ. Σταχ.*, V, pp. 169- 179.

(85) *Βίος τοῦ Ἀνδρέου, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κρήτης τοῦ Ἱεροσολυμίτου*, ed. A. ARGYRIOU, *Μακαρίου τοῦ Μακροῦ. Συγγράμματα*, Thessaloniki, 1966,

Saint John of Damascus was educated in Damascus, the Umayyad capital, and lived there until 730, in close contact with Muslim ruling circles. He received a good classical education, as is evident from his writings, although he never set foot on territory ruled by the Byzantine emperor ([86]). A *vita* of John of Damascus and Cosmas of Maiuma from a thirteenth-century codex names specifically some of the subjects their teacher taught them, which may be taken as an indication of the curriculum and of the intellectual foundation of the "circle" : Greek language and rhetoric *τὰ τῆς Δημοσθένους ἐκείνου γλώσσης* ([87]), dialectics, numbers, i.e., mathematics, music, geometry, astronomy and philosophy ; that is to say, a deliberately liberal arts education interwoven with religious piety. In fact, this was the exact curriculum of higher education in the academies of classical antiquity ([88]).

From the career of Michael Synkellos, there are two episodes that should be reported : the first gives some impression of his own education and both contribute to the portrait that we have for the cultural activity in the Eastern part of the Byzantine world. In the life of Michael Synkellos we are informed, firstly, that : *his parents..... handed him over to a teacher in order that he might give him τὰ τῆς προπαιδείας γράμματα* ([89]). His biographer says that the patriarch of Jerusalem, Synkellos' homeland, encouraged him to continue his study in grammar, oratory and philosophy, so : *he was sent by the order of the Patriarch for lessons εἰς τὰ τῆς γραμματικῆς καὶ ῥητορικῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας διδάγματα*

pp. 132-133 ; see N. B. TOMADAKIS, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Ὑμνογραφία καὶ Ποίησις*, Thessaloniki, 1993, II, p. 185. see also B. LAOURDAS, in *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, 7 (1953), p. 66 ; TSAMPIS, *Ἡ Παιδεία στὸ Χριστιανικὸ Βυζάντιο*, p. 443, n. 26.

(86) LOUTH, *John of Damascus and the Making of the Byzantine Theological Synthesis*, see supra.

(87) PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Ἀνάλ. Ἱεροσ. Σταχ.*, IV, p. 311.

(88) SAHAS, *Cultural Interaction during the Umayyad Period*, see supra.

(89) CUNNINGHAM, *The Life of Michael the Synkellos*, pp. 46, 47. According to Dionysius of Thrax *τὰ τῆς προπαιδείας γράμματα* are : *ἡ κατ' ἀρχὴν τῶν παίδων διδασκαλία, ἥτις περὶ τοὺς ψόφους καὶ χαρακτῆρας τῶν στοιχείων γίνεται*", *Grammatici Graeci, Scholia Marciana (partim excerpta ex Heliodoro, Tryphone, Diomede, Stephano, Georgio Choerobosco, Gregorio Corinthio)*, ed. A. HILGARD, Leipzig, 1901, I. 3, p. 305. According to P. LEMERLE, *Ὁ Πρῶτος Βυζαντινὸς Οὐμανισμός*, p. 93, the προπαιδεία is called also στοιχειώδης ἐκπαίδευσις i. e. elementary education, whose material are the letters, either prose or sacred *τὰ γράμματα, εἴτε πεζὰ εἴτε ἱερά.*

*(Trivium). Indeed, he was like rich and fertile ground and assimilated his lessons in τά τε τῆς γραμματικῆς καὶ ῥητορικῆς καὶ φιλοσοφίας μαθήματα in such a short time that outdid all of his contemporaries. Not only these subjects did he learn but is best of ποιητικῶν καὶ ἀστρονομίας as well* (90). It rather appears that Michael was very familiar with the subjects within the trivium and quadrivium, but his biographer did not accurately comprehend it (91). The second episode concerns his teaching of the two brothers Theophanes and Theodore, the so-called Grapti. When the two brothers arrived at St. Sabas, the abbot of the Laura entrusted them into Synkellos' hands as a good teacher : *he taught them τήν τε γραμματικὴν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τῶν ποιητικῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα σκέμματα* (92). Likewise in the *vita* we read further that Michael had something like a *Σχολή*, which Theophanes of Caesarea locates close to the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem (93). There Michael and his disciples used to gather together for learning, so that the two brothers were proclaimed supremely wise and their fame spread to the ends of that land (94) and were styled by Theodore the Studite as Grammatikoi (*τοῖς Γραμματικοῖς τοῖς δυσὶν ἀδελφοῖς*) (95). The *ποιητικὴ τῆς Λαύρας Σχολή*, which was founded by John of Damascus, continued its tradition through Michael the Synkellos and the other Sabbaite poets (96).

## IV. 2

Apart from the contribution of the Greek monks in that period, and their high level of Hellenic education, other Christians can be adduced,

(90) CUNNINGHAM, *The Life of Michael the Synkellos*, pp. 47, 48.

(91) N. G. WILSON, *Οἱ λόγιοι στὸ Βυζάντιο*, Athens, 1983, pp. 106, 107 (Greek Version).

(92) CUNNINGHAM, *The Life of Michael the Synkellos*, pp. 52, 53.

(93) J. FEATHERSTONE, *The Praise of Theodore Graptos by Theophanes of Caesarea*, in *AB*, 98 (1980), pp. 93-150.

(94) CUNNINGHAM, *The Life of Michael the Synkellos*, pp. 52, 53.

(95) S. EFTHYMIADIS, *Notes on the Correspondence of Theodore the Studite*, in *REB*, 53 (1995), pp. 141-163. *Γραμματικός*, according to Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford 1980, p. 145, is the *well grounded in the rudiments of grammar,* i. e. *the grammarian. Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, ed. G. FATOUROS, I, II (*CFHB*, Series Berolinensis, 31), Berlin, 1992, ep. 91 and ep. 151.

(96) S. EFSTRATIADOU, *Μιχαήλ ὁ Σύγκελλος*, in *Νέα Σιών*, 31 (1936), pp. 329-338.

whether Syrians or Copts, who considered Greek as the most important foreign language ([97]) as suggested by the fact that they wrote in it. For example, the *Chronicle* of John of Nikiu, the Coptic bishop who flourished during the second half of the 7th century, was written originally in Greek ([98]), while the Syrian chronicler John of Antioch likewise wrote his *Ἱστορία Χρονική* in Greek ([99]). Such examples testify that schoolteachers and schools of grammar, oratory and other subjects existed at the beginning of the 7th century existed in Antioch and Alexandria ([100]).

During these so-called "Dark Ages", there could not be intensive interest in ancient education, as we shall notice during the 9th century and after. Despite this, one needs only to peruse the works of the aforementioned writers, as well as other literary genres, to ascertain the degree to which such writers were conversant with ancient knowledge and possessed a formidable level of education ([101]). Likewise one can easily see that the enthusiasm for teaching and learning of the Greek letters was so great during these so-called "Dark Ages", not only in the queen of the cities – Constantinople – but also in a Byzantine province like Palestine ([102]). Though the hagiographical texts of this period, for example, are not written in the Attic dialect, the linguistic pattern reveals that the writers possessed a sufficient degree of education and that their interest towards these texts was not limited to theological content but was far more extensive. Such texts contain a considerable source of information about the language, the history and the daily life ([103]).

As for the theological texts, strictly speaking, we should recall that Krumbacher and Ehrhard exclude theological literature from the phe-

(97) N. Serikkof, *Ancient Greece and Byzantium through Arabic Eyes : Types of Medieval Translations from Greek into Arabic*, in *Bsl*, 45 (1992), pp. 198- 210.

(98) A. Ayyad Boulos, *The History and Literature of the Ancient Egyptian and Coptic Languages*, in *4th St. Shenouda Annual Coptic Conference*, Los Angeles-California, 2002, p. 10. R. H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John (c. 690 A. D.) Coptic Bishop of Nikiu Being a History of Egypt before and during the Arab Conquest*, translated from Hermann Zotenberg's edition of the Ethiopic version, London and Oxford, 1916, p. 1.

(99) Joannes Antiochenus *Fragmenta*, ed. K. Muller, *FHG*, 4, Paris, 1841-1870, pp. 538-622.

(100) Tsampis, *Ἡ Παιδεία στὸ Χριστιανικὸ Βυζάντιο*, p. 212.

(101) Lampakis, *Ἡ δῆθεν «Μεγάλη Σιγή» τῶν Γραμμάτων*, see supra.

(102) S. J. Kourouses, *Ἑλληνικὴ Παιδεία καὶ Ἐθνικὴ Συνείδησις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρχαιότητος εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον*, Athens, 1993, p. 24.

(103) Lampakis, *Ἡ δῆθεν «Μεγάλη Σιγή» τῶν Γραμμάτων*, see supra.

nomenon of the decay of other literary genres. During this period many writers flourished, such as John of Damascus, who, despite spending his monastic career at the monastery of St. Sabas in Arab-ruled Jerusalem, was nevertheless regarded as the chief defender of icons in the first phase of Iconoclasm ([104]), even though he wrote his voluminous oeuvre in the isolated environs of St. Sabas monastery, which, though it was an enclave of Christian learning in Umayyad Palestine, it was situated within a world in which it was difficult even for the Eastern patriarchs to attend ecumenical councils held in Constantinople ([105]). It was John of Damascus who systematized the dogma of the Orthodox Church in his work *Πηγὴ Γνώσεως*, which in reality became the enchiridion of the Byzantine theologians ([106]), and whose homiletics and liturgical works had a great effect upon Byzantium during the 9th century ([107]). A. Kazhdan calls him a forerunner of ninth- and tenth-century "encyclopedists" ([108]). The writings attributed to St. John Damascene in Arab-ruled Palestine include the Greek romance of Barlaam and Joasaph, which was to have a long history as the source of many other translated versions ([109]). By the mid-eighth century, John Damascene's monastery was an enclave of Greek learning

(104) CAMERON, *The Eastern Provinces in the 7th Century A. D.*, pp. 278- 313.

(105) A. CAMERON, *The Literary Sources for Byzantium and Early Islam*, in *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam VII^e-VIII^e s.*, in *Actes du Colloque International Lyon- Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen*, Paris, Institut du Monde Arabe, 1990, pp. 3-14.

(106) H.-G. BECK, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Χιλιετία*, Athens, 2000, p. 239 (Greek version).

(107) BLAKE, *La littérature grecque en Palestine au VIII^e siècle*, see supra.

(108) KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, p. 79.

(109) For the romance of Barlaam and Joasaph see G. R. WOODWARD and H. MATTINGLY, *John Damascene, Barlaam and Ioasaph, LCL* 34, 1967 ; D. M. LANG, *"Wisdom and Lies" : Variations on a Georgian Literary Theme*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 18, 3 (1956), pp. 436-448 ; J. A. BOYLE, *The Balavariani (Barlaam and Josaphat) : A Tale from the Christian East Translated from the Old Georgian*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 30, 1 (1967), pp. 195-196 ; D. M. LANG, *St. Euthymius the Georgian and the Barlaam and Joasaph Romance*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 17, 2 (1955), pp. 306-325 ; IDEM, *The Life of the Blessed Joasaph : A New Oriental Christian Version of the Barlaam and Joasaph Romance (Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchal Library : Georgian MS 140)*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 20, 1/3 (1957), pp. 389-407.

amid an Arab-speaking majority, yet the range and variety of his writings and the sources used by him is amazing ([110]). By the same token, it was Andrew of Crete, the rhetorician, who, in addition to his theological prose works, wrote also liturgical Canons, so well and so prolifically in fact that he is regarded as the ancient poet of the Canons ([111]). Furthermore, it was Cosmas of Maiuma, who, according to common estimation, is the best of the Byzantine Canon composers. These writers are of new literary genre of the ecclesiastical hymnography, namely the Canon, as well as other literary genres ([112]). The hymns of these three hymnographers, as C. Mango states, show a success in expressiveness and a depth of sentiment, which are generally almost absent from all the other Byzantine poetic works ([113]).

As we have mentioned before, the writings and the poetical compositions of the theologians and hymnographers of this period reveal a high level of education and reflect the Byzantine theological tradition that played an important role for their successors. Apart from these theological and ecclesiastical writings we find other writings in other literary genres such as philological and chronological works, which reflect also a high educational level, and all this in a period which is regarded as antipathetic with respect to knowledge ([114]).

In the field of philology we have the oldest Byzantine work of syntax of Michael Synkellos (761-846). Besides his rhetorical and ecclesiastical works, Synkellos was also the author of a simple and popular textbook on syntax : the *Μέθοδος περὶ τῆς τοῦ λόγου συντάξεως* [*Treatise on the*

(110) Ibn An-Nadim is the only among the Arab writers who referred to this romance, see *Al-Fihrist*, I, p. 424.

(111) W. Weyh, *Ἡ ἀκροστιχίδα στὴ Βυζαντινὴ ποίηση τῶν Κανόνων*, Athens, 2005, p. 27 (Greek translation). Beside his hymnographical works another work with astrological content (*Fragmentum Astrologicum*) is attributed to Cosmas of Maiuma : Cf. P. Bourdeaux, *Codices Parisini* (*Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, 8. 3, Brussels, 1912, pp. 120-122.

(112) Mar Ignatius Aphram i Barsaum declares in his volume : *Histoire des sciences et de la littérature syriaque*, Holland, 1987 (Arabic version), pp. 70, 90 that the Canons are compositions of these three Greek hymnographers, which the Syrians, in their turn, borrowed from them because these hymns describe Christ's deeds, and are too remote from the dogmatic hypotheses concerning which the Christian congregations differed.

(113) Mango, *Βυζάντιο : Ἡ Αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Νέας Ῥώμης*, p. 285.

(114) Lemerle, *Ὁ Πρῶτος Βυζαντινὸς Οὐμανισμός*, p. 84.

*construction of the phrase*] ([115]), in this treatise, Synkellos describes the use of the classes of the word.

In the Codex 4216. 5 of the Monastery of Iviron the manuscript gives the work the following title : *Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ περὶ τῆς τοῦ λόγου συντάξεως διαπονηθεῖσα παρὰ Μιχαήλ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ συγγέλου τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σχεδιασθεῖσα ἐν Ἐδέσῃ πόλει τῆς Μεσοποταμίας αἰτήσει Λαζάρου διακόνου φιλοσόφου καὶ λογοθέτου* ([116]). This work, which was written in Edessa of Mesopotamia between the years 810-813 ([117]), reveals the degree of assiduity with which the Greek Language was taught, and also without interruption, even in regions which were very far away from the Constantinople. We have an unexpected proof of the vigor of Greek education and the existence of texts in the most removed regions of Byzantine world ([118]). Commenting on this work, C. Mango says in this case that we are faced with two facts :

1. Michael composed this textbook on the basis of the learning he acquired in Palestine.

2. There existed in 800 a demand for such a treatise at Edessa, a city noted chiefly for its Syriac culture ([119]). It appears that Michael Synkellos knew also Arabic and Armenian, because when Thomas, the Patriarch of Jerusalem c. 810, wrote a letter to the heretics of Armenia in Arabic through the hand of Theodore Abu Qurrah, Synkellos translated this letter from Arabic into Armenian ([120]).

The *Βίβλιος Ὁμηρικὴ ΔΕΥ/Σωφρονίου Ἡγουμέν<ου>* ἐξήγησις, attributed to Sophronius Patriarch of Alexandria (841-860), is one of the philological works that were written during the so-called "Dark Ages" for instructive purposes. Sophronius of Alexandria composed diverse manu-

(115) R. H. Robins, *The Byzantine Grammarians : Their Place in History, Trends in Linguistics, (Studies and Monographers*, 70), Berlin, 1993, p. 149.

(116) I. Phokylidou, *Μιχαήλ πρεσβύτερος καὶ Σύγκελλος Ἱεροσολύμων*, in *Νέα Σιών*, 13 (1913), pp. 667-649, S. Lamprou, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς Βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους Ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, Canterbury, 1900, II, p. 18.

(117) *Prosopographie der Mittel-byzantinischen Zeit*, Erste Abteilung (641-867), Berlin-New Yor, 2000, 3. Band (# 5059), pp. 285-292.

(118) Wilson, *Οἱ Λόγιοι στὸ Βυζάντιο*, p. 107.

(119) Mango, *Greek Culture in Palestine after the Arab Conquest*, see supra.

(120) J. C. Lamoreaux, *The Biography of Theodore Abu Qurrah Revisited*, in *DOP*, 56 (2002), pp. 25-40.

als of grammar that he dedicated to John, Bishop of Damiette. The work has the following title : *Σωφρονίου πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς τὸν ἀββᾶν Ἰωάννην ἐπίσκοπον Ταμιάθεως σχόλια σύντομα ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Χάρακος πρὸς εἰσαγομένους εἰς τοὺς ὀνοματικοὺς καὶ ρηματικοὺς κανόνας, ἃ ἡνίκα ἐμόναζε φιλεμπόνως ἐξέθετο* ([121]). In general, John intends his works to his pupils and, as P. G. Nicolopoulos thinks, the translation of Homer's Iliad was made for the same intention. Let us note that from the side of grammar and syntax, the Iliad was a work that the beginners used to study and these beginners would be pupils who began their Greek studies in first half of the 9th century in Alexandria already submitted to the Arabs. As a patriarch of a province dominated by the Arabs, Sophronius had continued, during the 9th century, his cultural activities among the Christians of his jurisdiction. This work reveals to us that the interest for Homer is quite alive during the 9th century, since the text translated by Sophronius, the admirer of Homer, was undoubtedly for studies in the region of Alexandria. One could even advance that the Greek culture carried on its way in this famous city of Alexandria, even after John Philoponus and George Choeroboscos ([122]).

Attributed to George the Synkellos (†810/811), who wrote after 806, is a chronographic work with the title *Ἐκλογὴ χρονογραφίας συνταγεῖσα ὑπὸ Γεωργίου μοναχοῦ συγκέλλου γεγονότος Ταρασίου πατριάρχου Κων/πόλεως ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι Διοκλητιανοῦ* ([123]). This massive book aims to present an account of the history of the world from the biblical creation account in Genesis to the accession of the Roman emperor Diocletian (284). Theophanes did not hesitate to praise the learning of his forerunner : *Ὁ μὲν μακαριώτατος ἀββᾶς Γεώργιος, ὁ καὶ σύγκελλος γεγονὼς Ταρασίου, τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐλλόγιμος ἀνὴρ καὶ πολυμαθέστατος ὑπάρχων πολλούς τε χρονογράφους καὶ ἱστοριογράφους ἀναγνοὺς καὶ ἀκριβῶς τούτους διερευνησάμενος, σύντομον χρονογραφίαν ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι Διοκλητιανοῦ, τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων καὶ διώκτου τῶν*

(121) *Excerpta ex Joannis Characis commentariis in Theodosii Alexandrini canones*, ed. A. Hilgard, *Grammatici Graeci*, vol. 4. 2, Leipzig, 1894, pp. 375-434.

(122) P. G. Nicolopoulos, *L'ἐξήγησις de l'Iliade de Sophrone Patriarche d'Alexandrie (841-860)*, in *Byz.* 64, (2003), pp. 246-249.

(123) Georgii Syncelli, *Ecloga Chronographica*, ed. A. A. Mosshammer, Leipzig, 1984, pp. 1-478.

*Χριστιανῶν, ἀκριβῶς συνεγράψατο, τοὺς τε χρόνους ἐν πολλῇ ἐξετάσει ἀκριβολογησάμενος καὶ τὰς τούτων διαφωνίας συμβιβάσας καὶ ἐπιδιορθωσάμενος καὶ συστήσας ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τάς τε τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων παντὸς ἔθνους πολιτείας τέ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἀναγραψάμενος καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐφικτὸν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς τῶν μεγάλων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν θρόνων, Ῥώμης τε, φημί, καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Ἀλεξανδρείας τε καὶ Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων, τούς τε ὀρθοδόξως τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποιμάναντας καὶ τοὺς ἐν αἱρέσει λῃστρικῶς ἄρξαντας καὶ τοὺς τούτων χρόνους ἀκριβῶς ἐνέταξεν* ([124]).

The erudition of George the Synkellos, as reflected by his citation of numerous sources, demonstrates that many texts were accessible to students of Greek literature in Syria and Palestine a century after the Islamic conquests, and it is certain moreover that Greek chronography was studied in Syria. This means that George the Synkellos lived and spent much time in Orthodox society in Palestine and may have gained the greater part of his learning in Syro-Palestinian libraries, especially those of Melkites and the Orthodox. He may also well have been a monk at the monastery of St Chariton, that is, at the Old Lavra, the Syrian name of which was Souka. The question concerns not only the activities of the Greek and Hellenists in the Arab-ruled territories as preservers of the Hellenic heritage, but also the means of transmission of that heritage to the Arabs, either directly or through the Syriac intermediaries ([125]).

## IV. 3

As P. Lemerle has noted, if this period was truly poor as compared to the whole history of Byzantine Literature, we must admit that it nevertheless deliberately transmitted a maturity which yielded its fruits during the 9th century ([126]), and that the continuity of the Hellenic civilization in the Eastern Provinces of Byzantium is sufficient evidence that the cultural roots of the Byzantine Renaissance of the 9th century ([127]), may be

(124) THEOPHANIS, *Chronographia*, I, p. 3.

(125) G. L. HUXELY, *On the Erudition of George the Synkellos*, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 81, 6 (1981), pp. 207-217.

(126) LEMERLE, *Ὁ Πρῶτος Βυζαντινὸς Οὐμανισμός*, p. 102.

(127) G. CAVALLO, *Qualche riflessione sulla continuità della cultura greca in Oriente tra i Secoli VII e VIII*, in *BZ*, 85 (1995), pp. 13- 22.

traced to the monks of Palestine and Syria who fled from there and were brought to the Byzantine Empire ([128]) after the anarchy (809-813) and the sacking of monasteries that followed Harūn ar-Rashīd's death ([129]).

We should add that, towards the end of 8th century and the first years of the 9th, when Theodore the Studite sought administrative and functional components for his monastic reform ([130]), he found them only in Palestine, and for this reason wrote to Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem (807-821), asking him to send monks to introduce the Sabbaitic chants at his famous Constantinopolitan monastery ([131]). The prestige which the Palestinian office enjoyed near the Studites, increasing the liturgical poetry, was considered by Theodore the Studite as a sure guide in the combat against the heretics. This office, which the Studite monks had already practiced in Bithyniya, was simpler and thus more monastic than the office of the Cathedral of Constantinople. It was balanced more than the office of the old urban monasticism of the Capital ; it did not require a great number of priests and, moreover, it came from Palestine, so much admired by the Studites because of its serious and solid monasticism ... The Studite monks did not have any reason to give up the Sabbaite office, once installed, from 799, in the Capital ([132]).

At the same time, the *Typika* or the liturgical orders of Mar Sabas, known as *Τυπικὸν τοῦ Ἁγίου Σάββα*, which concern the functional order and the chronologies of fasts, were introduced into the Church of imperial Constantinople itself and, in their final form of the Athonite reduction, became the definitive liturgical synthesis of the Byzantine rite under the hesychasts of the 14th century ([133]).

(128) MANGO, *Greek Culture in Palestine after the Arab Conquest*, see supra.

(129) THEOPHANIS *Chronographia*, I, p. 499, 15-31.

(130) J. LEROY, *La réforme studite*, in *OCA*, 153 (1958), pp. 181-214.

(131) *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, ed. J. THOMAS and A. HERO, Washington, D. C. 1998, I, pp. 87-88, see also J. PATRICH, *The Sabaite Heritage : An Introductory Survey*, in *The Sabbaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, p. 3.

(132) T. POTT, *La réforme liturgique byzantine*, Roma, 2000, see also N. EGENDER, *La formation et l'influence du typikon liturgique de Saint-Sabas*, in *The Sabbaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, pp. 209-216.

(133) J. THOMAS, *The Imprint of Sabbaitic Monasticism on Byzantine Monastic TYPIKA*, in *The Sabbaite Heritage*, pp. 73-84, see also SAHAS, *Cultural interaction during the Umayyad Period*, see supra.

When the heresy of Filioque appeared in the Roman Church, the Pope, being unable to bear it, wrote to Thomas, the Patriarch of Jerusalem at the time, begging him to send forth clergymen adorned with logic and wisdom in order to more effectively deal with this heresy. The Patriarch subsequently sent Michael the Synkellos, Theodore and Theophanes the Grapti, and a pious monk called Job ([134]). And when Germanus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the great poet of Byzantium and the contemporary of John of Damascus, was informed about the εἱρμοί of John, he incorporated them into the composition of his Canons ([135]).

The significant role of the district of Palestine and the contributions of the monastery of St. Sabas to the Renaissance of Byzantium during the 9th century, was stated by Marie-France Auzépy as follows : during the 8th century, the Palestinians John of Damascus and Theodore Abu Qurrah offer a defence of the icons, before the Constantinopolitans of the 9th century, the Patriarch Nicephorus and Theodore Studite, take over. The post-iconoclasm liturgy in Constantinople is of Palestinian origins ; more precisely, the liturgy adopted in the capital after the crisis is inspired by that of the Laura of St. Sabas, where there were monks such as John of Damascus and certainly Theodore Abu Qurrah. The poetic production of the famous hymnographers Cosmas and Stephen, which have been monks of the Laura of St. Sabas at that time, was integrated into the Constantinopolitan liturgy. The East, and more particularly Palestine and the Laura of St. Sabas, provided men, hymns, liturgy and ideas with the favourable part to the icons in Constantinople ([136]).

## IV. 4

The second movement in which the Eastern Provinces of Byzantium contributed much was the *Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement*, which help transmit Greek thought to the East and especially to the Islamic

(134) CUNNINGHAM, *The Life of Michael the Synkellos*, p. 53 ; EFSTRATIADOU, *Μιχαήλ ὁ Σύγκελλος*, in *Νέα Σιών*, 31 (1936), pp. 329-338.

(135) S. EFSTRATIADOU, *Ἀνδρέας Κρήτης ὁ Ἱεροσολυμίτης*, in *Νέα Σιών*, 29 (1934), pp. 673-683.

(136) Marie-France AUZEPY, *De la Palestine à Constantinople (VIII^e-IX^e siècles) : Etienne le Sabaïte et Jean Damascène*, in *TM*, 12 (1994), pp. 183-217. For the hymnographers of the Laura of St. Sabas see C. HANNICK, *Hymnographie et hymnographes Sabbaïtes*, in *The Sabbaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, ed. by J. PATRICH, pp. 217-228.

world. In this movement the Christians of the East had a particularly great and fundamental contribution. This is especially so of those Christians from the regions of Syria, Edessa, Harran and Mesopotamia, all centers that became schools of a higher grade which offered a grammatical and rhetorical education based on the Syriac Scriptures ([137]). The extensive transmission of Greek knowledge and culture to the Muslim Arabs, therefore, did not take place in a vacuum. Many of the translations had already been made from Greek into Syriac, from which they were translated into Arabic. For two centuries prior to Islam the Syrians had been translating Greek works into Syriac ([138]).

In order to understand the role played by the Eastern Provinces of Byzantium in this movement, I present an epistle of Ĥunayn Ibn Isĥaq, the most distinguished translator from Greek and Syriac into Arabic during the 9th century A. D. Apart from the translations, Ĥunayn wrote on various medical subjects and has given us in one of his works a description of translations of Galen, namely, the "*Index of Galen*". This work was written in the form of a letter and sent it to his friend under the title : "*A Letter to 'Ali Ibn Yaĥya Ibn al-Munadjjim*" ([139]), who had asked him about a detailed list with information on the contents of all Greek medical works that were unknown to him.

In this letter, which is dated to the year 855-856 ([140]), Ĥunayn shows how the translators of Galen's books were all Christians, probably Nestorians. Their diligence and ability must have been as great as their knowledge of languages. They all knew Greek, Syriac and Arabic. Ĥunayn himself and some others also knew Persian. It is no easy task to translate such a difficult writer as Galen, whose books are full of technical terms, into two foreign languages in which terms had partly to be created. But they were helped by the spirit of scientific tradition of Hellenism which was still alive among them. Of this Ĥunayn furnishes us with a most striking picture saying that : *These are the books to the reading of which the students of the Medical School at Alexandria were confined. They used to read them in the order which I have followed in my*

(137) SAHAS, *Cultural Interaction during the Umayyad Period*, see supra.

(138) ZIAKAS, *Greek Thought to Christian East and Arabic Islamic Tradition*, see supra.

(139) IBN AN-NADĪM, *Al-Fihrist*, Beirut, 1978, Vol. 1, pp. 403, 417.

(140) M. MEYERHOF, *New Light of Ĥunayn Ibn Isĥaq and his Period*, in *Isis*, 8, 4 (1926), pp. 685-724.

*list. They were accustomed to meet every day for the reading and interpretation of one the standard works, in the same way in which, in our days, our Christian friends are accustomed to meet every day at the educational institution known σχολή for the study of a standard work from among the books of the Ancients. Concerning the remainder of (Galen's) books they were accustomed to read them everyone for himself, after an introductory study of the aforementioned books ; just as our friends read today the explanations of the books of the Ancients* ([141]). We learn here that in the middle of the 9th century A. D. and certainly before, the habits and traditions of the Alexandrian School were still being plainly followed by the board of Christian scholars and medical men of Baghdad ([142]). This proves that the Alexandrian studies and methods were being practiced also in their Arabic forms, and shows also that the Greek traditions were fully alive there in 856 and even prior to that ([143]).

We can assume that there existed Greek and Syriac epitomes or handbooks of Aristotelian logic in order to help explain the means whereby the philosophical learning of the Byzantine world of the 6th century was transmitted to the Muslim world of the 9th and 10th centuries ([144]). Thus we find that the most obvious evidence for the flourishing, or at least existence of the Hellenic heritage and learning in the Eastern Provinces of Byzantium, is this transmission to the Muslim World of the Greek learning of philosophy and medicine from Greek into Arabic. At a wider and more fundamental level, through the Translation Movement, Islamic culture became the successor of Greek culture, and without that the culture of classical Islam could never have matured ([145]).

From South of Palestine another significant contribution emerged, the reason of which was the adoption of the Arabic language by the Orthodox Melkites. It is well known that by the early 9th century, the Abbasid Provinces of Syria and Palestine were being transformed, as the Arabic-

(141) G. BERGSTRASSER, *Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥaq über die syrischen und arabiscen Galen-Übersetzungen = Risāla*, Leipzig, 1925.

(142) MEYERHOF, *New Light of Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥaq and his Period*, see supra.

(143) *The Legacy of Islam*, ed. by T. ARNOLD and A. GUILLAUME, see *Science and Medicine*, by M. MEYERHOF, Oxford, 1931, p. 319.

(144) M. ROUECHE, *A Middle Byzantine Handbook of Logic Terminology*, in *JÖB*, 29 (1980), pp. 71-98.

(145) G. E. VON GRUNEBAUM, *The Sources of Islamic Civilization*, in *Der Islam*, 46, 1-2 (1970), pp. 1-50.

speaking monks of the Judean desert monasteries, and particularly those of Mar Sabas monastery – Abba Euthymius, Abba Theodosius and of Abba Chariton – as well as the Christians living in Islamic society, accommodated themselves to its habits ([146]). Many of them indeed adopted Islam, while those who continued to be Christians, and who were loyal to the Orthodox of Byzantium, for whom Greek was the *lingua sacra*, were thus the first to adopt Arabic, the *lingua franca* ([147]) as written ecclesiastical language ([148]). Once Arabic language began to be used in its written form by the Christians of East, those who cultivated it and developed the Arabic ecclesiastic philology were Orthodox Christians known as Melkites for whom this *lingua franca* became the cultural carrier within the Islamic world ([149]).

The work accomplished by those Melkites was two-fold : not only did they translate the ecclesiastic liturgical books and the Orthodox writings, but they also composed works of their own. Their centers of intellectual activity were located in Antioch and in South Palestine ([150]) with the monasteries of Mar Sabas and of Abba Chariton functioning as educational centers. Numerous translations carried out here were from Greek

(146) The word "Melkites" comes from the Arabic (Malik), which means "king". The anti-Chalcedonian churches of Syria and Egypt usually expressed, with this characteristic form, the Greek Orthodox hierarchy, as representatives or instruments of the unsympathetic policy of the Byzantine Emperors, policy which was expressed in various severe acts like heavy taxes, dynastic behavior of the Byzantine local sovereigns, disregard of the protection of the Eastern provinces etc, see B. I. PHIDAS, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία, Α΄*, Athens, 2002, p. 731.

(147) S. GRIFFITH, *What has Constantinople to do with Jerusalem ? Palestine in the Ninth Century : Byzantine Orthodoxy in the World of Islam*, in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century : Dead or Alive ?* In *Papers from the Thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Birmingham 1996, ed. Leslie BRUBAKER, *Variorum*, 1998, pp. 181-193.

(148) J. BLAU, *A Melkite Arabic Literary Lingua Franca from the Second Half of the First Millennium*, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 57, No. 1, (1994), pp. 14-16.

(149) J. SHEPARD, *Byzantine Relations with the Outside World in the Ninth Century : an Introduction*, in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century : Dead or Alive ? Papers from the Thirtieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Birmingham 1996, ed. Leslie BRUBAKER, *Variorum*, 1998, pp. 167-179.

(150) S. GRIFFITH, *From Aramaic to Arabic : the Languages of the Monasteries of Palestine in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods*, in *DOP*, 51 (1997), pp. 11-31.

original texts. In the monastery of Mar Sabas, two great literary figures came together, the great theologian of orthodox tradition, John of Damascus (680-755) who studied the Aristotle's Organon and applied the Aristotelian logic, as well as his literary heir Theodore Abu Qurrah (740-820/25), bishop later of Harran, who was the first to translate Aristotle's "Analyctica Priora" into Arabic ([151]). He was also remembered by the Muslim writer Ibn an-Nadim (d. ca. 385/995), as the translator of Pseudo-Aristotle's "*De virtutibus animae*" from Greek into Arabic ([152]). Both contributed greatly to the introduction of Aristotelian thought to the Arabs ([153]). Thus as early as the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century, the "scholarly activity" of the monks at the monasteries of Jerusalem was beginning to be conducted in Arabic ([154]). Multiform literary activity took place inside these monasteries. Most of this activity consisted of original writing and the translation of works from Greek into Arabic ([155]).

Finally I would like to refer to another type of translation, which makes use of Greek and Syriac, and more specifically, the translation from Syriac into Greek. Some of the Oriental chronography read by Theophanes may well have been originally composed in Greek, while other chronicles had been translated into Greek from Syriac. One of Theophanes' sources was a lost Oriental chronicle which was later used also by Michael the Syrian ([156]). A further example is translation of the 7th-century ascetic homilies of St. Isaac the Syrian from Syriac into Greek at Mar Saba in the late 8th century by the monks Patrikios and Abramios ([157]).

(151) ZIAKAS, *Greek Thought to Christian East and Arabic Islamic Tradition*, see supra.

(152) G. ZIAKAS, *Ἰσλάμ : Θρησκεία καὶ Πολιτεία*, Thessaloniki, 2001, p. 143.

(153) LAMOREAUX, *The Biography of Theodore Abu Qurrah Revisited*, see supra ; S. H. GRIFFITH, *Theodore Abu Qurrah : The Intellectual Profile of an Arab Christian Writer of the First Abbasid Century*, Tel Aviv, 1992, pp. 25, 26 ; IBN AN-NADĪM, *Al-Fihrist*, 1, p. 35, reading Izzah for Qurrah.

(154) ZIAKAS, *Greek Thought to Christian East and Arabic Islamic Tradition*, see supra.

(155) WILKEN, *The Land Called Holy*, p. 251.

(156) Y. HIRSCHFELD, *Euthymius and his Monastery in the Judean Desert*, in *Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani*, 43 (1993), pp. 339-371.

(157) SERIKKOF, *Ancient Greece and Byzantium through Arabic Eyes : Types of Medieval Translations from Greek into Arabic*, see supra.

Such was the nature of the literary activity in the scriptorium of Mar Saba and of the affiliated monasteries when the Great Laura actually served as the intellectual center of the See of Jerusalem ([158]).

## V

It is paradox indeed that Greek Letters continued and bloomed, as we saw, in the Eastern Provinces of Byzantium, remaining insistently Greek even after the Islamic conquests. This was especially the case in Arab-ruled Palestine, the most active centre of Greek culture during the 8th century, and more specifically in Jerusalem and the neighbouring monasteries ([159]), the most persecuted part of the Empire. We find comparable activity in Syria, the seat of the first Arabic Caliphate. All of these regions actually possessed greater reserves of Greek education and Greek books than what was found in Constantinople during the same period ([160]).

The reason for the existence of this surprising vitality of Greek culture in Palestine-Syria in the 8th century, as Mango sees it ([161]), is probably due to the swift and non–destructive nature of the Arab conquest. But, looking at the subject from one corner only, I fear we may depreciate the role played by the carriers of the Greek culture considering their endeavors worthless. If, I doubt, the non-destructive nature of the Arab conquest, may be considered a factor in the existence of the Greek culture in the Oriental provinces of Byzantium during the so-called "Dark Ages", I say that without the active contributions of the aforementioned writers, which

(158) With regard to the book *Τὰ Ἀσκητικά* of St. Isaac the Syrian, there was an old manuscript in the Laura of Saint Saba in Palestine, in which manuscript the following writing was found : *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀββᾶ Ἰσαάκ Σύρου καὶ ἀναχωρητοῦ, τοῦ γενομένου ἐπισκόπου τῆς φιλοχρίστου πόλεως Νινευὶ λόγοι ἀσκητικοί εὑρεθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ὁσίων πατέρων ἡμῶν τοῦ Ἀββᾶ Πατρικίου, καὶ τοῦ Ἀββᾶ Ἀβραμίου. Οἱ δὲ ὑπ'αὐτοῦ περιεχόμενοι λόγοι ὀγδοήκοντα ἑπτά*, see J. Spetsieri, *Τὰ εὑρεθέντα Ἀσκητικὰ τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰσαάκ ἐπισκόπου Νινευὶ τοῦ Σύρου*, Athens, 1895 ; S. Brock, *Syriac into Greek at Mar Saba : The Translation of St. Isaac the Syrian*, in *The Sabbaite Heritage*, pp. 201-208, see also D. Miller, *The Ascetical Homilies of Saint Isaac the Syrian*, Boston, Massachusetts, 1984.

(159) J. Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism. A Comparative Study in Eastern Monasticism, Forth to Seventh Centuries* (*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, 32), Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995, p. 358.

(160) Mango, *Greek Culture in Palestine after the Arab Conquest*, see supra.

(161) Mango, *Βυζάντιο : Ἡ Αὐτοκρατορία τῆς Νέας Ῥώμης*, p. 165.

I consider the more important factor, the Greek culture would have not continued yet.

It is also paradox, as we saw, that the writers of these Provinces demonstrated a high degree of literary competence, while in Constantinople, the Capital of Byzantine Empire and the seat of Ecumenical Patriarchate, despite the many imperial officials, Patriarchal scriveners and other dignitaries, learning seems to have fallen to the point that illiteracy came to predominate ([162]).

There, in the Capital, we witness an utterly different picture in which all the higher studies were interrupted, and where the educational tradition was accompanied by a fall in the literary culture for the greater part of the 8th century, with the result that the Capital ceased to be an active center in the Educational process, a conclusion borne out by contemporaries like the Patriarch Nicephorus ([163]), George the Monk ([164]) and Theophanes the Confessor ([165]). Also the existence of an Imperial University at Constantinople, which is reported with the name Ecumenical School seems to be mere hypothetical issue and seems to be little more than a historical phantom. Of course, there were schools, but there are no traces of Imperial or Patriarchal Universities ([166]), obviously because also the two, at the duration of the continuous wars, had lost their importance and disappeared ([167]).

(162) TOMADAKIS, in *EEBΣ*, see supra.

(163) *Ἐπεὶ οὖν πυκναὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπαναστάσεις ἐγένοντο καὶ ἡ τυραννὶς ἐκράτει τά τε τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς πόλεως κατημελεῖτο καὶ διέπιπτε πράγματα, ἔτι μὴν καὶ ἡ τῶν λόγων ἠφανίζετο παίδευσις καὶ τὰ τακτικὰ διελύετο*, NICEPHORI, *Opuscula Historica : Breviarium Historicum de Rebus Gestis post Imperium Mauricii*, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig, 1880, p. 52, 6.

(164) From George the Monk we know the legend that Leon III would have set fire on the University of Constantinople flaring professors and books, and *ἔκτοτε οὖν ἡ τῶν ἐπιστημῶν γνῶσις ἐν Ῥωμανίᾳ ἐσπάνισε τῇ τῶν βασιλευόντων γνωσιμάχων ἀπονοίᾳ μειουμένη*, GEORGII MONACHI, *Chronicon* (lib. 1-4), ed. C. DE BOOR, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1904, p. 742.

(165) Theophanes accuses Leon III to have closed the educational establishments so *ὥστε καὶ τὰ παιδευτήρια σβεσθῆναι καὶ τὴν εὐσεβῆ παίδευσιν*, THEOPHANIS, *Chronographia*, p. 405.

(166) W. BRANDES, *Heraclius between Restoration and Reform*, in *The Reign of Heraclius (610-640) : Crisis and Confrontation*, P. G. J. REININK and B. H. STOLTE, (Eds.), 2002, p. 28.

(167) S. LINNER, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Πολιτισμοῦ*, Athens, 1999, p. 108 (Greek translation).

Thus we can see how the appearance of Islam and its extension affected the history of the Byzantine Literature, I shall not say, negatively. Islam affected many changes to take place in the characteristics of the Byzantine Literature during the so-called Dark Ages ; one of these changes is the scope of the writings. As the interests of the society was affected by its new structure, the scope had shifted also *from* the leisure and the luxury of knowledge as a part of the traditional self-identification of the antique and late citizens *to* the needs of people in a new world, in which they had to fight constantly in order to overcome the anxieties and uncertainties of the day. The answers were expected to come from religion, not from secular knowledge ([168]).

Secondly, changes took place also in the literary genres ; looking at the literary genres during the three centuries in the Eastern Provinces of Byzantium before the Islamic conquests, i. e. during the 4th, 5th, and 6th century, we witness a great difference. The prevailing genres then were orations, progymnasmata, epistles, epigrammata, epistolography, ecclesiastical history, historiography, chronography, apology, political or religious, exegesis, theological treatises about the Holy Triad, about the Incarnation of the Lord, ascetic works and vitae of monks, catenae on the Books of the Holy Scriptures, descriptions of sites and icons, declamations, lexicography, encomia, epitaphic, epithalamia, natural history, astronomical, philosophical, and geographical works, dogmatic works, liturgical works, scholia, and ars grammatica. There was a great part being written during the period in question but what makes the difference is that the literary production shifted *from* mainly secular *to* mainly religious, theological and ecclesiastical writings. It will be useful, however, to give a list of the main genres of writing of the period as they have been elucidated and evaluated in modern research : *Treatises against heresies, florilegia, homilies, saints's lives, collections of miracle stories, epistolography, exegesis, rhetorical dialogues, chronography, grammatical works, hymnographical compositions and sermons* ([169]), the fact which means, as we said formerly, that the literati became mainly clergy men not secular. It is obvious that Islam forced the writers of the Eastern Provinces of Byzantium to abandon the ancient Greek literary genres, and

(168) CHRYSOS, *Illuminating Darkness by Candlelight*, see supra.

(169) *Ibidem*, see also CAMERON, *New Themes and Styles in Greek Literature*, supra.

to try to search for others, all pure Byzantine, in order to carry out the demands of the new circumstances and the literary pursuits of the period.

The third change took place in the linguistic realm. For the first time we find the Greek literary productions to be written in another language, especially in Arabic, the Saracen language. Islam compelled some of these writers to abandon also their *lingua sacra*, the Greek, and to adopt the Arabic language of their rulers. Many scholars assert that John of Damascus knew also the Arabic language and wrote something in it. Theodore Abu Qurrah was a sophist and engaged in dialectics with the pagans [i.e. the Muslims], and knew their language. And as we referred previously, Michael Synkellos also knew the Arabic language. This adoption, although, from one hand, seemed to be fraught with danger for the Christian faith because it was frequently accompanied by a loss of competence in the language of their liturgy and books of theological and ethical instruction, including the Bible itself ([170]), from the other it seemed very essential for the Christians, in order to articulate their faith in response to the religious challenge of Islam, in the very idiom of the challenge ([171]). Concern of these writers was *how* to protect their faith and to defend their dogmas with all means even if they may change the scope of their writings, or to abandon ancient literary genres or even to write in a *lingua franca* like the Arabic.

So I may say now with certainty that *Islam was a turning point in the history of the Byzantine Literature* which, after the Islamic conquests, suffered much more damages ([172]). Islam made the Byzantine Literature during the so-called "Dark Ages" to be highly metaphysical, heavenly-oriented, a penultimate escape from reality ([173]).

It is wrong, therefore, according to P. Lemerle's opinion, to accuse for obscurantism a period which possibly had no regard for the enlightenment only because it had to solve more urgent problems and it achieved to do so ([174]). P. Lemerle also points out two remarkable achievements of

(170) M. N. SWANSON, *Folly to the Hunafā : the Cross of Christ in Arabic Christian-Muslim Controversy in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries A. D.*, Apud Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Arabicorum et Islamologiae, Cairi, 1995, p. 1.

(171) S. GRIFFITH, *What has Constantinople to do with Jerusalem ? Palestine in the Ninth Century : Byzantine Orthodoxy in the World of Islam*, in *Byzantium in the Ninth Century : Dead or Alive ?*, pp. 181-193.

(172) A. A. FYZEE, *Conférences sur l'Islam*, Paris, 1956, p. 19.

(173) KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature*, p. 406.

(174) LEMERLE, *Ὁ Πρῶτος Βυζαντινὸς Οὐμανισμός*, p. 73.

the period in question : (1) The final re-establishment of the icons, and (2) The first Renaissance of Byzantine Humanism ([175]). I refer also to that the supporters of theory of Big Silence had underestimated the value, efforts, books and works of the writers of this period, and also the role they played, with the thought that these writers lived and wrote far away from Byzantium and in regions that already had devolved to the possession of Arabs. However, as Tomadakis observes : *the intellectual Byzantium did not coincide never with the borders of Eastern Roman State* ([176]).

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(175) *Idem*, p. 72.
(176) TOMADAKIS, *Σύλλαβος Βυζαντινῶν Μελετῶν καὶ Κειμένων*, p. 301.

# THE FALL OF NICAEA AND THE TOWNS OF WESTERN ASIA MINOR TO THE TURKS IN THE LATER 11TH CENTURY : THE CURIOUS CASE OF NIKEPHOROS MELISSENOS

Nikephoros Melissenos was one of the most prominent figures in the Byzantine Empire in the second half of the 11th c. Important enough to have launched a serious bid for the imperial throne in 1080-1081, Melissenos came to be highly regarded and richly rewarded by the regime of Alexios I Komnenos, the man who effectively prevented Nikephoros from becoming Emperor himself in 1081. The purpose of this paper twofold : first, to consider whether Melissenos' frustrated ambitions finally got the better of him during the reign of his rival – and brother-in-law – and led to his disgrace ; and second, to examine whether the attribution of blame to this individual for the loss of a crucial part of Asia Minor by Komnenian histories of the 12th c. is fair and correct.

We can assemble something about Nikephoros Melissenos' career from the primary sources for this period. Curiously, Nikephoros does not make even the briefest of appearances in the histories of Kedrenos and Michael Attaleiates (1). We learn rather more about him, however, from other sources – principally the *Hyle Historias* of Nikephoros Bryennios and above all the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene (2). He features in short references in both the *Epitome Historion* of John Zonaras, and the history of Michael Glykas, who relies heavily on the account of the former for

(1) George KEDRENOS, *Synopsis Historion*, ed. I. BEKKER, 2 vols., Bonn, 1839 ; Michael ATTALEIATES, *Historia*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn, 1853.

(2) Nikephoros BRYENNIOS, *Hyle Historias*, ed. P. GAUTIER, Brussels, 1975, I.6, p. 85 ; I.11, p. 101 ; III.15, p. 239 ; IV.31, p. 301 ; IV.32, p. 303. Anna KOMNENE, *Alexias*, ed. D. REINSCH and A. KAMBYLIS, Berlin, 2001, II.8.i-v, pp. 75-77 ; II.9.i, pp. 77-78 ; II.10.i, pp. 79-80 ; II.11.1, p. 82 ; II.11.5, p. 83 ; III.4.i, p. 95 ; IV.6.ii, p. 132 ; V.5.vii, p. 156 ; VII.3.vi, p. 211 ; VIII.3.i, pp. 240-1 ; VIII.3.iv, p. 242 ; VIII.4.v, p. 244 ; VIII.5.iii, p. 246 ; X.2.vi, p. 286.

his coverage of the late 11th and early 12th c. (3). We also know of him from three letters which he received from Theophylact of Ohrid, one of which refers explicitly to correspondence which the cleric had received from Melissenos himself (4). From another, we learn that Theophylact had sent Nikephoros two hundred salted fish, presumably a delicacy local to the western Balkans (5).

In addition to the literary references to Melissenos, there are a handful of lead seals which appear to have belonged to this figure, recording Nikephoros' titles which he held before and during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos. One gives Melissenos' position as *protoproedros* and *monostrategos* of the Anatolikon, a title which would seem consistent with what we know about his support for the Emperor Michael Doukas during the revolt of Nikephoros Botaneiates (later Nikephoros III) (6). Three other pieces are perhaps more problematic, for the simple reason that they do not correspond with any written evidence. The three seals evidently belonged to the same individual, both because of the similarities of the titles recorded, but also because of similar style and indeed identical iconography. These variously record one Nikephoros Melissenos as holding the positions of *magistros* and *doux* of Triaditza, *magistros* and *katepano* of Triaditza and finally as *magistros*, *vestarkh* and *katepano*, with no toponmyn provided (7).

We do not know that our Nikephoros Melissenos – the person who had such prominent profile during the last quarter of the 11th c. – held

(3) John Zonaras, *Epitome Historion*, eds. M. Pinder and T. Büttner-Wobst, 3 vols., Bonn, 1841-1897, XVIII.21, vol. 3, p. 732 ; Michael Glykas, *Biblos Khronike*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1836, p. 619.

(4) P. Gautier, *Théophylacte d'Achrida. Lettres*, Thessalonica, 1986, pp. 389-393 ; also 157-159 ; 171-3. Also see S. Maslev, 'Les lettres de Théophylacte de Bulgarie à Nicéphore Mélissènos', in *REB*, 30(1972), pp. 179-186.

(5) Gautier, *Lettres*, pp. 171-3.

(6) V. Laurent, *La Collection C. Orghidan*, Paris, 1952, p. 106, B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade : analyse prosopographique et synthèse*, Louvain, 1980, pp. 240-241, and below, pp. 4-5.

(7) G. Zacos and A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, 2 vols., Basel, 1972, 1984, vol. 1 part 3, pp. 1481-1482 ; V. Shandrovskaya, 'Некоторые исторические детали "Алексиады" и их печаты', in *Palestinskii Sbornik*, 23 (1971), pp. 38-9 ; Zacos and Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1 part 3, pp. 1481-2.

command position(s) in the western provinces, and as such, the question arises as to whether these may not have belonged to a member of the family with the same first name. Certainly, other members of the family had held high-ranking positions in Byzantium in the 10th c. and earlier in the 11th, with one serving as δομέστικος τῆς δύσεως or commander of the western armies in this period (8). Another, Michael Melissenos, held the unusual combination of titles of *illoustrious* and *strategos*, something known from a seal which is dateable on stylistic grounds to the second half of the 11th c. (9). In other words, therefore, it is by no means impossible that there may have been another Nikephoros Melissenos from this period who was the owner of these seals, an uncle or other close relative perhaps, but sharing the same first name (10).

However, we can be sure that the pieces did in fact belong to the same Melissenos who came close to taking the throne in 1081 – even though the positions and duties which the seals record are not known from the literary sources. This is because of the survival of a pair of seals which belonged to Nikephoros' wife, Eudokia Komnene. One of these clearly post-dates the coup of Eudokia's brother, Alexios I Komnenos, recording Eudokia's sibling relationship with the Emperor and bearing the legend Θεοτόκε βοήθει Εὐδοκίᾳ και(σ)αρίσσῃ καὶ ἀδελφῇ τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ Κομνηνῇ (11). The other, though, also belonging to a Eudokia Komnene and which to judge from its style, iconography and device can only have belonged to the same individual, refers to her as *magistrissa* – that is to say, the wife of the *magistros* (12). We know that Eudokia was married to Nikephoros Melissenos, and as far as we know had not been married to anyone previously (13). As such, then, it is reasonable to presume that

(8) I. Iordanov, *Печатите от стратегията в Преслав*, Sofia, 1993, nos. 161-2, pp. 88-90, P. Diaconu, *Vers quelle date Léon Melissenos pouvait-il être domestikos des scholes occidentales*, in *Revue des études sud-est européenes*, 27 (1989), pp. 11-14.

(9) Unpublished seal from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, D.O.58.106.5666 ; see W. Seibt, *Die Byzantinischen Belisiegel in Österreich*, Vienna, 1978, p. 262.

(10) For some comments on the rank of *magistros*, N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséances byzantines des IXe-Xe siècles*, Paris, 1972, p. 294. Also here A. Kazhdan, *Социальный состав господствующего класса Византий XI-XII вв.*, Moscow, 1974, p. 146.

(11) Zacos and Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1 part 3, p. 1486.

(12) *Idem*, p. 1485.

(13) *Below*, pp. 160-162.

Melissenos must indeed once have held the title of *magistros* – although the date and context for the award of this title is not known. Logic and probability therefore points strongly to the conclusion that the Nikephoros Melissenos who was married to Eudokia Komnene and who held the title in question here was one and the same as the Nikephoros Melissenos who is known from the seals bearing witness to responsibilities in Triaditza.

That our Nikephoros Melissenos played an important role in Byzantium's internal politics in the final quarter of the 11th c. is not to be doubted – indeed, it can be shown independently of the sigillographic evidence. His appointment as *strategos* of the Anatolikon provides one obvious clue to his illustrious career, with the (successful) rebellion of his predecessor in this position a sign that Nikephoros himself must have been trusted indeed by the incumbent Emperor, Michael VII Doukas, to be appointed to this sensitive command ([14]). Moreover, the fact that he subsequently found himself living on the island of Kos, something which is usually interpreted to mean that he was exiled there by Michael's successor, the usurper Nikephoros III Botaneiates, once again suggests that Melissenos was considered a threat to the new Emperor and needed to be dealt with decisively ([15]).

Melissenos' banishment to Kos was either rescinded or proved to be ineffectual, for by 1080 he can be found gathering troops in preparation for his own attempt on the throne ([16]). We learn from Bryennios that Melissenos had been both effective and successful in gathering support for his bid, and had managed to assemble a substantial force of his own ; moreover, and perhaps most important of all, he had been able to enter Nicaea, the key point in western Asia Minor which not only controlled access out into the sub-continent but also protected Constantinople to the north, and had taken possession of the town ([17]). In other words,

(14) Bryennios, III.15, p. 239, Laurent, *Orghidan*, p. 106, Gautier, *Nicéphore Bryennios*, p. 239, n. 2, Skoulatos, *Personnages*, pp. 240-241.

(15) For Nikephoros' time on Kos, Bryennios, IV.31, p. 301. For the presumption of his exile, Gautier, *Nicéphore Bryennios*, p. 301, n. 3, Skoulatos, *Personnages*, p. 241, J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et conestations à Byzance (963-1210)*, Paris, 1990, p. 88.

(16) Bryennios, IV.31, p. 301, Anna Komnene, II.8.i, p. 75.

(17) Bryennios, IV.31, p. 301. For Nicaea's position and importance, C. Foss, *Nicaea : A Byzantine Capital and its Praises*, Brookline, 1996.

Melissenos was in an extremely strong position, not only relative to the imperial capital but to the Empire's eastern provinces as well.

Indeed, in this respect, the fact that we have been able to identify Melissenos as having held a high-ranking command position in the West too from the sigillographic (rather than the literary) evidence may assume a greater significance here than simply helping us track the career of this individual. For it may be that we can read into the fact that Nikephoros had been *doux* and *katepano* of Triaditza both experience and knowledge of the western provinces. Perhaps, then, it might even suggest that Melissenos was in a position to rely on support coming from this region too in support of his coup. That is to say, the fact that we can identify that this individual had held an important position in the west, as well as in the east, suggests that his bid for the throne must have been a very serious proposition indeed – though of course Nikephoros would need to have held this position before 1081 and not after.

In any event, Nikephoros' challenge was evidently far advanced by the start of 1081 for we learn from the *Alexiad* that he formally proclaimed himself Emperor in a ceremony in the town of Damalis, donning the proverbial purple robes and appropriating other imperial symbols ([18]). He also issued seals bearing the uncompromising legend Νικηφόρος αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Μελι(σσ)ηνός, – that is to say, Nikephoros Melissenos, Emperor of the Romans ([19]). If the title of *despotes* can be understood as signifying imperial pretensions, then it is worth noting that we know of several seals recording Melissenos as such – which would logically date from the same period of 1080-1081 ([20]). It is not clear, however, that this rank can necessarily be understood as such, and indeed, it

(18) Anna KOMNENE, II.8.i, p. 75. We can derive the date of early 1081 here from Melissenos' contact with Alexios Komnenos, whose own attempt to take the throne only fomented at the start of that year, specifically in February, *Alexiad*, II.4.ix, p. 65, S, p. 82, V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie*, Paris, 1958, p. 310, Ia. LIUBARSKII, *Алексиада*, Moscow, 1965, p. 466, n. 207. Bryennios states that Melissenos began to have imperial pretensions at Nicaea (κἀκεῖθεν τῆς βασιλείας ἀντεποιεῖτο Ῥωμαίων), but does not say he formally declared himself Emperor there or at that time, BRYENNIOS, IV.31, p. 301.

(19) ZACOS and VEGLERY, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1 part 1, pp. 88-89.

(20) Five seals describing Nikephoros as '*despotes*' appear in ZACOS and VEGLERY, *Byzantine lead seals*, vol. 1 part 4, pp. 1482-1485. For another, K. KONSTANTOPOULOS, *Τὸ λεγόμενον μολυβδόβουλλον τοῦ Νικηφόρου Φωκᾶ*, in *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique*, 14 (1912), pp. 55-60.

can be pointed out that on at least some of these pieces, Nikephoros appears to be depicted on the reverse side dressed in the vestments not of the Emperor, but rather those of the *kaisar* (21).

Nevertheless, even if the *despotes* seals can be put to one side as inconclusive, those announcing Melissenos as Emperor give a clear and incontrovertible picture of his ambitions. And if they also gives a sense of the scale of the threat which Melissenos posed and of the momentum which his challenge had gathered, then so too is it worth stressing that we can also gauge this from the overtures, correspondence, and negotiations between Nikephoros and the Komnenoi at the start of 1081. Melissenos was not prepared to be bought off by his rival. Rather, he proposed splitting the Empire into two, with Alexios and Isaac Komnenos holding the western part, and he himself holding the east (22). According to his proposals, both he and whichever of the Komnenos brothers were nominated would call themselves Emperor – just as we would. In other words, then, this was to be a partnership of equals (23).

This was quickly rejected by the Komnenoi, who put forward their own proposal to Melissenos. By any standards, the offer should be seen as being generous – and can therefore again be understood as both an implicit and an explicit indication of the strength of Nikephoros' position and of the value of his support at this time (as well as a sign of the Komnenoi's willingness to compromise and strike a deal). Alexios and his brother proposed that Melissenos would be granted the title of *kaisar* ; that he would be honoured in the appropriate manner within the Empire ; and that he would be given the city of Thessaloniki and, presumably, its substantial revenues. Nevertheless, there could be no question that power was to be shared equally, or that Nikephoros would be co-ruler (24).

The Komnenian response to Melissenos' proposal was nicely-weighted, with enough to convince Nikephoros that his status and position would be rewarded if he stood down and supported his rivals, but not enough to compromise the authority of Alexios and his brother. What is

(21) Thus ZACOS and VEGLERY, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1 part 3, p. 1484 note a. For a discussion of the rank of *despotes*, see R. GUILLAND, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1967, vol. 2, pp. 1-16 and L. STIERNON, in *REB*, 21 (1963), pp. 291-296.

(22) Anna KOMNENE, II.8.ii, pp. 75-76.

(23) Anna KOMNENE, II.8.ii, p. 76.

(24) Anna KOMNENE, II.8.iii, p. 76.

more, the Komnenoi very carefully and deliberately kept Melissenos in suspense, not wanting to confirm these concessions until the latest possible moment. Indeed, Nikephoros was left hanging on for an interminable period of time, with the Komnenoi doing everything they could to put off finalising and formalising an agreement. Melissenos and his envoys were fobbed off by being told that the scribe could not work at night ; that the document had been finished but had accidentally caught fire ; that Alexios' seal had been lost ; and that the pen needed to write the agreement had been mislaid ([25]). All this was intended to maximise the Komnenoi's bargaining position with their rival and also, in a perverse way, to ensure Melissenos' loyalty by making him hang on – even if this must have come at a price ([26]). The author of the *Alexiad* goes to great length to blame the procrastination on an individual named George Manganes and on his inherent slipperiness – something reflected by his name and the irony of the meaning of the verb μαγγανεῖν, that is, to cheat or deceive, a pun not lost on Anna Komnene ([27]).

The fact that Nikephoros was nervous about the way that he was being dealt with goes a long way to explaining why he was so eager to confirm the offer which had been made to him in writing, and, what is more, to have this verified in a format which could not be disputed at a later date. He therefore insisted that Alexios issue him with a chrysobull, going further by specifying that it be sealed with what would appear to be an imperial stamp (even though Alexios had yet to seize the throne), and also using purple ink ([28]). These were obviously steps designed to protect the concessions which had been offered and to ensure that they could not simply be revoked or withdrawn by Alexios, if and when he became Emperor.

Anna Komnene says nothing to make us think that the Komnenoi did eventually grant Melissenos what he wanted at the start of 1081, and therefore prompt Nikephoros to back off and to scale back his own

(25) Anna KOMNENE, II.8.iii, p. 76 ; II.8.iv, p. 77 ; II.10.i, pp. 79-80.

(26) Thus, *below*, pp. 169 ff.

(27) Anna KOMNENE, II.8.iv, p. 77.

(28) Anna Komnene states that one excuse given to Nikephoros was that her father lacked a specific instrument or tool (τὸ χρησιμεῦον σκεῦος) to ratify the document properly, which presumably means a seal or, more specifically, a *boulloterion*, Anna KOMNENE, II.10.i, p. 79. Certainly, the fact that Alexios did not have this would not be hard to understand before he had taken the throne. For the specification of which colour ink should be used, Anna KOMNENE, II.8.iv, p. 77.

ambitions – a nuance which is easily overlooked here. On the contrary, what the author tells us about the build-up to the seizure of Constantinople by her father and uncle suggests that Nikephoros should by no means have given up hope of becoming Emperor himself : as a matter of fact, when Nikephoros III Botaneiates had realised that his days were numbered, he had sent for Melissenos with a view to appointing the latter as his successor ([29]). And although Anna at first states that the Komnenoi entered and took the imperial capital too fast for Nikephoros to be sent for, she later lets slip that the only reason Melissenos had not responded to Nikephoros III's call was because the latter's envoy had been fortuitously intercepted by George Palaiologos, one of Alexios' most trusted allies ([30]).

Of course, we cannot infer that Melissenos still harboured ambitions to take the throne for himself just because he was sent for (albeit fatefully) by the distressed Emperor Botaneiates. However, what this does show is just how close Nikephoros had come to becoming Emperor himself. And of course, it shows how costly Alexios' prevarication, manoeuvring and simple good fortune had been for Melissenos. It is not hard to suppose then that as the years passed Nikephoros pondered his own indecision, his rival's double-dealing, and the conspiracy of fate which had led to Alexios' propulsion to the imperial throne, and not his own.

We do not know whether Alexios actually did issue the desired chrysobull to Melissenos before his seizure of the throne and installation as Emperor. However, we certainly do learn that he did at least give some concessions to Nikephoros after his coronation. It is tempting to presume that these were the same as had been proposed at the start of 1081 – namely the title of *kaisar*, appropriate ranking within the Empire, and the grant of the city of Thessaloniki ([31]). It is not clear, however, that this was the case. We learn that he was given the title of *kaisar*, both from the *Alexiad*, but also from the letters of Theophylact of Ohrid, which address him as such ([32]). We also learn that he held this title from the foundation document of the Church of the Pantokrator in Constantinople ([33]).

(29) Anna KOMNENE, II.11.i, p. 82.
(30) Anna KOMNENE, II.11.ii, p. 82.
(31) Anna KOMNENE, II.8.iii, p. 76.
(32) Anna KOMNENE, III.4.i, p. 95, THEOPHYLACT, *Lettres*, pp. 157, 171, 389.
(33) P. GAUTIER, *Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator*, in *REB*, 32 (1974), p. 42, and IDEM, *L'obituaire du typikon du Pantocrator*, in *REB*, 27 (1969), pp. 239, 253.

On the other grounds, though, Melissenos was perhaps less successful. On the issue of his rank and status within the Empire, although he was evidently honoured highly by Alexios, he did not get exactly what he was after. He had presumably sought the title of *kaisar* and the diadem and powers which went with it so that he would rank second only to the Emperor in person. After Alexios' accession, however, he found himself third in line – behind Isaac Komnenos, who was given a brand new title, that of *sebastokrator*, in order to effectively demote Nikephoros from second to third in line (34). At first glance, this move might not seem significant ; but to judge from the powers which Isaac enjoyed during his brother's reign, it evidently was an important decision on the part of the Komnenoi brothers to concentrate power in their own hands, and not those of anyone else (35). Moreover, as the prosopography of this period makes clear, Melissenos was not the only person to hold the title of *kaisar* during Alexios' reign, with others too being promoted to this position, even while Nikephoros was still alive (36).

As regards the question of Thessaloniki, however, it seems that Melissenos may have been disappointed. Certainly, there is no evidence from this period to suggest that Nikephoros ever took possession of this town, had control over its revenues, or was even linked to it in any meaningful way. The fact that the same goes for members of this family as a whole should therefore be taken as important negative evidence that Alexios may have withdrawn or reneged on this offer once he had the security of having taken the throne – with the obvious implication that Nikephoros' support was no longer as critical or as valuable as it had been outside the imperial capital in 1081.

(34) Anna KOMNENE, III.4.i, p. 95.

(35) For Isaac's responsibilities during his brother's absence from Constantinople in 1081, Anna KOMNENE, IV.4.i, p. 126. For another example of the extraordinary powers which were vested in Isaac by the Emperor, Anna KOMNENE, V.2.ii-iv, pp. 144-145. It is also worth noting the key role which this individual played at the synod of the Blakhernai in the middle of the 1090s, P. GAUTIER, *Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094)*, in *REB*, 29 (1971), pp. 220, 221-226.

(36) Thus, Also see D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *La date de la mort du sebastokrator Isaac Comnène, frère d'Alexis Ier, et de quelques événements contemporains*, in *REB*, 21 (1963), pp. 250-256.

It may be that Alexios softened the blow here, and indeed took steps to try placate Melissenos. We know that Nikephoros was married to one of the Emperor's sisters, the Eudokia whose seals have been mentioned above ([37]). It is often assumed that this marriage took place well before Alexios took the throne, and indeed has been dated to 1070 by one scholar ([38]). However, we might do better to be cautious here, for it is by no means clear that the marriage took place before Alexios seized the throne. Indeed, the only firm piece of evidence here regarding the date of the marriage comes from the fact that Eudokia owned two seals, one bearing her title of *magistrissa*, the other that of *kaisarissa* ([39]). This might be taken at face value to mean that Eudokia and Melissenos must have been married before 1081, with Eudokia (and therefore her husband) holding the first of these titles some time before this date, and the second, some time later.

However, a more guarded approach here would perhaps be more appropriate, not least since it may be that Anna Komnene's notice about the title and rewards given to Nikephoros clouds the possibility that these honours may not have been given immediately after Alexios' usurpation of the throne, but in fact only some time later. It is worth noting, then, that in the same section of the text which records the grant of the title of *kaisar* to Melissenos, the author also notes that another uncle, Adrian Komnenos, was appointed *domestikos* of the Schools ([40]). We know, though, that Adrian was not in fact given this command in 1081 or even in the immediate aftermath of Alexios' accession ; rather, it was only some years later that he was promoted to this rank, for this position was held by someone else – Gregory Pakourianos – until the middle of the 1080s ([41]). Consequently, it may be that Melissenos' title is anticipated by the author of the *Alexiad* here too.

(37) Bryennios, I.6, p. 85.

(38) Barzos, *Γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν*, 2 vols., Thessalonica, 1984, vol. 1, pp. 80-81, 174-175. Cf. Skoulatos, *Personnages*, p. 240.

(39) *Above*, nn. 11-12.

(40) Anna Komnene, III.4.i-ii, pp. 95-96.

(41) Anna Komnene in fact refers to Adrian's promotion with reference to the Pecheneg attack of 1087, Anna Komnene, VII.1.ii, p. 204. Gregory Pakourianos held the position of *megas domestikos* until his death in ballet with the Pechenegs shortly before this, Anna Komnene, VI.14.iii, p. 200.

It is perhaps no coincidence, then, that no mention was made in the negotiations between Alexios and Nikephoros at the start of 1081 that the two men were brothers-in-law, either in the correspondence between them, or in the record of their dealings. In this way, although it is also true that there is no reference in the source material to a request for a marriage alliance during these negotiations, one logical hypothesis here would be that a marriage tie may only have been concluded after the start of 1081, and perhaps only after Alexios took the throne – and where Anna Komnene's account is noticeably shorter on the new Emperor's deliberations, concessions and actions than it is for the build-up to the coup ([42]). As such, then, Melissenos may still have held the rank of *magistros* for some time after Alexios' entry to Constantinople – which would mean that his wife's use of the title of *magistrissa* need not be incompatible with a specific context for her marriage to Nikephoros, post-dating the start of 1081.

Indeed, if we were to approach this with an open-mind, we might even question whether not only Melissenos' marriage to Eudokia Komnene but also his appointment to a command position in the west should be dated to after Alexios' usurpation rather than before it. Perhaps we might even speculate that the author of the *Alexiad* has either mistaken the identity of the town whose revenues Nikephoros was granted, or that Alexios awarded those of a different location : hence Triaditza and not Thessaloniki. Tempting though such a hypothesis may be (and it would need us to show how and why Anna Komnene has made a mistake, how and why Alexios had finessed his colleague and furthermore, what the revenues of a town such as Triaditza would have been), the shortage of information here makes it impossible to advance any further.

In the case that Eudokia was offered as a bride in the place of Thessaloniki, as a complement to Triaditza, or simply as a sop to Melissenos to assuage his disappointment at not becoming Emperor himself, it is undoubtedly important to underline that Alexios was not slow to

(42) Anna KOMNENE, II.8.i-iv, pp. 75-77. Bryennios records the marriage in a passage outlining fates of all of Alexios Komnenos' siblings. However, he does not indicate when the marriage took place Bryennios, I.6, p. 85. Cf. SKOULATOS, *Personnages*, p. 240. BARZOS asserts that the marriage took place in 1066, *Γενεαλογία*, vol. 1, p. 80. This view is apparently based on the comments of Bryennios and John Zonaras. However, neither (Byzantine) author reveals this date, nor says enough to justify such a conclusion.

realise the value of arranging marriages between members of his family and leading potentates, as he showed on several occasions during his reign ([43]). Indeed, it would be fitting if his ascent to power was confirmed shortly after by using precisely this mechanism to cement his ties with Melissenos in order to bind this individual's fortunes closely up with his own.

Nikephoros was then at the same time both a key supporter for the new regime in Byzantium in 1081, but also a natural rival to it. While his support had perhaps not proved decisive for Alexios and his brother when they had marched on Constantinople, the fact that Melissenos had deliberated and hesitated surely had been. That the latter's ambitions to take the imperial throne had been frustrated means that we would do well to monitor his behaviour in the years which followed Alexios' usurpation of the throne. It may be, of course, that Melissenos' ambitions were successfully dampened by the rewards which he was given in or sometime after 1081, namely the title of *kaisar* and also perhaps an (imperial) bride. It is of course possible that he did not regret his missed opportunity, and that he was both sanguine about the past, but also hopeful, optimistic and loyal about the present and about the future. So his rivalry to Alexios in 1081 should not preclude the possibility that he may have served the Emperor loyally and dutifully for the next two decades right up until his death at the start of the 12th c. ([44]). However, it is also important to look for signs in the primary sources which might allow us to detect that he may have wavered – briefly or otherwise – in his support for the man whom he might have felt (with some justification) became Emperor in his place.

At first glance, Melissenos' performance and reliability appear to have been impeccable. We can find him on campaign with Alexios in 1081 against the Normans in Epirus, and while we do not know what military command he fulfilled, if any, there is little reason to think that he was

(43) For Alexios' use of marriages of his own children, nephews and nieces, see R. MACRIDES, *Dynastic Marriages and Political Kinship*, in J. SHERPARD and S. FRANKLIN (eds.), *Byzantine Diplomacy*, Aldershot, 1992, pp. 271ff, P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 202-206.

(44) Melissenos died on 17 November 1104, Peter LAMBECIUS, *Commentariorum de Angustissima Biblioteca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, 8 vols., Vienna, 1665-1679, vol. 5, col. 537. Also see PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, *La date de la mort du sebastokrator Isaac Comnène*, p. 252, GAUTIER, *Obituaire*, p. 253.

anything other than a help to Byzantine efforts to repel Robert Guiscard and the Normans from the western flank of the Empire ([45]). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Melissenos was not the only senior figure whom Alexios brought with him on his expedition to Dyrrakhion in the autumn of 1081 : there were others who were natural rivals to the new Emperor who were brought from Constantinople at this time. These included Nikephoros and Leo Diogenes, sons of the deposed emperor Romanos IV, Constantine Doukas, brother of the deposed Emperor Michael VII, as well as Nikephoros Synadenos, whom the childless Botaneiates had decided would succeed him on the throne, before belatedly pinning his hopes on Melissenos ([46]). Given that Alexios took careful and specific steps to ensure that trouble did not break out in the capital during his absence, giving his mother full executive authority and his brother a clear mandate to deal with any problems in Constantinople decisively, suggests that Melissenos' presence on campaign may have been as much deliberate management on the part of the new Emperor, as a sign of support by Nikephoros for the Komnenoi ([47]).

The same logic may apply to Melissenos' participation in another imperial expedition, against the Pechenegs and against the town of Dristra on the Danube, which took place in the mid-1080s. Again, other candidates for the throne, such as the Diogenes brothers and Michael Doukas, were also brought on campaign by the Emperor ([48]). Certainly, Nikephoros' presence alone is not sufficient to question his loyalty to Alexios, nor of course is the fact that he was captured by the Pechenegs, presumably in the aftermath of the disastrous assault on Dristra, when large number of Byzantine soldiers, including senior officers, were taken prisoner ([49]). Indeed, as we learn from the *Alexiad*, the Emperor himself narrowly escaped capture and death on this occasion ([50]).

(45) Anna KOMNENE, IV.6.ii, p. 132.

(46) Anna KOMNENE, IV.5.iii, p. 130 ; IV.6.vii, pp. 134-135.

(47) For Alexios' grant of powers to his mother, *Alexiad*, III.6.iv-viii, pp. 101-103, ZONARAS, XVIII.22, vol. 3, p. 732. For Isaac's brief to silence any protests against the absent Emperor, Anna KOMNENE, IV.4.i, p. 126.

(48) Anna KOMNENE, VII.3.vi, p. 211. For the Diogenes brothers' participation see VII.2.iii, p. 205, VII.3.v, pp. 210-211 ; for Michael Doukas, VII.3.ix, p. 212.

(49) Anna KOMNENE, VII.4.iv, p. 216.

(50) Anna KOMNENE, VII.3.xi-xii, p. 214.

However, our suspicions about Melissenos might be raised here by the fact that he was central to the embarrassing payment of what was evidently a very large sum of money indeed by way of a ransom to free the Byzantines who had been taken captives in the fiasco at Dristra. That Nikephoros should have been anxious to be freed, rather than executed – as some of the leading Pechenegs had wanted – is hardly surprising (!) ; however, the fact that he was allowed to communicate with the Emperor by letter, perhaps on more than one occasion (διὰ γραμμάτων), suggests that there may be more to this incident than first meets the eye ([51]). So too does the fact that in a rather ambiguous comment made by Anna Komnene, Melissenos appears to have played a role encouraging the nomads to seek a formidable ransom, something which might be interpreted as a clue to the fact that he did not have the Emperor's best interests at heart, rather seeking to force a substantial (and presumably humiliating) payment from Alexios to the barbarians ([52]).

If the *Alexiad*'s comment here is to be understood as a slight against Melissenos, then it is worth noting that there is a remarkable correspondence in the text between Nikephoros' appearances in the text and a specific and deliberate belittling of this individual by Anna Komnene. Indeed, such is the pattern and such are the barbs against Melissenos' character, that it is hard to avoid the conclusion that, for one reason or another, the author was consistently seeking to denigrate and smear this figure's character in the course of the text. As such, then, the observation that the portrait painted of Nikephoros is highly unflattering may allow for an insight into the dynamics both of the imperial family as a whole, but also into the antagonism of Anna Komnene towards this individual in particular.

For sure, there are a number of instances in the *Alexiad* where Melissenos is mentioned only in passing, with no negative comments or insinuations made by the author of the text. It is worth noting nonetheless that these appearances simply record Nikephoros' presence on imperial expeditions, typically recording nothing more than the military or indeed physical position which he held on the battlefield. Thus, we learn of his participation against the Normans in 1081, against the Pechenegs in the middle of the 1080s, and again against the Cumans a decade later ([53]). On

(51) Anna KOMNENE, VII.4.iv, p. 216.

(52) *Ibidem.*

(53) Anna KOMNENE, IV.6.ii, p. 132 ; V.5.vii, p. 156 ; VII.3.vi, p. 211 ; X.2.vi, p. 286.

all these occasions, it is not Melissenos alone whose participation is recorded ; rather, reference to him comes alongside a wider report of the composition of the army and of the location of senior officers as battle lines were being drawn up. The inference here, therefore, is that these mentions might be best seen and understood as being lifted directly from (or being part of) campaign records which Anna Komnene was drawing on and, specifically, not adding to.

What is more revealing, therefore, are the occasions where Anna goes into more detail, and above all the instances where she does intervene in the text. This not only gives us rather more to go on, but of course provides a much sharper indication of what the author thought of her uncle. As we have seen, the *Alexiad* gives a lengthy coverage to the negotiations between Melissenos and Alexios Komnenos before the latter took the throne by force in 1081. Although Anna blames Manganes for the delay in ratifying the agreement between the two rivals for the throne, it is not hard to read between the lines here and to realise that Nikephoros had been taken advantage of by the Komnenoi, his indecision and greed punished by Alexios' elusiveness and tactics, his naivety in simply waiting in Damalis when it seems the throne was his for the taking – and indeed on offer from Nikephoros III Botaneiates – coming at a high price ([54]).

There are however other occasions where Anna is rather more blunt in her portrayal of Melissenos. One comes from the dry record of who was given command of a part of the imperial army during the struggles with the Normans in 1083, with Anna's attitude towards her uncle revealed not so much by what she does say about him than by what she does not. The author notes that Nikephoros Melissenos and Kouritikios were placed in command of a force which was to relieve Larissa ([55]). The author then intervenes to note that the latter was a famous soldier, renowned for his bravery and for his knowledge of warfare (ἀνὴρ δὲ οὗτος τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, περιβόητος ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ στρατιωτικῇ ἐπιστήμῃ) ([56]). She is strikingly silent about the skills (or otherwise) of the former.

Another case where Anna's comments (or lack thereof) are revealing comes with the careful note by the author that Melissenos had missed the crucial battle of Lebounion in 1091, which had seen a crushing and

(54) Anna KOMNENE, II.8.i-II.11.vii, pp. 75-84, and *above*, p. 158-159.
(55) Anna KOMNENE, V.5.vii, p. 156.
(56) *Ibidem*.

famous victory scored over the Pechenegs and which had led to the virtual destruction of that tribe ([57]). Although Nikephoros had played a useful role in the build-up to this battle, gathering recruits to bolster the imperial forces, the fact that he had not been present in person – and above all the fact that Anna records this – meant that he could not share in the glory and plaudits (nor take any credit) for this success ([58]).

If these cases provide clues to a negative treatment of Melissenos in the *Alexiad*, with the author intentionally playing down the roles played by this figure and showing a curious lack of generosity towards him, then it is important to draw attention to two cases where the reasons to suspect Nikephoros as a destabilising force in Alexios' Byzantium are rather more pronounced. The first comes with an extraordinary comment made by Anna Komnene following a success over the Pechenegs startlingly near to Constantinople some weeks before the success at Lebounion at the start of 1091. The Emperor had managed to bring about what seemed a major victory over the steppe nomads, and returned to the imperial capital weighted down by trophies and spoils of his success ([59]). His entry to Constantinople was greeted joyously – a useful indication not only of the scale of his success, but also of the relief which was felt at the lifting of pressure which had built up steadily on Thrace and indeed on the approaches to the capital ([60]).

According to the *Alexiad*, the citizens of Constantinople celebrated the triumphant return of the Emperor in an appropriate fashion – dancing, singing and liberally referring both to God's grace but also to Alexios' status as saviour and benefactor (σωτῆρ καὶ εὐεργέτης) ([61]). The whole city rejoiced then at Alexios' victory ; the whole city, that is, except for Nikephoros Melissenos. Melissenos, says Anna, was upset by the Emperor's success and what is more, was extremely jealous of the ceremonies and displays which accompanied Alexios' entry to the capital. And he let everyone know that he thought that while the scale of the

(57) For Melissenos' absence, Anna KOMNENE, VIII.6.iii, p. 250. For the battle itself, VIII.5.i-ix, pp. 245-249, and for the significance of the battle, P. DIACONU, *Les Pétchénègues au Bas-Danube*, Bucharest, 1970, pp. 130-134.

(58) For Melissenos gathering troops before the battle, Anna KOMNENE, VIII.3.iv, p. 242 ; VIII.4.v, p. 244.

(59) Anna KOMNENE, VIII.2.iv-v, pp. 239-240.

(60) Anna KOMNENE, VIII.3.i, p. 240.

(61) *Ibidem*.

victory might mean something to the Byzantines, it was of little import to the steppe nomads, who were so numerous that such defeats would make little overall impression on them (62).

Anna's note about Melissenos' jealousy of course raises the spectre not only of the rivalry between Nikephoros and the Emperor which stretched back to before Alexios' usurpation, but also that of the author deliberately seeking to discredit this individual. In this respect, therefore, the other pointers to Nikephoros' absence from Lebounion, his prevarication in 1081, and the attention drawn to the ability of his co-commander against the Normans in 1083 (but not to his own) assume a greater significance, since these might provide compelling grounds on which to base any conclusions about Melissenos' behaviour during Alexios' reign. Evidently, although the *Alexiad* is not the simple eulogy to Alexios I Komnenos that is sometimes presumed, the fact that we can identify the author deliberately crafting points against other figures in contemporary Byzantium who (in her opinion) either contrasted poorly with her father or had undermined him should be stressed here.

For Anna's subtle targeting of Nikephoros Melissenos would compare neatly to her treatment of Manuel I Komnenos, Alexios' grandson, who is criticised – albeit indirectly and obliquely – not only on several occasions in the *Alexiad*, but in an important subtext which runs right through the text (63). So too would it strike a chord with her handling of the Diogenes brothers, Leo and above all Nikephoros whose attempted coup in 1094 provoked perhaps the biggest crisis of the Emperor's reign. For rather than launching an out and out attack on the Diogenes brothers, Anna makes do with a similar approach to that shown to Melissenos, that is to say, by sniping, and by including comments which leave little doubt

(62) Anna KOMNENE, VIII.3.i, pp. 240-241.

(63) See above all, P. MAGDALINO, *The Pen of the Aunt : Echoes of the Mid-Twelfth Century in the Alexiad*, in T. GOUMA-PETERSON (ed.), *Anna Komnene and her Times*, New York, 2000, pp. 15-43. Also here R. THOMAS, *Anna Comnena's account of the First Crusade, History and Politics in the Reign of the Emperors Alexius I and Manuel I Comnenus*, in *BMGS*, 15 (1991), pp. 269-312, P. STEPHENSON, *The Alexiad as a Source for the Second Crusade*, in *Journal of Medieval History*, 45 (2003), pp. 41-54.

about the poor judgement, limited ability and jealousy which these characters exhibited (64).

If it is possible to detect a theme of antagonism towards Nikephoros Melissenos in the *Alexiad*, then it is also important to underline that Anna Komnene provides one specific set-piece which frames the author's view of her uncle. This comes with the report of the apparent plotting of John Komnenos, the son of the *sebastokrator* Isaac, against the Emperor which took place in the 1090s, and almost certainly not before 1094 (65). Although the threat posed by John's challenge to Alexios appears to have been minimal – something can be deduced from John's lenient treatment by the Emperor and by the fact that he retained his position as *doux* of Dyrrakhion after being summoned to see Alexios – it is significant that we learn that some of those who were related to him had been actively stirring up trouble for this individual (66).

We can gather as much from Isaac's immediate departure from Constantinople as soon as he had heard of rumours about the loyalty of his son (67). Moreover, Anna even provides a passage in the *Alexiad* which purports to quote directly the *sebastokrator* on his arrival at the imperial camp. According to Anna, Isaac was suspicious from the start that lies about John had been spread by two figures who were close to the Emperor, with the implication either that these had served to stoke John's ambitions and to therefore seek to compromise him ; or alternatively, had set out to undermine him deliberately by spreading gossip about his aspirations which was frankly untrue (68). Either way, the role played by the two senior members of the Emperor's entourage is revealing, not least given Anna's decision to include this in the text in the first place. One of those identified by Isaac Komnenos was his own brother, Adrian. The other was Nikephoros Melissenos (69).

(64) Anna seldom passes up the chance to rebuke the Diogenes brothers, often pointing out that they had advised the Emperor poorly and were therefore responsible for crushing defeats – such as those at Dyrrakhion and at Dristra, e.g. Anna Komnene, IV.5.iii, p. 130 ; VII.2.iii, p. 205 ; VII.3.v, pp. 210-211. Also note VII.3.11, p. 214 ; IX.5.ii-IX.10.iii, pp. 268-280.

(65) Frankopan, 'Imperial governors', 89-90.

(66) Anna Komnene, VIII.7.iii-VIII.8.iv, pp. 252-255.

(67) Anna Komnene, VIII.8.i, p. 253.

(68) Anna Komnene, VIII.8.iii-iv, pp. 254-255.

(69) Anna Komnene, VIII.8.iii, p. 254.

In other words, then, Melissenos was accused by Isaac – and by implication by Anna Komnene too – of subverting the Emperor's authority, of seeking to destabilise not only Alexios' regime but also his family. In this way, therefore, the obvious conclusion to draw is that Nikephoros was neither a complicit nor a satisfied member of the Komnenian nexus (as can also be said about Adrian Komnenos, presumably), and nor was he a reliable one. And in this respect, therefore, it is important to note too that Melissenos drops out of view very soon after Isaac's accusations against him over the 'plot' of John Komnenos. It is true that we can find him fighting against the Cumans, likely at the start of 1095 – although it might be noted that this would not be the first time that Alexios had brought along his rivals in order to better keep an eye on them, and (perhaps more importantly) to keep them out of Constantinople in his absence ([70]). In this particular case too, then, it is worth noting that Melissenos was not given a command on his own, but was supervised or at least accompanied by two other high-ranking and trusted individuals at this time ([71]).

The fact then that he was not present at the Blakhernai synod, which almost certainly took place after the plot of John Komnenos but before the Cuman invasion, provides yet more circumstantial evidence to support a hypothesis that Nikephoros may have been disgraced and relieved of his position by the Emperor ([72]). It is striking indeed that having played a prominent role in the first half of Alexios' reign, there is essentially no information whatsoever about this figure after 1095. He does not appear at all in connection with the First Crusade ; nor with any of the efforts in

(70) Anna KOMNENE, X.2.vi, p. 286. For Alexios close supervision of his rivals during his absence from Constantinople, above, p. 14.

(71) Melissenos was sent to guard the town of Berroea together with George Palaiologos, another brother-in-law to the Emperor, and one of Alexios' most reliable allies, Anna KOMNENE, X.2.vi, p. 286. For the career of Palaiologos, see SKOULATOS, *Peronnages*, pp. 99-105. Melissenos was also accompanied (or escorted ?) by John Taronties, who proved a dependable lieutenant for the Emperor throughout the course of his reign – in contrast to his father, Michael, who had leant his support to Diogenes' attempt to topple Alexios, SKOULATOS, *Personnages*, pp. 155-6, and also N. ADONTZ, *Les Taronites à Byzance*, in *Byz.*, 11 (1936), pp. 26-27, A. LEROY-MOLINGHEN, *Les deux Jean Taronites de l'Alexiade*, in *Byz.*, 14 (1939), pp. 147-148.

(72) Melissenos is striking by his absence from this convocation of high-ranking churchmen and senior figures. For the Blakhernai synod and its participants, see GAUTIER, *Synode des Blachernes*, pp. 213-284.

Asia Minor which followed the passage of the western host across Anatolia to Antioch ; and nor does he feature in any episode in any region (including the imperial capital itself) at the start of the 12th c. To all intents and purposes, then, he disappears from view.

One explanation for this, of course, is that Melissenos' visibility reflects the shortcomings of the *Alexiad*, and specifically of the limitations of the material at Anna's disposal. In other words, Nikephoros' disappearance may simply stem from the shortage of evidence in Anna's text relating to precisely the period from the mid-1090s until Alexios' death in 1118. Nevertheless, and even bearing the shape of the *Alexiad* in mind, a compelling case can be constructed which suggests that Melissenos' absence from the primary material (not just limited to the *Alexiad*) is not coincidental.

In fact we can be very specific about the timing of his disappearance, for he is absent during the exposition and dénouement of the Diogenes conspiracy of 1094. Although Anna's account is frustratingly silent about the identities of those who had supported the son of the Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes against Alexios at this time, it is important to stress that some of those very close to the latter had betrayed him. One of these, Michael Taronites, was a brother-in-law – in other words, the same distance removed from the Emperor as Nikephoros Melissenos (73). This means, therefore, that we should not discount or exclude the possibility that other members of the family had also been rather less loyal that Alexios had hoped. Moreover, in Nikephoros' case at least – and unlike Taronites – it is not hard to perceive a motive for Melissenos' truculence against the Emperor, with his loss of the throne, his sharp treatment at the hands of the Komnenoi in 1081, and perhaps even the birth (and belated coronation) of an heir for Alexios all serving to fuel and concentrate Nikephoros' misgivings about his rival (74).

So while it is not out of the question that Melissenos had also given his support to Diogenes, as Taronites had done – and the lacuna in the text

(73) Anna KOMNENE, IX.8.iv, p. 276.

(74) For the birth of John Komnenos, A. KAZHDAN, *Die Liste der Kinder des Alexios I in einer Moskauer Handschrift (ГИМ 53/147)*, in R. STIEHL and H. STIER, *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1969-1970, I, pp. 233-4. For his coronation (in 1092), *Regii Neapolitani Archivi : Monumenti edita ac illustrata* 6 vols., Naples, 1845-1861, vol. 5, nos. 457-458, 462, 464-467.

immediately after Anna Komnene starts to name the principal supporters of Nikephoros Diogenes is certainly worth highlighting – in one way it does not matter whether Nikephoros had been removed from the centre of power because of his role in the John Komnenos episode, because he had leant his support to Diogenes (as other family members had done), or indeed because of another instance which is unknown from the sources. For what is more important here is that there are good grounds for suggesting that he had been sidelined for one reason or another and moreover, for dating this to c. 1094/5.

We can assert with confidence that Nikephoros had not died – whether from natural causes or not – and that this might lie behind his disappearance from the sources for this period. In fact, we know that he was still alive at the start of the 12th c., and died on 17th November 1104 (75). We know nothing, however, about the last decade of his life, even though he had been one of the leading members of the imperial court, and third in importance, behind the *sebastokrator* and the Emperor himself (76). This too can be used to persuasively argue that Melissenos' low-profile between c.1094/5 and his death ten years later was not coincidental and simply a product of the shortcomings of the primary material.

And indeed, we can add to this the observation that it is not just Melissenos who disappears around this time : in spite of the fact that we know of the careers of several of Alexios' nephews, of the children of the Emperor's many brothers and sisters, almost nothing is known about the offspring of Nikephoros and Eudokia. Only one child of this union is identifiable from the sources. And the modesty of the opportunities offered to this individual suggest either that he was of limited competence, or alternatively, was not deemed worthy of inclusion into the imperial nexus. The identification of the possible disgrace of his father therefore should prompt us to consider whether the second of these two explanations is not in fact the more plausible (77).

Moreover, the hypothesis that Nikephoros may have been a thorn in Alexios' side, and had been involved in scheming against the Emperor and had therefore been relieved of his position and status – regardless of whether this took place as a result of his trouble-making over John

(75) LAMBECIUS, *Commentariorum*, vol. 5, col 537 and above, n. 44.

(76) Anna KOMNENE, III.4.i, p. 95.

(77) For John (Komnenos) son of Nikephoros Melissenos, see Barzos, *Γενεαλογία*, vol. 1, pp. 174-176.

Komnenos, over the Diogenes affair, or indeed over another matter altogether around this time – would certainly go some way to explaining the treatment which Melissenos receives in the history of Nikephoros Bryennios, the son-in-law of the Emperor.

At first glance, there appears to be little in Bryennios' text which is either controversial or revealing about Melissenos. It is not immediately clear that the author is dismissive about his uncle-in-law, or critical of the actions or role played by this figure at any stage. As such, then, he would seem to provide a difficult counter-point to Anna Komnene, whose views about Melissenos are rather less transparent ([78]). However, a more sanguine reading of the *Hyle Historias* should point us in a different direction to the one we might suppose. In the first instance, it is extremely surprising to find that Nikephoros appears so infrequently in Bryennios' text, indeed being referred to on only four occasions ([79]). This is in spite of the fact that he mounted a very serious challenge for the imperial throne in 1080-1, of the fact that he was Botaneiates' chosen successor (even if only belatedly), in spite of the fact that he was the Emperor's brother-in-law, and even though he was given the rank of *kaisar* and thereby placed third in the hierarchy of the Empire.

Moreover, the references which Melissenos attracts are passing indeed, with Bryennios saying little about the former's character, ability or status in Byzantium. Indeed, even his attempt to take the throne – which ironically receives a much fuller coverage in the *Alexiad* – is tackled by Bryennios in a matter of a handful of lines, even though there can be little doubt that the problem presented by Melissenos to the Komnenoi effort to depose Nikephoros III Botaneiates was substantial ([80]). In this way, then, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that, for one reason or another, Bryennios decided to keep his coverage of Melissenos as limited as possible. Certainly, this would be consistent with a hypothesis that Nikephoros had been disgraced, and that Bryennios' silence forms part of a wider attempt to suppress the role, actions and profile of this individual. That we know that Bryennios himself had been commissioned by the Empress Eirene – the wife of Alexios I Komnenos, and the mother-in-law of Melissenos – is revealing too, for this places the *Hyle* in the context of

(78) *Above*, pp. 165-170.
(79) Bryennios, I.6, p. 85 ; III.15, p. 238 ; IV.31, p. 301 ; IV.33, p. 303.
(80) Bryennios, IV.31, p. 301.

being a specifically Komnenian text, with an overt and explicit intention to present a history which suited, and was consistent with, Komnenian image-making in the 12th c. ([81]).

And in fact, close inspection of the four references themselves proves extremely rewarding here, for all but one brings with it a resonance which is negative for Melissenos. As such, then – and especially when taken alongside Bryennios' silence about this individual – this might be taken not only as a useful sign that Melissenos had been disgraced, but also that the way to read Bryennios' comments about and treatment of his namesake is to understand these as being highly critical.

On the first occasion, Bryennios simply notes that Melissenos had been married to Eudokia Komnene, with the reference appearing in a passage which records the marriages of the various siblings of the Emperor Alexios, and reveals nothing else about Nikephoros ([82]). In the second reference, however, the author makes a point of noting that Melissenos had remained loyal to the true Emperor Michael VII Doukas, refusing to give his backing to the would-be usurper, Nikephoros Botaneiates, when the latter mounted his own (successful) attempt for the throne. While this might seem an anodyne comment, the nuance here surely is that Melissenos had no such reservations and no such respect for the imperial dignity in 1080-1, when he himself chanced his arm for the throne. In other words, therefore, it sets Nikephoros up as an opportunist, and, worse, a hypocritical and sanctimonious one ([83]).

The next reference is more unflattering still, since although Bryennios notes that Melissenos was of noble origin (ἀνὴρ εὐγενής), he also uses this opportunity to underline the qualities of Alexios Komnenos, in particular drawing attention to the fact that he refused to march against a fellow Byzantine noble – although the reasons for his reluctance to do so are perhaps unsurprisingly left obscure ([84]). Nevertheless, the point here is that Melissenos' attempt to take the throne is used to frame Alexios' decision-making and his respect of his rival – even if ironically this raises questions too about the young general's own reliability in a critical situation.

(81) For the commissioning of Bryennios to write a history by the Empress Eirene, see Anna Komnene, *Prologos*.3.ii, pp. 7-8.

(82) Bryennios, I.6, p. 85.

(83) Bryennios, III.15, p. 239.

(84) Bryennios, IV.31, p. 301. The author notes Melissenos' nobility and ancestors the first time he appears in the text too, Bryennios, III.15, p. 238.

Another reference is extremely brief, with Melissenos only featuring in a single sentence. But even this too goes some way towards denigrating and belittling Nikephoros : thus, Bryennios records that although Alexios did not march against Melissenos, deciding instead to return to Constantinople, he did dispatch an underling to take on the would-be usurper. It may be entirely co-incidental (if not in fact true) that the commander of the force which Alexios sent out was a eunuch (ἐκτομίας) ([85]). However, it is certainly worth considering whether this is also a carefully aimed barb by the author, intended at the same time to portray Melissenos as emasculated (if only by implication), and also downplaying the threat which he posed to Botaneiates – and effectively, therefore, the seriousness of his challenge.

However, there is one comment in particular which stands out in all these references which points to Melissenos' relegation from Komnenian society and provides a clue to his disgrace in the last decade of the 11th c. This comes from the careful note in Bryennios to the effect that it was because of Nikephoros Melissenos that Asia Minor fell to the Turks. The inhabitants of all the towns of Anatolia had submitted to Melissenos when he had launched his bid for the throne, and he had in turn handed them over to the Turks. As a result, then, all the towns of Asia, Phrygia and Galatia passed to Turkish hands (οἱ γοῦν πολῖται ὡς βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῷ παρεδίδουν. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἄκων τοῖς Τούρκοις ἐνεχείριζεν, ὡς συμβῆναι διὰ βραχέος καιροῦ κἀκ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου πασῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν πόλεων κατακυριεῦσαι τοὺς Τούρκους) ([86]).

The charges laid against Melissenos are serious indeed. Not only had he been personally responsible for the loss of the towns which are explicitly mentioned, but of course was also responsible for the ultimate collapse of imperial authority in Asia Minor. Worse still are the twin implications that Nikephoros' actions have here : first, he had surrendered the towns willingly, without even being forced to do so ; second, the extent of his own ambitions was such that he had placed his own interests (in becoming Emperor) above those of the people. As such, then, this passage serves not only to underline the cause for the Turkish conquest of a

(85) Bryennios, IV.33, p. 303.
(86) Bryennios, IV.31, p. 301.

key part of Anatolia, but also to stress, if only by inference, that Nikephoros Melissenos was not fit to be sovereign ([87]).

Moreover, there is another nuance which must not be missed here, for the singling out of Melissenos and the blame which is attached to him for the fall of Asia Minor do not simply highlight his own inadequacies and shortcomings here. They also bring with them a key product, because the undermining of Nikephoros represents a specific re-habilitation and a defence of Alexios Komnenos himself. We know of course that the situation in Asia Minor deteriorated principally during Alexios' reign, for even though the Turks evidently did become a threat and even a presence in this region in the 1070s, their victory at Manzikert was clearly not as dangerous or as damaging to Byzantium as it later came to be seen ([88]). Even though the immediate prelude to Alexios' usurpation evidently did see some important gains for the Turks, both in terms of the their general penetration of Asia Minor and in terms of specific sites which they had taken, such as the town of Kyzikos whose fall startled Nikephoros III Botaneiates as well as the Komnenoi at the start of 1081, it seems that it was only in the course of the 1080s that there was a substantial and major deterioration of the situation in Anatolia – something which is clear from the appeals made by Alexios for support from outside the Empire, and ultimately, from the First Crusade itself ([89]).

In other words, therefore, the identification of Nikephoros Melissenos as the architect of the fall of the towns of Asia Minor provides a neat let-off for Alexios in so far as it absolves the latter for the catastrophic collapse of Byzantium's position in the east, and at least by implication for his decision to call for help from Europe to reverse these losses. Moreover, the dating of the loss of the towns to the Turks is perhaps not a coincidence, for the association of their surrender with Nikephoros not

(87) *Ibidem.*

(88) J.-C. CHEYNET, *Manzikert : un désastre militaire ?*, *Byz.*, 50 (1980), pp. 410-438.

(89) For the fall of Kyzikos, Anna KOMNENE, II.3.i-iii, pp. 60-61. For the collapse of Byzantium's position in Asia Minor in the 1080s, above all see J-C. CHEYNET, *La résistance aux Turcs en Asie Mineure entre Mantzikert et la Première Croisade*, in *Eupsykhia : Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*, 2 vols., Paris, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 131-147, and also J. SHEPARD, *Cross-purposes : Alexius Comnenus and the First Crusade*, in J. PHILLIPS (ed.) *The First Crusade. Origins and Impact*, Manchester, 1997, pp. 107-129.

only removes primary blame from Alexios (for being responsible himself), but also secondary blame too (as the towns are reported as not even haven fallen during his reign). That is to say, therefore, that according to Bryennios at least, Alexios was in no way culpable for the setbacks which crippled the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor in the final quarter of the 11th c.

This sits neatly alongside the opening of the *Alexiad*, where the author is at pains to establish at the very outset of the text the *motif* of Alexios Komnenos as a scourge of the Turks and of the eponymous hero as having been concerned above all other things with one day having his sword drip with Turkish blood (90). In other words, then, taking Anna Komnene alongside Bryennios and furthermore, taking these both as prime examples of Komnenian image-making, we can identify an unmistakeable image of Alexios being crafted and projected where the Emperor's preoccupation with the Turks is consistently stressed – an image which we would do well to probe carefully.

That the identification of Melissenos may be careful and deliberate, and that it might best interpreted at the same time as a slur on Nikephoros and as a defence of Alexios' reputation would certainly help explain why no other source for this period comments on the towns of central and western Asia Minor, whether naming Melissenos or otherwise. It is certainly tempting to suggest that the blame attached to Nikephoros was ill-merited, in so far as the failure of the primary sources such as those of Anna Komnene, John Zonaras, Constantine Manasses, Bryennios, John Kinnamos – all of which were written after Alexios' death, and when criticism of the Komnenoi was restricted indeed, to judge from the coverage and tenor of these source – mask the fact that it was actually the failure of Alexios Komnenos himself to anticipate or do enough to prevent the fall of these towns. In other words, therefore, the silence of the later sources about the loss of the towns of western Asia Minor raises the possibility that these fell not immediately before Alexios took the throne, but afterwards. As such, then, the blame attributed to Melissenos by Bryennios – but not by any other author – would need to be understood not only as a convenient device to deflect attention from Alexios and the Komnenoi, but also as being highly misleading and indeed downright wrong.

(90) Anna KOMNENE, I.1.i, p. 11.

It is not easy to establish a sure chronology for the loss of the towns generally nor even individually. Clearly many of these had fallen by the very start of the 1080s. As we have seen, Kyzikos fell while Alexios and his brother were still pondering whether and when to make their own bid for the throne. Nicaea, for example, was certainly in the hands of Sulayman by the early 1080s, with Anna Komnene's reference to the town as the Turk's capital providing one clue, Sulayman' focus away from western Anatolia and back onto Cilicia around 1082-1083 providing another ([91]). If this points to the fact that the Turkish leader was consolidating his rear in the wake of important gains elsewhere, then it is also worth pointing out that a treaty had been agreed at the very start of Alexios' reign, which enabled the new Emperor to turn his attention to the north, to Epirus, and to the Norman attacks on Byzantium ([92]). Although we know little of the terms of this agreement, we can deduce that the Turks must have been offered generous terms, for they not only gave commitments not to enter Bithynia, but also agreed to provide Alexios with military support against the invasion of Robert Guiscard ([93]).

Crucially, however, we learn that for his part, the new Emperor established a frontier, naming the River Drakon as the border between Byzantium and the Turks ([94]). One suggestion that could be made here,

(91) Anna KOMNENE, III.11.i, p. 114. For Sulayman's attentions in eastern Asia Minor after 1081, BAR HEBRAEUS, ed. and tr. E. BUDGE, *The Chronography of Gregory Abul Faraj*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1932, vol. 2, p. 227, MATTHEW OF EDESSA, *The chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, tr. A. DOSTOURIAN (Lanham, 1993), II.73, p. 143, II.78, p. 148, MICHAEL THE SYRIAN, ed. and tr. J.-B. CHABOT, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 4 vols., Paris, 1899-1910, vol. 3, p. 179. Also P. FRANKOPAN, *The Foreign Policy of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, 1081-c.1100* (unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1998), pp. 294-297.

(92) Anna KOMNENE, III.11.v, p. 116.

(93) We learn that Alexios had Turkish troops with him when he campaigned against the Normans, Anna KOMNENE, IV.4.iii, pp. 126-127 ; IV.6.ix, p. 135, V.6.iv, p. 159. Also WILLIAM OF APULIA, *Gesta Roberti* Wiscardi, ed. and tr. M. MATHIEU, *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, Palermo, 1961, IV, v. 336, p. 222 ; IV, v. 416, p. 226. Anna Komnene also states that the Emperor contacted the sultan himself to ask him for support and men against Guiscard and Bohemond, Anna KOMNENE, IV.2.i, p. 122 ; V.5.ii, p. 154. This almost certainly refers to Sulayman, F. CHALANDON, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I Comnène*, Paris, 1900, p. 96, C. CAHEN, *La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure*, in *Byz.*, 18 (1948), pp. 43-44, though also note LIUBARSKII, *Алексиада*, p. 491, n. 417.

(94) Anna KOMNENE, III.11.v, p. 116.

therefore, is that Alexios' drive into Bithynia in the summer of 1081 and the ensuing treaty which was agreed with the Turks was prompted by key losses which the Byzantines had suffered in the weeks and months which followed Alexios' uprising and his usurpation of the throne. It is not hard to see that the Byzantine push into Bithynia resulted from important gains which had been made by the Turks ; moreover, it stands to reason that a natural window for these gains was presented by the internal paralysis and breakdown of what remained of Byzantium, and by the struggles for power in Constantinople during and immediately after the Komnenoi coup when Alexios struggled hard to conciliate with the clergy and with members of the previous regime (95). The other, darker alternative here is that the towns of Asia Minor whose loss Bryennios ascribes to Melissenos were in fact offered up by Alexios as concessions for the truce which kept the Turks out of Bithynia, provided miliary aid for the new Emperor, and allowed him to concentrate on the Norman attacks on Epirus. The suggestion that Alexios sacrificed the east in order to protect the west is something which would certainly provide a new insight into the theme of the Emperor's diligence against the Turks, a theme which emerges in the very first lines of the *Alexiad.* Moreover, it would put Alexios' dealings with both the Normans and the Turks, and perhaps most importantly, with the Byzantine magnate class in an entirely different perspective. And of course, the sacrifice of much of Asia Minor would tell us a great deal about Alexios' policy-making, to say nothing of the historiography which recorded it, most notably the *Alexiad* and the *Hyle Historias* and for that matter all those historians who dared not and did not. But either way, then, his usurpation provides an obvious context for the Turks to have made gains at Byzantium's expense. And as a result, it would seem not only plausible but credible to see not Melissenos as being behind the fall of swathes of Asia Minor and the towns of the east (as Bryennios claims), but rather Alexios himself.

This would naturally not only be more persuasive than Bryennios' dismissive and frankly implausible single line dismissal for the collapse of Byzantium's position in the east and indeed for the loss of Asia Minor,

(95) For Alexios' attempts to counter the hostility of the clergy in 1081, see Anna Komnene, III.5.i-vi, pp. 97-100 ; for the appalling treatment of senators during the Komnenoi entry to Constantinople, Anna Komnene, II.10.iv, p. 81 and Zonaras, XVIII.20, vol. 3, p. 729, XVIII.21, vol. 3, pp. 732-733, and also note XVIII.29, vol. 3, p. 766.

but also go some way to explaining the curt note in this account of the period, and conversely, the omission of any mention of the cause and date of the fall of Anatolia in others.

Certainly, we are not helped here by the fact that two of the key sources for the period before Alexios' accession – those of Michael Attaleiates and John Skyltizes (or his continuator) – end before the seizure of power by the Komnenoi. As such, then, their failure to comment on whether key towns in Asia Minor (including Nicaea) had fallen to the Turks before 1081 and which we might try to use as useful positive evidence to suggest that it was only after Alexios' usurpation that the Turks made these gains, needs to be set alongside the fact that they do not comment either on the aborted attempt of Melissenos to take the throne himself. In other words, the narrative sources here fail us and prevent us from reaching a decisive conclusion.

Nevertheless, we can edge closer to at least suggesting a persuasive hypothesis here, for Bryennios' history, of course, was not only Komnenian in so far as the author was a senior member of the imperial family and an active participant in the Komnenian administration of the late 11th and early 12th c. It was Komnenian because it had been commissioned by the Empress Eirene to provide an account of the family's history, and above all, of the reign of Alexios I. In this way, then, his careful identification of Melissenos as laying the ground for the disastrous loss of western Asia Minor (and specifically of the towns of this region), coupled with the profound silence of the other primary sources, while not providing conclusive evidence as to the date, context or responsibility for the losses in question, certainly raise the prospect that there is more here than first meets the eye.

In this respect, then, the question arises as to why of all the possible candidates that Bryennios could have chosen to blame for the situation in Asia Minor, he should choose his own uncle (by marriage), the brother-in-law of the Emperor himself, Nikephoros Melissenos. And again, the conclusion which is hard to avoid is that for one reason or another, Melissenos had done something to provoke this reaction from Bryennios, had committed some crime or error that made him worthy of being set up as the scape-goat for the Emperor's own failings. As a result, therefore, the disappearance of Nikephoros Melissenos from the sources for this period in the middle of the 1090s, the extremely sparse information about his descendants and the apparent lack of opportunities given to his son, the hostility of both Anna Komnene's and Nikephoros Bryennios' treat-

ment of this individual – taken together with a sympathetic assessment of Melissenos' own grievances and regrets at his failure to take the imperial throne in 1081 help to build a hypothesis that this figure had come to be seen as expendable, as a justifiable target by members of the imperial family by the middle of the 12th c.

The coverage and commentary of Nikephoros Melissenos in the *Alexiad* and elsewhere make it difficult to track the career of this individual. From what we can establish about him before Alexios Komnenos took the throne in a coup in 1081 reveals that Nikephoros was a powerful and serious challenger for the imperial dignity in his own right – something which is clear from his own effort to become Emperor, from the belated decision of Botaneiates to (try to) nominate him as his heir, and above all, from the concessions which Melissenos was able to extract from Alexios and from the Komnenoi.

The fact Nikephoros had got so close to the throne himself must surely have jarred with him as the years passed, in spite of the dignities and honours which he was given – which may or may not have translated into actual power and authority. It is striking then that we can find clues in the *Alexiad* which attest to Melissenos' truculence and to his frustration, whether in the form of jealousy aimed at the Emperor or in the form of his subversion of Alexios' position and that of Isaac Komnenos – the two men who ranked higher than him in Byzantium – when making allegations about the son of the *sebastokrator*, John Komnenos.

What is most striking of all, however, about Melissenos is his sudden disappearance from political and military life around the time of the rumours about John Komnenos. So while he is visible regularly in the material for the 1080s, his profile after John's plot suddenly slips into obscurity. That this might be taken as a sign that Nikephoros had been disgraced and replaced in the Komnenian pantheon, whether because of his behaviour towards John or for some other occasion, stands to reason, not least since we know that he was still alive for another decade after c.1094. In other words, then, his disappearance from the primary sources would be entirely consistent with a hypothesis that he had been pushed to one side shortly before the First Crusade.

Moreover, a hypothesis about Melissenos' (dis)loyalty to Alexios lying behind the non-existent profile which the former had for the last ten years of his life is also consistent with the treatment which he received in the *Alexiad*, where his appearances are regularly if not invariably accompanied by sniping comments by the author, and in the *Hyle Historias* of

Nikephoros Bryennios, where again we can find a way to understand that the coverage of Melissenos is carefully aimed.

Of course, it is not unreasonable to ask why neither author did not simply come clean about Nikephoros, identifying him as letting down the Emperor, noting his removal and forced retirement, and damning him for his sedition. However, there is a good explanation here : after all, by the time that Bryennios and Anna Komnene were writing – well into the 12th c. – the cult of the family had not only taken root in Komnenian Byzantium, but had become deeply ingrained not only on the way the Emperor did business, but on the way he projected himself (96). As such, then, the admission that Alexios had been betrayed by one of his closest intimates was something which, not surprisingly, neither author thought appropriate to include outright in their text. This means, of course, that there is all the more reason to look carefully at what they do say about Melissenos, and to see if this gives us any clues – which indeed it does.

In this way, therefore, the reluctance of Nikephoros Bryennios and of Anna Komnene to devote their full attention to Melissenos, and to seek to highlight his career and his fall from grace in any detail serve as a neat counterpoint to the typikon of the Pantokrator, which records that prayers were to be said for the *kaisar* and for his wife (amongst others) (97). There can be no doubt that this refers to Nikephoros Melissenos and to his wife Eudokia (98). Nor is there any doubt that the foundation of the Pantokrator was a key example of image-building by the Komnenoi (99). That Melissenos is not identified by name, but only by title certainly places him squarely in his place, while at the same time allowing for the projection of an illustrious and unified family picture, without allowing much of an opportunity for this to be questioned.

More telling, therefore, is Melissenos' absence from the foundation document of the Kekharitomene, which dates to well after his death. Although Nikephoros is not the only notable to fail to be included in the list of those for whom prayers were to be said, his omission here is perhaps not a coincidence, or a slip of the Empress Eirene's memory – rather being an emphatic confirmation that Melissenos was not worthy to be

(96) MAGDALINO, *Manuel I Komnenos*, esp. pp. 180-217.

(97) P. GAUTIER, *Christ Sauveur Pantocrator*, p. 43.

(98) P. GAUTIER, *Obituaire*, p. 253, IDEM, *Typikon*, p. 43, nn. 13-14.

(99) GAUTIER, *Obituaire*, p. 242-4, MAGDALINO, *Manuel I Komnenos*, pp. 119-20.

included amongst those who loyalty to Eirene and Alexios had not been compromised ([100]). As a result, then, it would serve as a plausible explanation for the otherwise sudden and indeed inexplicable disappearance of a man who been one of the most prominent figures in 11th Century Byzantium and who had for a while not only ranked as the third most important man in the Empire, but had come tantalisingly close to taking the throne for himself.

As it is, it was the Komnenoi who stamped their mark on Byzantium in the late 11th and in the 12th c., rather than the Melissenoi. It is not altogether inappropriate, therefore, that what we learn about Nikephoros Melissenos from John Kinnamos serves as a poignant epitaph for the former. Kinnamos states that the *kaisar* of the Melissenoi (who can only be Nikephoros) had been responsible for building a series of truly splendid houses at Dorylaion in the plains of central Anatolia. The populous (and presumably prosperous) villages which had sprung up around this area had benefited from warm and pleasant springs and the porticoes and baths had served to make this an idyllic location, one like Melissenos himself, which was full of promise. The arrival of another player on the scene had brought this to an end, and it was not long before all the buildings were pulled down, the site decrepit, and the region once again sparsely populated. The Turks, like Alexios Komnenos, had brought all these dreams to an end, once and for all ([101]). Not surprising, then, that Nikephoros should go down fighting, once he had realised that his time had truly passed.

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(100) P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitômènè*, in *REB*, vol. 43 (1985), pp. 5-165.

(101) John KINNAMOS, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. MEINEKE, Bonn, 1836, pp. 294-295.

# BYZANTINE *CLOISONNÉ* ENAMEL : PRODUCTION, SURVIVAL AND LOSS (*)

## Introduction

The modern world has always accepted that, over the centuries, a large proportion of works of medieval art have been lost. In the field of works in precious metal this loss will have been proportionally even larger, due to the inherent bullion value of the metal involved. What has often been too readily overlooked, however, is how easily these losses can distort the modern view of the development of a particular art form from the past, which has had to be based only on what has survived into the modern age. The question should always be asked when comparisons are made : is the basis on which a discussion of a work of medieval art is conducted sufficiently broadly based to validate a given conclusion ?

This paper has two main aims : one is to arrive at a considered basis for the level of loss that the field of Byzantine *cloisonné* enamel has suffered over the centuries ; this has not been attempted before, although it has always been assumed that losses would have been substantial. The second is to offer some thoughts on how the literature of the subject, often

(*) The author would like to express his thanks to Dr Christopher Walter for his helpful advice on various aspects of the content of this article.

To reduce the need for multiple bibliographical data for each individual work of art, references to publications of them have, where appropriate, been confined to entries in one of the four major exhibition catalogues of the last twelve years where the work has most recently been displayed ; these both provide references to earlier literature and offer the best reproductions but are not of course primary references. Those referred to are : *Byzance : L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises* (J. DURAND *et al.*, Eds.) Paris, 1992 ; *Byzantium : Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections* (D. BUCKTON, Ed.) London, 1994 ; *The Glory of Byzantium : Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D.843-1261* (H. C. EVANS and W. D. WIXOM, Eds.) New York, 1997 ; and *Byzantium, Faith and Power (1261-1557)* (H. C. EVANS, Ed.) New York, 2004.

due to an absence of secure data of other kinds, has had to rely extensively on the concept of a normality of enamel production and development to be able to arrive at many of its currently accepted conclusions (1). This has already been questioned by David Buckton in the field of "early" Byzantine enamel (2), consisting as it did when he began of less than five objects, and which he may well have reduced to zero. He showed how some previously accepted conclusions were based on a perceived norm that had in turn been derived from too limited a surviving sample.

The medium of Byzantine *cloisonné* enamel is exceptional among the art forms in precious metal in that it is possible to claim that virtually the entire surviving field has been identified, and in various forms has even been published (3). Although further works in the medium may well come to light, it must surely be most unlikely that they would impose some radical change in how the medium is generally regarded. Chance excavations, such as those in 1928 of a plaque of St Procopius in the Forum of Theodosius in Istanbul (4), and in 1962 of a fragmentary inscribed frame and broken plaque in the Pantocrator monastery (5), are of individual interest and could well recur ; however, the relative completeness of our knowledge of surviving examples of the medium makes it unlikely that an isolated find would impose any radical changes on our current perceptions. Isolated pieces will also no doubt continue occasionally to appear, and may pass through the art market, but when this has occurred the generally accepted picture has not needed alteration.

An essential feature that governed the production of Byzantine enamel was that plaques were constricted by two significant technical factors. One concerned the physical size to which plaques were limited due to the need to retain a uniform rate of cooling after the firing process (6), and the

(1) See e.g. the entry by K. Wessel in *RBK*, t. 2, Stuttgart, 1971, col. 105-106 where he cites ten dated plaques ; the same sequence is cited by W. F. Volbach in H. R. Hahnloser and R. Polacco, eds., *La Pala d'Oro*, Venice, 1994, p. 44.

(2) See D. Buckton, *Byzantine Enamel and the West*, in J. D. Howard-Johnston ed., *Byzantium and the West 850-1200*, Amsterdam, 1988, pp. 235-244.

(3) See n. 21-100 for references to the list assembled here.

(4) *Second Report upon the Excavations Carried Out In and Near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928*, London, 1929, p. 44-45, Fig. 52.

(5) A. H. S. Megaw, *Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul*, in *DOP*, 17 (1963), pp. 348-349 and Figs. 16 (mispr. as 61), 18 and 19.

(6) The description of the enamelling process given by the 12th c. artist Theophilus in ch. 54 of his *De Diversis Artibus*, emphasises how the vessel in

second was that, once completed and polished, the plaque could not be fully re-heated as this would destroy the enamel it contained. The result of these limitations was that the construction of an object such as a reliquary, a chalice or a book-cover that was intended to receive ornament in enamel would first have to be completed from other materials (usually either metal or wood) before being embellished by the plaques of enamel without the use of heat. To overcome this further technical restriction, the union of the plaques with their intended home would (on the evidence of a huge majority of surviving works) have been achieved either by their being pierced and then secured to their intended location by passing nails or rivets through the holes, or by being held by means of a narrow bezel or flange that was firmly attached to the object to be decorated, and which was burnished over the edge of the plaque ; in either method the use of heat was avoided. This process of production and attachment means that individual plaques could quite readily become detached from the object for which they were originally made. There is even good evidence that, during the medieval period, individual plaques could become the subject of re-use, and even re-sale (7). Certainly, modern museums now display in isolation individual plaques of Byzantine enamel which have become detached, and it tends to be this class of individual, isolated plaques which can now be found in private hands.

A gold base was used for the great majority of surviving middle Byzantine enamel plaques, and this presence of precious metal would always have represented a certain risk. But this would be increased substantially by the extremely fragile nature of the glass medium (whether opaque or translucent enamel) that the plaques contained. Once a plaque had suffered any significant damage to its enamel both its iconographic message could be lost and its decorative value reduced, and, when chipping and fragmentation of the glass held in the *cloisons* had continued and exposed any major areas of the base plate, its bullion value would be all that remained. Such damage could of course occur at any time, and a

which the enamels have been fired should only be cooled very slowly ; see ed. of C. R. DODWELL, London, 1961, pp. 105-106.

(7) A colophon written by the Russian scribe Naslav makes it clear that, while in Constantinople *c.* 1125 ordering enamels for a book-cover, he also acquired some earlier plaques as well ; see P. HETHERINGTON, *Byzantine Enamels for a Russian Prince : The Book-cover of the Gospels of Mstislav*, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 59 (1996), pp. 309-324.

common solution (apart from leaving empty the frame holding the plaque) was either to create a new plaque in colours and a style which would not relate to those remaining on the object, or to find another Byzantine plaque with which to replace it. The regulation of gold and silver bullion was a matter of the greatest importance to the authorities in Constantinople, and the ninth/tenth-century *Book of the Eparch* indicates that severe penalties were reserved for goldsmiths and money-lenders who were found to have transgressed the sequence of regulations that governed transactions and trade in this medium (8). It must be of interest to our subject that while "gold, silver, gems and pearls" in various forms are specified in this text as being closely monitored and controlled, there is no mention at all of enamel. The most likely explanation for this is that it would only be the gold content of enamel plaques that would be of any importance or value ; fragments of glass enamel in damaged plaques would be of no financial interest.

Any discussion of general questions of the production of Byzantine enamel clearly needs to start from a basis that provides a broad total of surviving works, and to achieve this a compilation is presented below that brings together all the major known examples. So that the varieties of scale between small and large ensembles do not invalidate possible conclusions, this compilation includes the numbers of plaques found in each ensemble ; it can be seen that these vary greatly. The assemblage given below will permit a calculation to be made as to the total number of plaques that survive from the period of Byzantine art during which the production of enamel was current, which is independent of the scale or number of the objects on which they are found. What follows is therefore a listing, given necessarily in the briefest possible form, of all the main known surviving works of *cloisonné* enamel, with the number of individual plaques that have been used and with an indication of any of exceptional size. It will be seen that a few works such as the image of St Demetrius from the Guelph treasure now in Berlin (9), the enamel icon

(8) Although the punishment of having the hand cut off appears to be only retained for goldsmiths who abuse the coinage of precious metal, and for bankers involved in comparable practices ; see I. Dujčev Ed., *To Eparkhikon Biblion*, London (Variorum), 1970, Chs. 2 and 3.

(9) Most recently discussed by D. Buckton, *The Gold Icon of St Demetrios*, in J. Ehlers and D. Kötzsche, Eds., *Der Welfenschatz und sein Umkreis*, Mainz, 1998, pp. 277-286.

of St Theodore in St Petersburg ([10]) and the reliefs in the frame of the *Sacro Volto* in Genoa ([11]), have not been mentioned. Their omission is due to the fact that they do not conform to an accepted *cloisonné* technique, and so they present such an untypical usage of Byzantine enamel that their inclusion could be deemed to distort conclusions based on a recognised technique of *cloisonné* enamel production. For different reasons the uncertainties surrounding such works as the ewer at St Maurice d'Agaune ([12]), the plaque of a dancer in the V & A Museum, London ([13]), the enamels on the mitre from Linköping Cathedral now in Stockholm ([14]), on the gloves at Brixen ([15]) and on the staurotheke at Cosenza ([16]), have precluded their mention here. Problems also surround enamels with Georgian inscriptions and other characteristics, as these may well have been made outside the metropolitan Byzantine sphere ; for these reasons a number of such works in Tibilisi as well as those from Kievan Rus' ([17]) have also been omitted, as have the few enamels on such late artefacts as

(10) See C. WALTER, *St Theodore and the Dragon*, in C. ENTWISTLE, Ed., *Through a Glass Brightly*, Oxford, 2003, pp. 95-106.

(11) See G. WOLF *et al*, *Mandylion, Intorno al* Sacro Volto, *da Bisanzio a Genova,* Milan, 2004 (Exhibition catalogue), also P. HETHERINGTON, *The Frame of the* Sacro Volto *Icon in S. Bartolomeo degli Armeni, Genoa : the Reliefs and the Artist*, in *CA*, 50 (2002), pp. 175-184.

(12) For this and opinions on it, see P. LASKO, *Ars Sacra 800-1200*, Harmondsworth, 1972, pp. 23-24.

(13) See M. BÁRÁNY-OBERSCHALL, *The Crown of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos,* Budapest, 1937, p. 86-89.

(14) Most recently discussed by Å. NISBETH and I. ESTHAM, *Linköpings domkyrka, inredning och inventarier*, Linköping, 2001, pp. 110-113, fig. 69, *a-f*, with references to earlier literature ; I am currently revising the persisting assumption that these were made in Venice.

(15) For the roundels now on liturgical gloves in the Diocesan Museum, Brixen, see J. DEÉR, *Die byzantinierenden Zellenschmelze der Linköping-Mitra und ihr Denkmalkreis,* in *Tortulae*, Rome-Freiburg-Vienna, 1966, pl. 16 b and d.

(16) For the *staurotheke* at Cosenza, see DEÉR, *Zellenschmelze*, pl. 17 d, e, f, 18 a, and WESSEL, *Enamels*, pp. 176-181.

(17) For numerous examples see e.g. S. AMIRANASHVILI, *Medieval Georgian Enamels of Russia*, New York, n.d. ; one of the works most readily accepted as Byzantine is included here at n. 67. Discussion on the origins of the enamelled items of jewellery found in the 'Preslav Treasure' in 1978 does not appear conclusive.

the reliquary of Cardinal Bessarion ([18]), which are hard to see as part of an ongoing tradition. No attempt is made to distinguish different 'centres' of enamel production within the Byzantine world, such as has occasionally been attempted for Thessaloniki ([19]). Also, for this exercise niello ([20]) is not regarded as enamel, and finger rings with enamel have been excluded.

Some points should be made about the designations given below. *Number of plaques* indicates the totals of enamel plaques that survive attached to the object concerned, or in detached state. Plaques with non-figural and decorative designs are included, as to omit these would have presented an unbalanced overall picture, so they have usually been assessed as part of an ensemble, but plaques of separate individual small *tituli* are mostly omitted as being too diminutive to be added to a total production figure. Where enamel plaques have become detached from the objects for which they were originally made but survive reassembled on another object, or as an isolated group, they are indicated by *. For these, any date referring to a later location can for this reason only be a *terminus ante* unless they have internal evidence. Further, ** indicates that plaques have been securely dated either by internal evidence, such as an inscription, or by external circumstances (but not by stylistic argument). Detailed discussion of the chronology of individual works is not, in any case, an objective of this paper. *** has been introduced on six items to indicate that at least one plaque at the location referred to is of exceptional size, with one dimension exceeding 25 cm ; this provides a way of separating plaques of major scale from the less individually prominent examples.

(18) For basic data on this late and complex *staurotheke* see A. FROLOW, *La relique de la Vraie Croix*, Paris, 1961, n° 872, pp. 563-565, but the essay by J. B. SCHIOPPALALBA, *In perantiquam sacram Tabulam*, Venice, 1767, remains essential reading ; final agreement on many of its aspects has not been reached, but wherever its enamel elements were made it does not appear possible to link them to an ongoing Byzantine tradition.

(19) See e.g. M. C. ROSS, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, Vol. 2, Washington D.C., 1965, pp. 109-110.

(20) Niello is a black substance formed from silver mixed with sulphur and other metal, and has a lower melting-point than enamel ; its medieval production is described by Theophilus in *De Diversis Artibus*, chs. 18-19, pp. 80-82.

## Listing of surviving enamels

| *Ensembles or individual enamel plaques, with current locations* | *Number of plaques* |
|---|---|
| Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum : detached plaques ([21]) | 5 |
| Budapest, National Museum : plaques possibly for a crown ([22])*/** | 9 |
| Budapest, Parliament : *corona graeca* of St Stephen's crown ([23])*/** | 18 |
| Cleveland, Ohio : encolpion ([24]) | 2 |
| Copenhagen, National Museum : cross of Queen Dagmar ([25]) | 2 |
| Esztergom, Cathedral Treasury : staurotheke ([26])*** | 1 |
| Freising, Cathedral Museum : icon revetment ([27]) | 20 |
| Halberstadt, Cathedral treasury : St Demetrius reliquary enkolpion ([28]) | 1 |
| Jerusalem, Museum of Greek Patriarchate : 'The King of Glory', icon revetment ([29])**/*** | 28 (fig. 1) |
| Limburg, Diocesan Museum : staurotheke of the Proedros Basil ([30])** | 60 |
| London, British Museum : St Demetrius reliquary enkolpion ([31]) | 2 |
| Cross enkolpion ([32]) | 1 |

(21) St Demetrius : *Glory of Byzantium*, p. 107 ; Presentation plaques : K. WESSEL, *Byzantine Enamels from the 5th to the 13th century*, Shannon, 1969, p. 172-175.

(22) *Glory of Byzantium*, pp. 210-212.

(23) É. KOVÁCS and Z. LOVAG, *The Hungarian Crown and other Regalia*, Budapest, 1980.

(24) *Glory of Byzantium*, p. 164.

(25) *Idem*, pp. 498-9.

(26) P. HETHERINGTON, *Studying the Byzantine staurothèque at Esztergom*, in *Through a Glass Brightly*, C. ENTWISTLE ed., Oxford, 2003, pp. 82-94 ; see also *Glory of Byzantium*, p. 81.

(27) WESSEL, *Enamels*, pp. 195-6, with lit.

(28) *Glory of Byzantium*, pp. 161-162.

(29) See P. HETHERINGTON, *Who is this King of Glory ? The Byzantine Enamels of an Icon frame and Revetment in Jerusalem*, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 54 (1990), pp. 25-38.

(30) Recently discussed by Nancy P. ŠEVČENKO, *The Limburg Staurothek and its Relics*, in *Thymiama ste mneme tes Laskarina Mpouras*, Athens, 1994, I, pp. 289-294, with references to recent literature. See also n. 103, below.

(31) *Glory of Byzantium*, pp. 167-168.

(32) *Idem*, pp. 170-171.

| | |
|---|---|
| Detached plaques ([33]) | 2 |
| London, Victoria and Albert Museum : cross reliquary ([34]) | 2 |
| Detached plaque ([35]) | 1 |
| Maastricht, Treasury of Church of the Virgin : reliquary ([36]) | 1 |
| Monopoli, Cathedral Museum : staurotheke ([37]) | 7 |
| Moscow, Historical Museum : book-cover of Gospels of Mstislav ([38])*/** | 13 (fig. 2) |
| Moscow, Kremlin Museum : pendant icon ([39]) | 1 |
| Moscow, State Pushkin Museum : pendant cross ([40]) | 8 |
| Mount Athos, Great Lavra : frame of mosaic icon of St John Theologos ([41]) | 10 |
| Munich, Bavarian State Library : book-cover of Pericope of Henry II ([42])* | 12 |
| Munich, Residenz, Treasury : crucifixion plaque ([43])*** | 1 |
| Namur, Convent of the Sœurs de Notre-Dame : reliquary altar cross ([44])* | 8 (fig. 3) |
| New York, Metropolitan Museum : roundels from frame of Djumati icon ([45])* | 9 |
| 'Fieschi-Morgan' staurotheke ([46]) | 19 |
| Decorative fragments from icon revetment ([47]) | 6 |

(33) *Byzantium*, pp. 186-187.

(34) The 'Beresford Hope Cross' ; *Byzantium*, p. 132

(35) E. SPEEL, *Dictionary of Enamelling*, Aldershot, 1998, p. 30 ; a diminutive roundel of Christ in the same Museum is probably of Georgian origin.

(36) *Glory of Byzantium*, pp. 165-166.

(37) *Idem*, pp. 162-163.

(38) HETHERINGTON, *Enamels for a Russian Prince*, pp. 309-322.

(39) *Glory of Byzantium*, pp. 166-167.

(40) *Idem*, pp. 171-172.

(41) A. GRABAR, *Les revêtements en or et en argent des icônes byzantines du moyen âge*, Venice, 1975, pp. 62-63, with lit.

(42) WESSEL, *Enamels*, pp. 80-85.

(43) *Idem*, pp. 167-168.

(44) P. HETHERINGTON, *The Byzantine Enamels on a Staurothèque from the Treasury of the Prieuré d'Oignies, now at Namur*, in *CA*, 48 (2000), pp. 59-69.

(45) *Glory of Byzantium*, pp. 346-347.

(46) *Idem*, pp. 74-75.

(47) *Idem*, pp. 348-349 for five fragments ; the sixth from this group is in the Louvre ; see *Byzance*, pp. 328-329.

| | |
|---|---|
| Decorative halo from an icon ([48]) | 1 |
| Ornamental 'temple pendant' ([49]) | 2 |
| Enkolpion ([50]) | 2 |
| Tip of a pointer (formerly Stoclet Collection) ([51]) | 1 |
| The Stavelot triptych ([52]) | 18 |
| Orleans, Cathedral treasury : roundels ([53])* | 2 |
| Paris, Cluny Museum : roundel from Djumati icon ([54]) | 1 |
| Paris, Louvre : paten (formerly Stoclet Collection) ([55]) | 4 |
| Patmos, Monastery of St John : decorative halo on icon of St John ([56])* | 1 |
| Poitiers, Abbaye de Ste Croix, Saint-Benoit : surround of staurotheke ([57]) | 1 |
| Richmond, Va., Museum : quatrefoil enkolpion ([58]) | 2 |
| St Petersburg, Hermitage Museum : icon / reliquary (?) ([59])* | 6 |
| Siena, Biblioteca degli Intronati : book-cover ([60])* | 54 (fig. 4) |
| Siena, Ospedale della Scala : enkolpion ([61]) | 5 |
| Plaque ([62]) | 1 |
| Sofia, formerly Ecclesiastical Museum : icon frame ([63]) | 1 |

(48) N. KONDAKOV, *Histoire et monuments des émaux byzantins*, Frankfurt, 1892, p. 294 and pl. 16.

(49) *Glory of Byzantium*, pp. 246-247.

(50) *Idem*, p. 165.

(51) *Idem*, p. 249.

(52) *Idem*, pp. 461-463.

(53) *Byzance*, p. 340, although a south Italian origin has been suggested.

(54) *Idem* p. 324 ; for the other nine roundels in this group, see n. 45, above.

(55) *Adolphe Stoclet Collection*, Fwd. by D. LION-GOLDSCHMIDT, Brussels, 1956, pp. 144-149. See n. 47, above, for a halo fragment also in the Louvre.

(56) A. D. KOMINIS *et al.*, *Patmos, Treasures of the Monastery*, Athens, 1988, pp. 107-108, 131 ; the plaques from the book held by the saint have not been included.

(57) *Byzance*, p. 326-328.

(58) *Glory of Byzantium*, p. 162.

(59) GRABAR, *Revêtements*, pp. 75-76.

(60) *Faith and Power*, pp. 509-511 ; two plaques from the spine appear now to be detached since 1978.

(61) L. BELLOSI (ed.), *L'Oro di Siena, Il Tesoro di Santa Maria della Scala*, Milan, 1996, p. 107-110.

(62) *Idem*, p. 105-106.

(63) *Glory of Byzantium*, p. 332-333.

| | |
|---|---|
| Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum : armlets [*perikarpia*] ([64]) | 40 |
| Tbilisi, Georgian State Museum of Art : Khakhuli triptych ([65])*/*** | 118 |
| Plaque from Gelati icon ([66]) | 1 |
| Shemoshmedi icon ([67]) | 9 |
| Venice, Biblioteca Marciana : Book-cover, Lat. I, 100 ([68]) | 26 |
| Book-cover, Lat. I, 101 ([69]) | 17 |
| Book-cover, Lat. III, 111 ([70]) | 18 |
| Book-cover, cod. Ms Gr. I, 53 ([71]) | 12 |
| Venice, Tesoro di San Marco : chalice of sardonyx (Inv. 55) ([72]) | 1 |
| Chalice of an emperor Romanos (Inv. 65) ([73])** | 21 |
| Chalice of onyx-agate (Inv. 68) ([74]) | 12 |
| Chalice of sardonyx (Inv. 69) ([75]) | 30 |
| Chalice, with handles, of an emperor Romanos (Inv. 70) ([76])** | 14 |
| Chalice of onyx-agate (Inv. 71) ([77]) | 4 |
| Chalice of agate (Inv. 72) ([78]) | 6 |
| Chalice of alabaster (Inv. 74) ([79]) | 4 |
| Chalice of sardonyx (Inv. 75) ([80]) | 12 |

(64) *Idem*, p. 243-244.

(65) Most accessible in S. AMIRANASHVILI, *Medieval Georgian Enamels of Russia*, New York, n.d., pp.93-123, but also in IDEM, *The Khakhuli Triptych*, Tbilisi, 1972.

(66) *Glory of Byzantium*, p. 342, although a possible Georgian origin is suggested.

(67) AMIRANASHVILI, *Georgian Enamels*, p. 90-91.

(68) H. R. HAHNLOSER (ed.), *Il Tesoro di San Marco, Il Tesoro e il Museo*, Florence, 1971, pp. 48-49.

(69) *Idem*, pp. 47-48.

(70) *Idem*, pp. 49-50.

(71) *Idem*, pp. 50-52.

(72) *Idem*, p. 63 ; "Inv." is used as a short form of "Inventario Tesoro" for all the items held in the Treasury, with only the final two held on the "Inventario Santuario".

(73) *Idem*, pp. 59-60.

(74) *Idem*, pp. 63-64.

(75) *Idem*, pp. 58-59.

(76) *Idem*, pp. 60-61.

(77) *Idem*, p. 64.

(78) *Idem*, p. 61.

(79) *Idem*, pp. 62-63.

(80) *Idem*, p. 62.

| | |
|---|---|
| Chalice of green glass decorated with hares (Inv. 76) ([81]) | 1 |
| Chalice of onyx-agate (Inv. 94) ([82]) | 4 |
| Chalice of silver-gilt (Inv. 96) ([83]) | 3 |
| Crown of Leo VI (Inv. 116) ([84])** | 7 |
| Detached plaques (Inv. 100, 146,147) ([85]) | 16 |
| Icon of St Michael (full-length, Inv. 6) ([86])*** | 55 |
| Icon of St Michael (half-length, Inv. 46) ([87])* | 44 |
| Icon of the Virgin Nikopoia ([88])* | 24 |
| Pala d'Oro, principal plaques in lower part ([89])*/**/*** | 76 |
| Pala d'Oro, principal plaques in upper part ([90])*/*** | 7 |
| Pala d'Oro, minor plaques in surrounds and frames of both parts ([91])* | 96 |
| Paten (Inv. 49) ([92]) | 1 |
| Staurotheke (Inv. Sant. 75) ([93]) | 7 |
| Staurotheke of empress Irene Doukas (Inv. Sant. 57) ([94])** | 4 |
| Vyšši Brod, monastery : cross of Záviš ([95])* | 11 |
| Washington, Dumbarton Oaks : icon frame ([96]) | 8 |
| Detached plaques ([97]) | 2 |

(81) *Idem*, pp. 103-104.

(82) *Idem*, pp. 61-62.

(83) *Idem*, pp. 65-66, although the lithograph by Osterreith after Girogio Canella in A. PASINI, *Il Tesoro di San Marco in Venezia*, Venice, 1885, pl. 38 shows several more plaques in place.

(84) HAHNLOSER, *Tesoro*, pp. 81-82.

(85) *Idem*, pp. 82-86.

(86) *Idem*, pp. 23-25.

(87) *Idem*, pp. 25-27.

(88) *Idem*, pp. 22-23.

(89) H. R. HAHNLOSER and R. POLACCO, *La Pala d'Oro*, Venice, 1994, pp. 5-38.

(90) *Idem* pp. 39-43.

(91) *Idem*, pp. 44-70 ; the number includes the 17 purely ornamental plaques, but not the five of accepted 14th c. western production.

(92) *Idem*, p. 72.

(93) *Idem*, pp. 34-35.

(94) *Idem*, pp. 35-37.

(95) P. HETHERINGTON, *The Cross of Záviš and its Byzantine Enamels : A Contribution to its History,* in *Thymiama* I, Athens, 1994, pp. 119-122.

(96) ROSS, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 105-106.

(97) *Idem*, pp. 100-105.

| | |
|---|---|
| Pectoral reliquary cross ([98]) | 1 |
| Pear-shaped pendant ([99]) | 1 |
| Reliquary encolpion ([100]) | 2 |
| Total | 1.065 |

## Period of production

As mentioned above, a few works of continuing controversial origin, authenticity or date have not been included, but while minor anomalies of inclusion or omission may be identified, this listing must represent a largely complete record of plaques of Byzantine *cloisonné* enamel that have indubitably survived into the modern age.

So if, to facilitate discussion and making allowance for some minor and easily repeated decorative plaques, we can use a round figure of 1000 as representing the total production of Byzantine cloisonné enamel plaques to have survived, a further step is to attempt to establish a period of time during which they must have been produced. Here the well-known paucity of dateable plaques that would provide an assured frame of reference has always been a problem, but as the purpose of this paper is not to discuss in detail the dating of individual works but to present an overall coverage, only 'outside' parameters of dates have been given here. A consensus has been reached that the great majority were produced from some time in the 9th c., when the image of Leo VI (886-912), on a crown in Venice, is the earliest securely dated plaque ([101]), and the later 12th century. This is supported by the named portraits or inscriptions on enamels from the reigns of the two 10th century emperors Romanos (920-944 and 959-963), where the name is found on two chalices also in Venice ([102]), by the reliquary in Limburg from the years 963-985 of which the inscription mentions the Proedros Basil ([103]), by those of Constantine Monomakhos

(98) *Glory of Byzantium*, p. 174.

(99) *Idem*, pp. 212-213.

(100) Ross, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, pp. 111-113.

(101) See n. 84, above.

(102) See n. 73 and 76, above ; it is usual now to acknowledge that Romanos II is the emperor referred to in both these inscriptions.

(103) See n. 30, above ; while the names of the emperors Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his son Romanos appear on the cross, that of the Proedros Basil is given on the box which contains it, and so he must be seen as initiating the creation of the enamels.

(1042-1055) whose image is found in Budapest ([104]), and those of the reign of King Géza I of Hungary (1074-1077) from St Stephen's crown and the emperor Michael Doukas (1071-1078) ([105]) ; his imperial portrait was also given a new home on the Khakhuli triptych, the large assemblage of enamels made by the Georgian king Dimitri I (1125-1146) ([106]). While the entire astonishing ensemble of the Pala d'Oro was only given the form in which it is now seen in Venice in 1343-1345 ([107]), the first commission for the plaques that now form the majority of the lower part was also of the 12th c., having an accepted and recorded date of 1105 during the dogeate of Ordelaffo Falier (1102-1118) ; the major plaques of the upper part, long accepted as booty from the Fourth Crusade, were installed in 1209 under the Doge Pietro Ziani (1205-1229) ([108]).

As in other fields, the Fourth Crusade and the occupation of Constantinople by western powers have usually been credited with having brought an end to the production of Byzantine *cloisonné* enamel, and this may well have been largely the case. While little evidence has so far been produced for the requisite skills and resources having survived and being practised through the 13th c., it can actually be shown that by the late 14th c. the previously used word for the medium of enamel, *χευμυτής* or *ἔργα χυμευτά*, was no longer even known to the writers of an inventory of the treasury of Hagia Sophia ([109]), and was apparently not available to be used by Sylvester Syropoulos when he accompanied the Greek patriarch to view the Pala d'Oro when he visited San Marco while in Venice in 1438 ([110]).

(104) See n. 22, above.

(105) See n. 23, above.

(106) See n. 65, above, pp. 100-101.

(107) See n. 89, above, pp. 39-43.

(108) HAHNLOSER / POLACCO, *Pala d'Oro*, pp. 129-131.

(109) See P. HETHERINGTON, *Byzantine and Russian Enamels in the Treasury of Hagia Sophia in the late 14th century*, in *BZ*, 93 (2000), pp. 133-137.

(110) In the account by Sylvester SYROPOULOS, *Les "Mémoires" du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople*, V. LAURENT ed., Paris, 1971, pp. 222-224, he refers to the Pala d'Oro as "an *eikon* formed from many others", with no mention of the medium ; he then, when disagreeing with what the group had been told by the Venetians (that the images in the Pala d'Oro had come from the templon of Hagia Sophia), even mentions the "brilliance of the material" (*λαμπρότητι τῆς ὕλης*) without using the word for enamel.

So the conventional view that the period of something over three centuries from the later 9th c. to 1204, or shortly after, must have seen the overwhelming majority of enamel production in the Byzantine world has usually been accepted, and may in all probability be broadly correct. In the case of enamels made during the reign of Leo VI, it must be assumed that the ability to create them must have been developing prior to his reign, and so the period of some 350 years from *c.* 850 to *c.* 1200 must, in broad terms, represent the time during which the overwhelming majority of the enamels listed above will have been created.

## Survivals and losses

Simple arithmetic thus provides us with the basic fact that the surviving output of all Byzantine enamellers working in the *cloisonné* technique, suggested here as some 1,000 plaques, amounted to a tiny average production rate of only some 2.8 plaques per year. On this basis the reliquary of the Proedros Basil would have taken over 21 years to complete, and even the armlets in Thessaloniki over 14 years – with no other enamels being produced at the same time. If the period of 350 years was expanded to, say, 400 years to accommodate an earlier start or later ending, the rate of production would fall to just 2.5 plaques per year, or five plaques every two years. This finding clearly requires critical evaluation.

While the simple process that has provided us with these figures, although no doubt open to minor adjustment, must be substantially correct, the finding still raises many problems. First among these must be the extent to which the above listing represents a proportion of the total output of the medium. When dealing with works in any medium, the starting point for a secure solution to the problem of losses that may have accrued over the centuries would be provided if a possibility existed of placing them against a known total production. While this will never be possible in the field of Byzantine enamel, some steps can nevertheless be taken which will provide a basis for arriving at a putative figure for losses.

A first such step would be the simple one of observing the number of empty mountings in surviving ensembles where it is completely clear that plaques have simply become detached from their former home and disappeared, leaving either an empty frame or an evidently later replacement. Just as we know that one plaque in the Limburg reliquary is a

modern replacement ([111]), as eight in the Khakhuli triptych must be 19th c. ([112]), so too among the many enamel ensembles preserved in Venice empty mountings that must once have held enamel plaques can readily be found. From the frame of the spectacular icon of the standing St Michael where three roundels have clearly been lost, to the crown of Leo VI (seven), the book-covers of Lat. I, 101 (seven), Lat III, 111 (four later replacements) and the chalices at Inv. nos. 68 (four), 70 (three), 71 (thirteen), 72 (two) and 96 (eighteen) ([113]) all show evidence of discernible and countable loss. However, this exercise, even in the case of the uniquely well documented collection in Venice, only allows us to suggest a figure of some 67 plaques that can be demonstrated as having been lost from ensembles which have otherwise survived. At some 6% of just the existing known total this cannot be seen as more than a small step forward, and would only be significant if it was known that there had never been any other losses at all.

A second line of enquiry, which is inevitably more extensive, involves examining ensembles of surviving enamels which have been formed from plaques that have been re-used and re-located on other objects. (Individual plaques that survive in detached isolation will be discussed later.) It is not of course possible here even to summarise the many problems that still surround the enamels of the Pala d'Oro, but while the principal plaques of the lower part were indeed re-mounted in a new setting in 1343-1345, there is no secure basis for suggesting that there were significant losses from the early 12th c. commission. However, the 96 plaques from the entire frame can all be regarded as having been collected from a wide range of other origins, and the main plaques from the upper part were certainly re-located in Venice from their original home ([114]). They will be discussed below.

(111) It was made by the goldsmith D. Wilm during restoration ; see J. RAUCH, *Die Limburger Staurothek*, in *Das Münster*, 7/8 (1955), pp. 222-223, fig. 25.

(112) For these later plaques see AMIRANASHVILI, *Khakahuli Triptych*, pl. 53, 55, 64, 65, 66, 72, 74 and 80.

(113) For these, see above at n. 84, 69, 70, 74, 76, 77, 78 and 83.

(114) They are said by Volbach to have formed "decorazione di icone, di legature o di croce", and that "la maggior parte dei pezzi appartiene a serie incomplete". See HAHNLOSER / POLACCO, *Pala*, p. 44.

The listing above shows that of the 14 ensembles which contain plaques that were re-located from their original homes, 268 plaques (approximately 75%) are found in the three major ensembles of the Siena book-cover (54), the Khakhuli triptych (118) and the framing of the Pala d'Oro in Venice (96). The majority of the plaques that have been re-used in these three locations form in each case a random assemblage, in contrast with the programmatic character of plaques that remain in their original locations. While exceptions have to be made in such cases as St Stephen's crown, examination of smaller ensembles such as the book-covers in Moscow and Munich, the crosses at Namur and Vyšši Brod and the Nikopoia icon in Venice would confirm, but not add significantly to, findings based on these three major ensembles.

To take the book-cover now in Siena as the first of these major assemblages, it is clear that we are dealing with a collection of 54 Byzantine enamels brought together for later artists to use in the adornment of a liturgical object. I have previously suggested that these were Venetians who would have been charged with the creation of the book-cover using the random range of Byzantine plaques that were the product of the looters of the Fourth Crusade ([115]). Whether the artists were Venetians or Greeks is immaterial here, and while I have not found any reason to revise the characteristics of the eight groups formed by 25 of its 54 enamel plaques that I proposed in 1978, I was not then, of course, concerned with arriving at a possible survival rate that these groups might represent. Assessing them again now it can be seen that they are formed from survivals from a *dodecaorton*, a chalice ensemble, a 'deesis' group, and four other different but unquantifiable ensembles. It becomes clear that a conservative figure for the various ensembles from which these 54 plaques emerged would have to start from a total of around 150, and that a figure of more than double this number could be sustained.

With the triptych from Khakhul, now in Tbilisi, we confront the most numerous assemblage of Byzantine enamel plaques created during the medieval period ([116]). The 118 plaques that are now installed on the

(115) See P. HETHERINGTON, *Byzantine Enamels on a Venetian Book-cover*, in *CA*, 27 (1978), pp. 117-142.

(116) For basic data see AMIRANASHVILI, *Khakhuli Triptych*; much of the information in this discussion on the triptych is based on personal observation by the author.

Khakhuli triptych could have had no commissioned origin comparable with the lower part of the Pala d'Oro, and their collective existence is recorded in a Georgian inscription running along the bottom edge of the outer wings. Here king Dimitri I (1125-1155) acknowledges that the triptych displays some enamels originally created for his father, king David III (the Builder), who died in 1125 ([117]). Of the original central subject, the half-length figures of the Virgin, stolen in 1859, only the face and hands are now present, having been returned from the Botkine Collection in 1923.

There was never any basic iconographic programme which controlled the detailed positioning of this extensive assemblage, and even a brief examination of the plaques underlines the essentially chance and random nature of their origins. A prominent feature of the wings, for example, is provided by the three crosses (one large and two smaller) which dominate the design of each. However, all six crosses are made up in different ways, with enamels only being used in three of the smaller ones (gems are used in the others), and one of them being formed from four decorative enamel strips that could derive from any decorative framing, with only two having figural content, itself of varied type. As with other ensembles our purpose here has to be confined to assessing the nature and extent of the groups of plaques from which those now present are the survivors, and so allow us to suggest a figure for the ultimate losses that are implied by those that have survived here.

Space does not allow a detailed examination of all the groups which contributed to this unique display, but an example is provided by two sequences of tall rectangular plaques in each of which a pair of standing saints is portrayed. Of these two groups that with the six smaller plaques, now located to either side of the central image, offers a series of the twelve apostles and so should be regarded as complete. That with the

(117) The inscription chased in the silver-gilt panels along the base of the triptych runs : "Thanks to God the Father, you the Queen make the things of your holy church to flourish on all sides ; enrich the things of your holy church that David, the successor to David, has presented to you, the Virgin, with his own body and soul, and his family. Dimitri, a new Solomon rich with talents, and like the sun in the heavens, made your church bright at this time for your pleasure, holy Virgin, and for Christ our king". I would like to thank Dr Marina Kenia for providing me with this translation of a text which is insufficiently well known ; the original Georgian text is in AMIRANASHVILI, *Khakhuli Triptych,* pl. 104-107.

larger plaques is confined to just two which are located at the base of the central panel ; now attached by flanges burnished over, these still display the empty nail-holes which secured them to their first home. So a basic presumption can be made that these are just two survivors of an original group of six plaques, which would have portrayed a series of the twelve apostles.

The complexity of the problem is illustrated by 36 further plaques which portray individual saints in isolation, none of which are seen in more than bust or half-length format ; of these ten are rectangular and 26 are roundels. Not only do shapes and dimensions vary extensively, but there is also much duplication, with four plaques of varied format portraying St John Theologos, four St Matthew, three St Luke and two St Mark. These 36 plaques must be the survivors of a minimum of 84, and probably from more than 120.

Of the 26 circular plaques, 14 are approximately 56-60 mm. diameter, and portray mainly apostles and evangelists ; the fact that among these plaques SS. Simon and Matthew appear twice strongly suggests that in all probability there were a minimum of two groups providing at least 24 plaques of which these are the survivors. Nine circular plaques of approximately 38 mm. diameter portray a wider range of saints, with the four evangelists accompanied by five warrior saints ; however two of these (SS. George and Theodore) are on roundels of 40 mm. diameter, with the other three including a second plaque of St Theodore. In more complete surviving ensembles warrior saints in pairs accompany, as guardians, apostles and evangelists ; this suggests that this assemblage of roundels will be the survivor of at least two, if not three, ensembles and so implies that these 26 are probably the survivors of up to 36 circular plaques.

When dealing with most of the remaining 74 plaques it is not possible to make use of the concept of established ensembles of saints. There are, for example at least 27 plaques of purely decorative enamel from which it is not possible to make deductions of any original complex.

There are also three plaques in *vollschmelz* ([118]), which must be the survivors of at least one larger ensemble in that they portray the Virgin and

(118) The term is used to designate enamel that covers the entire base of the plaque, leaving no gold showing, and is usually regarded as the earliest form of Byzantine enamel.

St Theodore in roundels and the crucifixion in a four-lobed plaque ; their technique makes them almost certainly the oldest enamels of the entire triptych. Among the larger rectangular plaques are three taller ones representing a conventional "deesis" group, but a single square one of Christ Pantocrator is unlikely to have been intended to be alone in its first home.

So in assessing the 118 medieval plaques now found on the Khakhuli triptych, and which were therefore available for the goldsmiths of king Dimitri I when the assemblage of plaques was completed in 1146 or slightly earlier, it appears that a conservative estimate would suggest that these were the survivors of a number of groups which would have totalled not less than 196. While this represents a theoretical minimum loss of some 40% we cannot now, of course, compute a reliable upper figure. However, one can surmise from the visually well-balanced arrangement of the plaques which were available to the creators of the triptych, that had a range of plaques that was more iconographically coherent been fully available the artists would have made use of them. As it is, their use of what had come to hand gives a widely disparate and imbalanced result ; for example, no less than eight representations of St John Theologos can be found, six of St Matthew and four of St Mark, with seven of Christ (other than in the two crucifixion scenes) and ten of the Virgin (two of these with the Christ child). The conclusion appears strongly that the 118 plaques that were used must have been all that could be found in 1146. There certainly does not appear to have been a policy of rejection of less suitable plaques, but rather one of maximum inclusion. In view of this, the upper figure of losses from the groups now represented may not have been very much higher than the 40% that has been argued above ; even if they had originally been accompanied by up to 50% that had been lost by 1146, this would give us a figure of 236 plaques that had been originally present at some anterior date attached to a range of objects, and of which 118 had remained available for re-use.

In the matchless riches in this field held in Venice, admiration for the medium had been long established even before the loot of the Fourth Crusade multiplied the huge range of Byzantine enamel held in San Marco. Leaving aside for the present the smaller ensembles such as the half-length icon of St Michael, where the 22 roundels and, probably, the two rectangular plaques portraying the archangels Oriel and Gabriel, will all have been re-located in the relatively recent main frame – perhaps as late as the 19th c. when the frame was renovated. The Nikopoia icon, too,

received its rather theatrical surround in 1617, and a conservative analysis would indicate that some 30 plaques were lost to provide the 16 that we see today, and this number could well be considerably greater.

But it is on the incomparable ensemble of enamels still to be found in its original home in Venice, and known as the Pala d'Oro, that attention must now be focussed ([119]). As the entire assemblage that we now see was given its present form in 1343-1345, its enamels have to be regarded as a huge enterprise of re-location, but, as indicated above, the principal groups of plaques in the lower part (the central cartouche, 6 deacons, 12 archangels, 12 prophets and 12 apostles, with 10 scenes of St Mark's legend and 11 scenes of feasts and of Christ's passion) will not here be regarded as having sustained any significant losses. The only question that could be raised would centre on the mixed nature of the subject-matter of the 11 feast and Christ scenes, but the relatively stable and uniquely public history of the entire ensemble does not encourage suggestions of any significant losses here.

Assessing the seven large plaques of the upper part we would agree with the most recent major treatment of the Pala, and regard them (six feast scenes and a single archangel) as representing just half of an original ensemble of the *dodecaorton* with one further accompanying archangel. Whether or not they originated in the monastery of the Pantocrator in Constantinople need not detain us here ; the group should be seen as the survivors of a 50% loss.

Much more problematic for our theme of survivals and losses are the major groupings of the 71 small figural plaques distributed over the surrounds and frames of both parts, which form the majority of the 96 plaques that would have been installed here in the course of the reconstruction of 1343-1345. As it is not possible to discuss in terms of losses either the 17 purely ornamental plaques, or the five roundels of secular or decorative content, these, with the five plaques accepted as being of western origin, have been omitted from this exercise. The remaining 71 plaques present a completely different range of problems

(119) While this is today without parallel, it is possible that it may have been inspired by comparable displays of gold and precious stones in Constantinople ; Robert of Clari briefly described that to be seen in Hagia Sophia on the high altar in 1204 : "...car le tavle, qui seur l'autel estoit, ert d'or et de pierres precieuses esquartelees et molues..." (Robert De Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, P. Lauer ed., Paris, 1924, p. 84.)

from the two main parts ; it is for this reason that they are listed separately above. It has always been accepted that the varied format, dimensions, styles and identities of these plaques can only be explained by their having originated in a range of different periods and contexts, and in this respect are comparable with those on the Khakhuli triptych ; the main difference in these circumstances would be that the Venetian assemblage was given its present form some 200 years later. In the most recent major monograph their distribution has been described as "pienamente casuale" ([120]). As in the Khakhuli assemblage, the approach was clearly to include as many as were available, even adding the five western 'gothic' plaques, rather than to select from a larger number those that were most appropriate. A distinct difference from the saints portrayed in the work in Tbilisi, however, is that a large majority of those in Venice are not of major saints from such more common groupings as that of the apostles, but are of much less familiar subjects, some of them unique in the field of enamel.

In assessing these various groups in terms of survival and loss one could begin with what must have been the only sequence of roundels of similar size which included some of the apostles, where SS. Peter, Andrew, Bartholomew, Philip, Paul and John (Theologos ?) are joined by John the Baptist and SS. George and Demetrius ([121]) ; it would be a defensible assumption here that roundels showing six further apostles, now absent, would have been joined by roundels of the Virgin and Christ to form an original group of 15, of which eight are now lost. In another sequence of twelve plaques which share the same square format and size, and with each plaque bearing the same uncommon corner ornaments ([122]), it is possible with some safety to propose that they all started life attached to the same object. The fact that six of them are quite familiar warrior

(120) See HAHNLOSER / POLACCO, *Pala*, p. 44 : "Anche la loro disposizione sulla Pala attuale è pienamente casuale ed alcune figure, come il Pantocrator e diversi Santi, sono ripetute due volte". It is also very likely that no-one concerned with the design and disposition of the enamels in the frame could read the Greek inscriptions on the plaques ; this was certainly the case in 1359, when Byzantine relics were brought from Venice to Siena and sold with incorrect labelling ; see P. HETHERINGTON, *A Purchase of Byzantine Relics and Reliquaries in Fourteenth-century Venice*, in *Arte Veneta*, 37 (1983), pp. 9-30.

(121) HAHNLOSER / POLACCO, *Pala*, pp. 51-54 and pl. 52-53.

(122) *Idem*, pp. 57-61 and pl. 54-55.

saints, while the other six depict relatively minor martyrs, such as SS. Probos, Akyndinos and Eustratios, would suggest that this had probably been a reliquary containing relics of these martyrs, but it leaves no clue as to possible losses. A further group of eight roundels portraying minor male saints, all of the same size and strongly unified in style, should also be seen as having originally come from a comparable original object ([123]) ; however, the identities and functions of the saints are more varied than the former series, and do not conform to any established grouping. Among the remaining 42 plaques of this major assemblage of 71 the similarities between more than two or three make any further such grouping unsustainable. It is clear that their distribution and location on the Pala was guided solely by visual criteria, and that their identities were of no importance. Thus, for example, down the left-hand end of the upper part small and large plaques alternate, two roundels of the Virgin *orans* are separated by roundels of SS. Elizabeth, Demetrius, Sisinnios and Bartholomew. Isolated plaques from what must have been more spectacular ensembles, such as an imposing roundel of St George Tropaiophoros and a large, slightly oval plaque of Christ Antiphonetes (rare in other media and unique among surviving enamels), all suggest the varied origins from which the Pala d'Oro plaques derived. While any number suggested has to remain hypothetical, it is hard to see how the 71 figural plaques could be the survivors of original ensembles totalling less than 400 in their original locations and this, giving a survival of under 18%, is almost certainly a considerable underestimate.

To summarise this selection of the three major works in which plaques were re-used on a wholesale basis, it is suggested that the total of 265 plaques which they display, adapted from earlier ensembles, are the survivors of not less than 786, while a higher figure of over 900 could well be justified. This could be expressed as a perceived minimum loss of between 65% and 77%. While it is only secondary to our discussion, it could be mentioned that some of this loss of over 500 plaques had already occurred by the 12th c. and more by the 14th, when the two major collections in Tbilisi and Venice had been assembled.

(123) *Idem*, pp. 67-69 and pl. 58 ; the possibility of origin on a reliquary should have been included by Volbach (see n. 114, above.)

## Detached and isolated plaques

A third line of enquiry should be mentioned, which is offered by plaques which still survive, but now unattached to any larger object and kept in isolation, usually in museums. One such group is the sequence of ten circular plaques of great refinement, now divided between New York and Paris, that originated on an icon of the archangel Gabriel at Djumati, in Georgia ; although the icon no longer exists, a 19th c. engraving indicates that there may have been eleven, suggesting a loss of just one plaque here ([124]). Other small collections in Berlin and London are also too slight to be made the basis of any productive discussion here. In reality, the only such group which is sufficiently numerous to be used as a basis for any further analysis is that in the treasury on San Marco, Venice. Here 15 plaques have been assembled, and it could be mentioned that they have most probably only found a home here after the Pala d'Oro had been completed in 1345 ([125]) ; if they had been available at that point it would seem, following the discussion above, that they would have been absorbed into that major enterprise. As it is, their minor individual status appears to have resulted in their arrival in San Marco to have been unrecorded in any of the long sequence of inventories, and they were only been reproduced for the first time in 1971 with the laconic note 'di provenienza diversa' ([126]). The duplications, with varieties in scale, and including the empress Zoe and the less familiar martyr saints Probos and Tarakhos, mean that these must again have come from a range of different contexts, and these 15 plaques could well be the survivors of at least 12 original groupings. A conservative figure for the total of these could therefore be put at 100. We will return to this theme below.

(124) For the engraving of the complete icon see KONDAKOV, *Histoire,* p. 254, fig. 91 ; for the roundels see n. 45 and 54, above.

(125) HAHNLOSER, *Tesoro,* pp. 82-86 ; this collection (see Pl. LXXVII, 13) even included one plaque that had originally been part of the decoration of a chalice also in San Marco itself (Tesoro 72), but was later re-attached in its original home.

(126) *Idem,* p. 82, and suggests no form of origin ; the entire assemblage was omitted from the first full illustrated publication in 1885 of the Tesoro by PASINI, *Il Tesoro di San Marco.*

## Further uses of enamels

Up to this point we have been concerned with ensembles of enamels that have survived, even if only partially. It can be seen that we have had to consider plaques that overwhelmingly come from what must be seen as quite a narrow context : that of the decoration of objects with broadly liturgical functions. As with much of medieval art, the factors that control the accidents of survival are heavily weighted towards the survival of art forms with religious uses. Attention should briefly be drawn to a small range of enamels that have survived, but which would have had uses which did not offer the kind of protection that came automatically with liturgical use. To take the single survival of the pair of enamel armlets found in Thessaloniki in 1956 : it is very probable that this pair of secular arm ornaments is the sole surviving representative of a whole class of production. By chance we know of one aristocratic lady of the 11th c., Kale Basilakaina, who was both the daughter and the wife of high palace officials, and became a nun, and who in her will bequeathed "my wide golden enamel bracelet" to her sister Maria the Proedrissa ([127]). There must have been numerous such luxury items of adornment to be found among the ladies of the Byzantine court. What is now impossible to assert is any rationally argued figure that would represent those that are lost. Were there ever just ten such pairs of comparable ornaments ? – Or twenty ? – Or fifty ? We will never know, but a possible hypothetical figure will be ventured below.

It is rare for secular enamels to have been incorporated into the decoration of objects for religious use, as in the cross of Záviš, where two halves of a decorative pendant (originally used, it has been suggested, to hold scented cloth) were allied with religious plaques to form a single decorative entity ([128]). A few other such ornaments have survived, but their numbers and scale would again suggest that only a tiny proportion of a total production has survived into modern times. These enamels have been seen as related to a small number of objects, also of probably secular use, of which the decoration is of such exquisite delicacy that it has been suggested that they may derive from a single common workshop

(127) Her will is held at Iviron, Mount Athos ; see P. HETHERINGTON, *Enamels in the Byzantine World : Ownership and Distribution,* in *BZ*, 81 (1988), p. 34.

(128) See HETHERINGTON, n. 95, above, II, pl. 61.

serving an aristocratic level of patronage. Among this production is the pendant (perhaps from a *loros*) in Dumbarton Oaks, and the tip of a sceptre formerly in the Stoclet collection and now in New York. These isolated survivals are the only extant evidence of what must have been a much more numerous original output, and again a figure for the numbers lost will be offered.

Another location for the use of enamels was in the embellishment of icons. A few have survived which still demonstrate this custom ; besides the two icons of St Michael in S. Marco made from enamel throughout, the frames of those in Freising, Jerusalem (fig. 1) and the Great Lavra, Mount Athos (to name the more prominent) all display enamel plaques. We have textual evidence of a sufficient number of others to suggest that the survival rate of these may too be quite low ; there is even a reference to an icon of the Virgin in Constantinople that is referred to as "the enamelled one" ([129]), implying that an entire image was made from enamel plaques. The inventory of the treasury of Agia Sophia made in 1396 also enumerates several items adorned with enamels, including an icon ([130]) ; these must have survived the looting of the city in1204, but not the sack of 1453.

From these groups which must have sustained substantial losses, we should move now to the area where the losses have to be given as 100% simply because the existence of the enamels is known only from written sources ; enamels with a particular class of use have been recorded as being present, but have since disappeared without leaving any other physical trace. Without the textual references we would not have known that even the particular application had occurred.

We could start here with one usage that may have absorbed quite a substantial output of Byzantine enamels, but of which our only source is literary : it is that of enamels used on the harness and saddles of horses or other animals. The mention of this practice is important partly because it would seem that not a single example has survived into the modern world, and we only know of it from chance mention in texts. While our knowledge of all aspects of the text of the (probably) 12th c. epic poem

(129) G. et M. SOTERIOU, *Icones du Mont Sinaï*, Athens, 1958, pp. 125-128 and pl. 146-149, where the upper part of the icon's frame bears five images of the Virgin, one of which is inscribed as ἡ Χυμευτή ; this is the only known reference to this designation of an image of the Virgin.

(130) MM, II, pp. 566-567 ; see also HETHERINGTON, n.109, above.

Digenes Akritas may still not be complete, it must be important for our subject that it contains four references to enamels being used in this way : one is in conjunction with gold and pearls, two to an episode in which twelve women's saddles were decorated with gold, and two of these were specially adorned with enamels and pearls, and a fourth in which the harness and saddles of twelve selected mules were decorated with silver and enamels ([131]). We know also from the *De cerimoniis* that the harness of the emperor's horse was also adorned with enamels ([132]). Yet not a single plaque has survived of which it could be claimed with certainty that it was created for the intended use of this kind. So it would appear that an entire output of decorative or figural enamel plaques has here been lost without physical trace.

A further use of enamel must have occurred in the context of diplomatic gifts. Sometimes the use of enamel can be surmised but not proved, but an Arabic text by Ibnu Hayyam quoted by Ibn Mohammad al Makkari recounts the presence of enamel in just such a prestige diplomatic gift. In 949 Constantine VII sent a letter to the Caliph of Cordoba contained in a silver casket with a portrait of the emperor on the lid "made in coloured glass of extraordinary workmanship" ([133]). More specifically, we know that the *De cerimoniis* mentions how in the imperial palace enamel was made to serve diplomatic ends simply by creating an atmosphere of overwhelming richness and luxury ; plates and other vessels were displayed solely to impress visiting dignitaries ([134]). What would these enamel ensembles been like ? Unless such magnificent items as the icons of St Michael in Venice are implied here, we will never know ; the losses that are implied by this 10th c. reference may well be 100%.

It is not far from enamel used on horse harness to enamel used on garments worn by dignitaries, and while only Digenes Akritas mentions this, his allusion to a garment worn by a man of which the hem was ornamented with enamels and pearls must be allowed to speak for other such examples ([135]). This is unlikely to have been a completely isolated

(131) *Digenes Akrites*, ed. and transl. J. MAVROGORDATO, Oxford, 1963, pp. 80, 122 and 128.

(132) *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, E. REISKE ed., Bonn, 1829 (*CSHB*), I, p. 99 (bk.I, ch. 17) ; see HETHERINGTON, n. 127, above.

(133) For the sources of this episode see HETHERINGTON, n.127, above, p. 33.

(134) *De cerimoniis*, I, 640 (bk. II, ch. 40).

(135) *Digenes Akritas*, p. 80.

case, but again, none have survived. Interestingly, there is no evidence that the crowns, worn by members of the imperial family, ever bore enamel ornament ([136]).

Finally, nothing has so far been said of the known practice of installing enamel plaques on architectural or sculptural ensembles, which were for this reason in a static and non-portable form. A 10th c. text, the *Vita Basilii*, ascribed to Constantine VII, describes how Basil I built and embellished a church in the Great Palace of which the *templon* was adorned by images of "God in the form of man, represented several times in enamel" ([137]). It has also, for example, long been claimed that the plaques now located on the upper part of the Pala d'Oro in Venice originally adorned the *templon* of the monastic church of the Pantocrator in Constantinople, and whether or not this was the case the fact that the association was first proposed in 1438 by the Greek patriarch must suggest that the practice was not unknown to him ([138]). From a textual source we also know that the emperor John I Tzimiskes had his own sarcophagus made and had it decorated with gold and adorned with enamels ([139]). Again, as not a single example of this usage of enamel has survived in its original location, we can only guess at the frequency with which it could once be found.

## Conclusions

What conclusions can be drawn from this assemblage of works of Byzantine enamel, in some cases still surviving in whole or in part, in others re-used by later artists of both east and west, and in others again lost and known to us only from written sources ? While it has always been recognised that losses would have been substantial, this study has made it possible to quantify the level of loss with greater assurance. We have assessed five categories of works in which Byzantine *cloisonné* enamel was displayed :

(136) P. HETHERINGTON, *The Jewels from the Crown : Symbol and Substance in the Later Byzantine Imperial Regalia*, in *BZ*, 96 (2003), pp. 157-168 ; the Hungarian crown was of course for a client ruler, not for the emperor.

(137) *Theophanes Continuatus*, J. BEKKER, ed., Bonn, 1838 (*CSHB*), pp. 330-331.

(138) See Sylvester SYROPOULOS, *Mémoires*, pp. 222-224.

(139) C. MANGO, *The Brazen House*, Copenhagen, 1959, p. 152.

1. Objects which retain in full the plaques with which they were originally adorned ;
2. Objects which retain some of their original plaques, but from which some have clearly been lost ;
3. Objects that have been created specifically to be adorned with plaques that were originally located on other works ;
4. Plaques that have been separated from their original locations but retained in isolation ;
5. Texts which demonstrate uses of enamel but of which no examples have demonstrably survived.

It should be emphasised that these five headings have been dictated by the evidence associated with the medium, either physical or textual, and that the first three provided the basis for the minimal figure of 65% loss that has been suggested. A figure of 80% loss could be easily defended on the basis of what has been discussed.

The problem should now be approached from another viewpoint. Taking all the various categories and applications of enamel that have been reviewed, and bearing in mind the factors of the fragility and bullion value of damaged plaques, and that some entire categories of production have vanished completely, it is suggested (taking the higher figure just mentioned) that we have today just 20% of a total production. However, applying this figure in another way will make even this seem much too high. If our total of 1.000 surviving plaques really represented 20% of a total production over 350 years, it would mean that there would have been a total of some 5.000 plaques produced ; yet even this total would mean that fewer than 15 plaques were created in any one year. A survival rate of 10% would increase this annual production to just under 30, implying that there had been a production of 10.500 plaques over the period. It is at this point that we can begin to approach a more convincing annual figure by applying the process to one work of, admittedly, outstanding scale. For we can be fairly sure that the 76 plaques of the new Pala d'Oro, some of exceptional size and complexity, that were commissioned by Doge Ordelaffo Falier who was elected in 1102, were installed in Venice in 1105. If the average of some 25 plaques per year that this implies is accepted (and it could hardly be less), we can begin to visualise a production that would have to be sustained while the workshops of Constantinople were continuing to deal with the normal and current range of 12$^{th}$ c. commissions. If the enamellers producing the plaques of the

Pala d'Oro were satisfying only half the commissions of those years, we can arrive at a modest annual total output of 50 plaques. While this may still be too low (and there are several plaques of exceptional size), it does mean that over a period of 350 years we can envisage the potential production of something over 17.500 plaques. Such a projection naturally implies an even rate of production, which is most unlikely to have existed, but given increases and decreases over this period this begins to approach a more realistic level of output. If this is anywhere near the case, it means that for each one of the 1.000 plaques that our listing shows did survive, there may well have been 16 to 18 more that have not survived into the modern world. To express this in another way, these figures indicate a rate of survival from the total output, over the whole period involved, of between only 1% and 2%.

Throughout this discussion we have tended at every point to minimise the likely level of lost enamels, and to propose a figure of even 3% survival could therefore still represent an overestimate. There may one day be evidence to confirm an overall survival rate of only1% or 2%, but for the present this figure does explain the total absence of survival among such groups as enamels on harness or clothing, mentioned above, and the isolated survival of such works as the pair of armlets in Thessaloniki. It would indeed be within bounds of credibility to imagine that over a period of three centuries at least a hundred armlets of this kind might have been created to adorn the aristocratic or rich women of Byzantium, some being passed down from one generation to another, as was done by Kale Basilakaina.

What conclusions should be drawn from this to guide future research ? Firstly, and as mentioned at the beginning of this article, it would seem that the concept of an identifiable "normality" of production should only be used with great caution, and for much discussion should be largely abandoned. Any argument based on what enamels have survived should be qualified by the realisation that for every single surviving plaque under discussion there could be at least 16 (and very possibly more) that are lost. The lost examples might well have forced some qualification upon, or even disproved, conclusions based on the lonely survivors.

Secondly, it should always be born in mind that some categories of production would have been more subject to loss than others, and that enamels on liturgical vessels, for example, would very probably have a higher survival rate than most examples in secular use.

Thirdly, it is perhaps unexpected, but certainly of interest, that even by the 1140's it can be shown that substantial losses had already occurred even in enamels of Christian subject-matter. This is illustrated by, for example, the plaques of the Khakhuli triptych which were being assembled for the Georgian king, who could not bring together anything approaching an iconographically coherent programme, so that any plaques that could be found were being installed. Even so, in the discussion above those that were used had survived with a 40% level of loss even by the 1140's. So while the familiar picture of the sack of 1204 being the cause of the greatest loss of luxury objects, much had apparently already disappeared sixty years earlier.

Fourthly, while comparisons of one work with another may still be perfectly valid, any conclusion that is drawn should make allowance for a large and unseen majority of lost enamels that cannot be produced and compared for confirmation. Certainly, any claim that a work produced with particular enamel characteristics could have been unique, should only be made conditionally. What today can with justification be called unique, such as the armlets in Thessaloniki, might well in the 12th c. have existed in some numbers.

In conclusion, therefore, it could be suggested that while the concept of normality as applied to the broad chronology of Byzantine *cloisonné* enamel can be retained, when isolated survivals (either individually or as groups) are examined they should always be seen in a much larger context than is usually allowed. Space does not allow for a widespread discussion of how this approach could be applied, but there is one group of seven plaques which exemplifies the importance of constantly retaining in mind the fact that we have access to such a small proportion of a total production of enamels. It is the group that includes a portrait of the emperor Constantine Monomachos, which was bought by the National Museum in Budapest in the 1860's, and has been assumed to be a crown for over a century, and even displayed in this form ([140]). Whether or not this was their function, the fact remains that the technique as well as the subject-matter of these plaques can, under current conditions of knowledge, be justifiably regarded as a unique survival. Even the authenticity

(140) See n. 22, above ; already by 1884 it had been decided that the plaques formed a crown, as in C. PULSKY, E. RADISICS et É. MOLINIER, *Chefs-d'œuvre d'orfèvrerie ayant figuré à l'Exposition de Budapest*, Paris / Budapest [1884], p. 83.

of the plaques has recently been questioned ([141]). But what has not so far been possible to acknowledge is that (if they are genuine) this study suggests that there could at one time have been some 15 or more collections of comparable plaques with similar characteristics, and that even just a few of these might have offered, or even imposed, a range of conclusions that were more securely based than any current discussion allows. They could well have been part of the output of a particular workshop which would have produced many other enamels of the same technique and character over a generation or more. The same comments could be made on the small group of works mentioned earlier, which were excluded from this discussion precisely because their technique was matched in so few other surviving works, or none, such as the enamel icon of St Theodore and the dragon in the Hermitage ([142]).

A second question which should be raised here concerns works bearing enamels that have consistently been assigned to geographical centres other than Constantinople ; they have sometimes been referred to as "Byzantinising" ([143]), but an origin in the capital itself has not been thought possible. The presumption that workshops could have been active in the capital, but producing enamels of what are now qualified as lower artistic quality, has been almost universally applied, but without any persistent argument to support it. The norm has been to ascribe only what the modern eye regards as the highest quality works to the capital, and so allocate works of "lower" quality to an origin somewhere else in the Mediterranean world. This approach would seem now to be due for revision, as it can involve using the selected features of one plaque to argue a general stylistic trend for an unknown number of others.

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(141) N. OIKONOMIDES, *La couronne dite de Constantin Monomaque*, in *TM*, 12 (1994), pp. 241-262.

(142) See n. 10, above.

(143) As e.g. DEÉR, *Zellenschmelze*, n. 15, above.

(144) Both of these works, with others, are discussed by DEÉR, n. 142, above ; see also comments in n. 14, above.

# POUR UNE RÉVISION DE LA CLASSIFICATION DES *NOMISMATA* DE BASILE II (976-1025)

Ordonner un monnayage aussi abondant que celui de Basile II pose des difficultés. Ph. Grierson est, à ce jour, le seul à en avoir proposé une classification et une tentative de datation absolue (1). Pour établir cette chronologie, il se fonde sur différents critères stylistiques et techniques. Sur les premières émissions du règne, le diamètre de la tête du Christ est presque égal à celui du nimbe crucifère, comme c'est le cas pour les règnes précédents. Ensuite, le module du nimbe s'accroît, créant un espace permettant d'élargir les bras de la croix du nimbe et d'y insérer des motifs ornementaux. Ces ornements sont abandonnés dans la classe 6 pour être remplacés par des cercles placés dans le quart supérieur du nimbe, motif nouveau qui caractérise également les *histamena* de Constantin VIII (1025-1028). De plus, les bras de la croix du nimbe sont d'abord droits pour s'empâter à la fin du règne (classes 6 et F), élément qu'on retrouve sur les *histamena* et les *tetartera* de Constantin VIII. En outre, le module des *nomismata* connaît une hausse continue au cours du règne (en partant d'une moyenne de 21 mm pour les pièces du début du règne, qui correspond à celle des *nomismata* de Jean I (969-976), pour arriver à un diamètre de c. 26 mm à la fin du règne qui correspond à celui des *histamena* des successeurs de Basile II). Enfin, sur la classe 6 apparaît un triple grènetis qu'on retrouve sur les *histamena* de Constantin VIII et de Michel IV (1034-1041) et qui est remplacé par un double grènetis sur ceux de Romain III (1028-1034). Ph. Grierson propose donc, en s'appuyant sur ces éléments, une chronologie relative qu'il considère comme sûre et à laquelle il tente de faire correspondre une chronologie absolue. Il divise, dans un premier temps, le monnayage de Basile en deux groupes : les

(1) A. R. BELLINGER et Ph. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection.* 3 : *Leo III to Nicephorus III (717-1081)*, Washington, 1973, p. 602-609, et Ph. GRIERSON, *The Gold and Silver Coinage of Basil II*, dans *American Numismatic Society. Museum Notes*, 13 (1967), p. 171-175.

FIG. 2. — Moscow, Historical Museum : Book cover of the Gospels of Mstislav (Remade in 1551, retaining original enamel plaques)

FIG. 1. — Jerusalem, Museum of the Greek Patriarchate : Icon of Christ the King of Glory (Original enamelled revetment, later icon)

FIG. 3. — Namur, Convent of the Soeurs de Notre-Dame : Reliquary altar cross

FIG. 4. — Siena. Biblioteca degli Intronati : Book cover

Fig. 5. — Detail from Fig. 4

classes 1 à 6 (classes mixtes qui contiennent des *nomismata* lourds et des *nomismata* légers) et les classes A à F, qu'il qualifie de *tetartera* de type indépendant (classes qui ne contiennent, dès lors, que des *nomismata* légers).

Nos recherches sur le monnayage d'or de Basile II, à partir d'un corpus établi à l'aide des collections des grands cabinets numismatiques et des catalogues de vente, nous ont, toutefois ; fourni des éléments qui nous ont amené à revoir cette classification. Dans un premier temps, nous résumerons donc la classification de Ph. Grierson, avant d'en présenter une révision (2).

## La classification proposée par Ph. Grierson

### *Les nomismata (classes 1 à 6)*

*La classe 1* (les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale, Basile porte le *loros* simplifié) (fig. 1) constitue, selon Ph. Grierson, la première émission du règne. Le module du grènetis des pièces de cette classe est restreint (entre 19 et 20.5 mm, chiffres comparables à ceux des monnaies d'or de Jean Tzimiscès). De plus, le nimbe du Christ est étroit et les bras de la croix présentent des ornements peu variés. Enfin, le visage des empereurs est étroit et triangulaire. Ph. Grierson se demande s'il faut attribuer cette émission au début du règne de Basile II, sous la régence de Théophano, c'est-à-dire à la période située entre la mort de Romain II (959-963) et l'avènement de Nicéphore II (963-969), soit entre le 15 mars et le 16 août 963. Toutefois, ce laps de temps paraît trop restreint pour avoir permis l'émission d'une classe attestée par quatre sous-types. De plus, il est étonnant, dans ce cas de figure, que le monnayage ne fasse pas la moindre allusion à Théophano. Enfin, par l'emploi du *loros* simplifié, ainsi que par la forme de la barbe du Christ (nœuds grumeleux), cette classe se rapproche davantage des *nomismata* de la classe 2 de Nicéphore II et de ceux de Jean I que de ceux de Romain II. Ph. Grierson l'attribue, dès lors, au début du règne effectif de Basile. Sa rareté relative implique,

(2) Pour simplifier le propos, nous joignons en annexe, la liste des classes et des sous-types des *nomismata* de Basile II que nous avons répertoriés, ainsi que leur concordance avec la classification de Ph. Grierson.

en outre, à ses yeux, qu'elle n'a eu qu'une brève période d'émission (3). Il la date donc de janvier 977.

*La classe 2* (les empereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale, Basile porte le *loros* traditionnel) (fig. 2) constitue la deuxième émission du règne malgré le retour au *loros* traditionnel. Elle s'inscrit dans la tendance qui voit l'élargissement du nimbe crucifère et l'apparition d'ornements diversifiés dans les bras de la croix. De plus, les visages des empereurs s'élargissent. Enfin, le diamètre des pièces oscille entre 21 et 23 mm et entre 19 et 20.5 mm pour le grènetis, ce qui représente un léger élargissement par rapport à la classe précédente. Cette classe est relativement commune et comprend de nombreux sous-types. Ph. Grierson estime, dès lors, que sa durée d'émission a dû être assez longue.

*La classe 3* (les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale fleuronnée, Basile porte le *loros* simplifié) (fig. 3) retourne au *loros* simplifié, mais introduit un nouvel élément : la croix patriarcale fleuronnée. La distinction en sous-types par la variation des ornements de la croix du nimbe l'apparente à la classe 2. Le diamètre des pièces oscille entre 22 et 25 mm et entre 20 et 23 mm pour le grènetis ; elles sont un peu plus larges que celles de la classe précédente. Le nombre élevé de sous-types et de monnaies connues amène Ph. Grierson à conclure que cette classe a été émise durant un laps de temps comparable à celui de la classe 2.

*La classe 4* (les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale fleuronnée, une couronne est suspendue au-dessus de la tête de Basile) (fig. 4) est marquée par l'apparition d'un élément qu'on retrouve également sur les classes 5 et 6 : la couronne surmontant Basile. Elle se différencie également des classes précédentes par l'abandon des variations des ornements de la croix du nimbe en faveur des éléments précédant ou suivant les légendes. Cette évolution la rapproche des émissions plus tardives (classe 6) et de celles des règnes suivants sur lesquelles le décor des bras de la croix du nimbe ne varie plus. En outre, la chlamyde de Constantin est décorée d'un *tablion*, ce qui lie cette classe à celles de la fin du règne (classes 5 et 6). Le diamètre oscille entre 24 et 26 mm et entre 20 et 21 mm pour le grènetis, ce qui est sensiblement plus large que la classe

(3) Il est, toutefois, délicat d'évaluer l'importance d'une classe de monnaies par rapport à sa représentation dans un catalogue, vu que ce corpus ne reflète pas forcément la réalité de la circulation des pièces à l'époque de leur utilisation.

précédente. Comme cette classe comprend un nombre limité de sous-types, Ph. Grierson pense qu'elle a été émise durant un laps de temps plus court que les deux précédentes. En outre, l'introduction de la couronne, qu'il considère comme un symbole de victoire, constitue, selon lui, un élément permettant d'établir une chronologie absolue. Il essaie donc de déterminer à quel événement elle fait allusion. En 1967, il opte pour la victoire contre Bardas Phocas à Abydos (989) (4) et date donc les trois premières classes entre 976 et 989 et les trois dernières entre 989 et 1025. Dans un second temps, il revoit cette hypothèse qui répartit les pièces de manière trop inégale dans le règne (5). Il envisage donc d'autres événements plus tardifs. Il propose, tout d'abord, la victoire décisive contre les Bulgares en 1014 ou l'année 1018 qui voit l'annexion de cet État. Ces dates lui semblent, cependant, trop tardives. Elles impliquent, en effet, que les trois dernières classes ont été frappées entre 1014/18 et 1025, inversant, ainsi, le déséquilibre entre les émissions. Une dernière date est encore envisageable à ses yeux : 1001, année de l'instauration d'une paix de dix ans avec les Fatimides d'Égypte et du début d'une offensive contre les Bulgares, campagne qui nécessitait une importante émission de monnaies. Pour Ph. Grierson, la paix avec les Fatimides, après un affrontement de près de deux ans en Asie mineure, constitue un des grands triomphes de l'empereur. Cette date présente, enfin, l'avantage de répartir les trois premières et les trois dernières classes du règne sur une durée égale. Les classes 2 et 3 doivent, dès lors, selon Ph. Grierson, se partager de manière plus ou moins semblable entre 977 et 1001. La classe 2 serait donc à dater entre 977 et 989, l'année de la bataille d'Abydos et la classe 3 entre 989 et 1001. De plus, comme il mentionne douze sous-types pour la classe 2, il fait l'hypothèse que les changements d'ornementation de la croix du nimbe correspondent à chaque année. Enfin, la classe 4 serait, pour lui, à placer entre 1001 et 1005, date correspondant à un retour de Basile dans la capitale après cinq années de guerre dans les Balkans (6). L'empereur aurait pu, alors, décréter l'émission de monnaies en abondance avant d'entreprendre une nouvelle campagne contre les Bulgares.

(4) GRIERSON, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

(5) BELLINGER et GRIERSON, *op. cit.*, p. 603-606.

(6) Cette chronologie de la guerre contre les Bulgares a, toutefois, été récemment mise en doute par P. STEPHENSON, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer*, Cambridge, 2003.

Le diamètre des pièces de la *classe 5* (les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale avec des points terminaux, une couronne est suspendue au-dessus de la tête de Basile) (fig. 5) est de c. 25 mm, ce qui reste dans la norme définie pour la précédente. Elle ne se différencie de la classe 4 que par les points terminaux qui remplacent les fleurons de la croix patriarcale. Toutefois, les trois exemplaires connus présentant des coins de revers différents, cette variation minime du revers ne peut pas être attribuée à une erreur du graveur. Ces trois pièces sont, cependant, liées puisqu'elles ont été frappées par le même coin de droit. Elles ont donc dû être émises de manière très limitée. Ph. Grierson suggère, dès lors, qu'il s'agit d'une tentative d'instauration d'un nouveau type iconographique, mais que cet essai ne fut pas jugé satisfaisant, peut-être parce que l'iconographie était trop proche de celle de la classe 4. Il propose, dès lors, de la dater de 1005, l'année où Basile vint hiverner à Constantinople.

*La classe 6* (les coempereurs tiennent la croix simple) (fig. 6) se caractérise par des changements iconographiques notables. Tout d'abord, la croix patriarcale est abandonnée au profit de la croix simple et les visages des empereurs s'élargissent. De plus, la pièce est bordée d'un triple grènetis qui est caractéristique des *histamena* des règnes suivants. Sur certains sous-types, les bras de la croix du nimbe sont également empâtés, motif qui est repris sur les *nomismata* de Constantin VIII. Enfin, le diamètre de ces pièces oscille entre 24 et 27 mm et entre 21 et 21.5 mm pour le grènetis. Elles s'inscrivent donc dans la tendance à l'élargissement du module observée depuis le début du règne. Cette classe étant relativement importante, Ph. Grierson pense qu'elle a été émise durant une période assez longue. Comme ces pièces présentent toutes les caractéristiques des *nomismata* du règne suivant, il les attribue à la fin de celui de Basile II et les date entre 1005 et 1025.

*Les tetartera de type indépendant (classes A à F)*

Sur cette base, Ph. Grierson établit une chronologie des éléments stylistiques qui l'aide à élaborer les datations relatives et absolues des classes de *tetartera* de type indépendant. À la croix patriarcale succèdent la croix patriarcale fleuronnée, puis la croix simple. Aux bras de la croix du nimbe droits succèdent les bras de la croix du nimbe empâtés. De plus, la fin du règne voit l'abandon des variations des ornements de la croix du nimbe. La plupart de ces classes ne sont connues que par un ou deux exemplaires et peuvent donc être difficilement considérées comme des

classes à part entière. Il s'agirait plutôt, selon Ph. Grierson, d'essais visant à créer une iconographie distincte pour les *nomismata* légers.

*La classe* A (les coempereurs tiennent le *labarum*) (fig. 7) présente de nombreuses différences avec le schéma traditionnel du règne. La croix y est, en effet, remplacée par le *labarum* et Basile porte une robe à motifs carrés qui n'est pas le *loros*. De plus, le buste du Christ est entouré de IC XC, ce qui la rapproche de la classe 2 des *nomismata* de Jean I Tzimiscès. Cette similitude plaide pour une date ancienne, hypothèse renforcée par la forme triangulaire des visages et l'étroitesse du diamètre du nimbe crucifère. Cette datation est, en outre, confirmée par la découverte d'un exemplaire dans le trésor d'Ayies Paraskies (Crète) qui contient des *nomismata* de Nicéphore II et des pièces des classes 1 à 3 de Basile (7). Ph. Grierson propose de la dater, comme la classe 1, de 977.

*La classe* B (les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale avec un croissant sur la hampe, Basile porte le *loros* traditionnel) (fig. 8) se rapproche de la classe 2. La seule différence entre elles réside dans la présence d'un croissant sur la hampe de la croix. Ce croissant est utilisé au XI$^{e}$ s., selon Ph. Grierson, pour signaler des émissions de poids ou de titre inférieur. En se fondant sur la similitude avec la classe 2, il propose une datation vers 980.

*La classe* C (les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale surmontée par un globule, Basile porte le *loros* traditionnel) (fig. 9) reprend le schéma de la classe 2, mais y ajoute un large globule au sommet de la croix. Ph. Grierson la date des années 980, en référence à la classe 2.

*La classe* D (les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale fleuronnée, Basile porte la chlamyde) (fig. 10) se distingue par l'habillement de Basile. Il porte, en effet, une chlamyde au lieu du *loros*. Elle est caractérisée par une croix patriarcale fleuronnée, ce qui explique que Ph. Grierson, par référence à sa chronologie relative (les classes 3 et 4 à la croix patriarcale fleuronnée succèdent aux classes 1 et 2 à la croix patriarcale simple), la place après les classes A, B et C sur lesquelles les empereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale. Il la date entre 989 et 1001, sans plus de précisions.

(7) V. PENNA et M. BORBOUDAKIS, *The Ayies Paraskies Hoard*, dans *Revue Numismatique*, 194 (1999), p. 205-210.

*La classe* E (les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale, Basile porte le *loros* simplifié) (fig. 11) voit un retour au type des classes A, B, et C avec l'abandon de la croix patriarcale fleuronnée et de la chlamyde de Basile. Cependant, pour Ph. Grierson, elle est postérieure à la classe D, car les visages des empereurs sont plus larges. Il propose donc une datation entre 1001 et 1005, en en faisant, ainsi, le pendant de la classe 4.

*La classe* F (les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale, Constantin porte une robe décorée) (fig. 12) comprend deux sous-types : l'un, rare, sans rien sur la hampe de la croix et l'autre, plus courant, avec une croix (X) sur la hampe de la croix. Ph. Grierson émet l'hypothèse que ce motif a la même fonction que le croissant du XI^e^ s. : signaler une pièce de valeur inférieure. Ces monnaies présentent, en outre, une croix du nimbe empâtée, ce qui les rapproche de la classe 6. Ph. Grierson les place donc entre 1005 et 1025.

Pour simplifier notre propos, il nous semble intéressant de présenter ici un tableau reprenant la chronologie de Ph. Grierson.

| *nomismata traditionnels* | *nomismata légers* | *tetartera de type indépendant* |
|---|---|---|
| classe 1 (977) | classe 1 | classe A |
| classe 2 (977-989) | classe 2 | classe B<br>classe C |
| classe 3 (989-1001) | classe 3 | classe D |
| classe 4 (1001-1005) | classe 4 | classe E |
| classe 5 (1005) | classe 5 | |
| classe 6 (1005-1025) | | classe F |

## Remarques sur la classification de Ph. Grierson

Cette chronologie fait autorité dans la plupart des catalogues de musées et de vente. Nos observations nous poussent, cependant, comme nous l'avons dit, à nous en distancier sur certains points et à émettre quelques réserves.

D'une part, d'un point de vue purement épistémologique, nous avons vu que Ph. Grierson tente de dater les différentes classes. Toutefois, si la chronologie relative semble assurée, la chronologie absolue reste assez aléatoire. Même la datation de la classe 4, qu'il lie à un événement

historique, n'est pas assurée : rien ne permet objectivement d'éliminer la bataille d'Abydos en faveur de la paix avec les Fatimides (pour peu que la couronne doive réellement être interprétée comme un symbole triomphal). On peut même se demander s'il n'est pas artificiel de répartir un nombre égal de classes de part et d'autre de 1001, date qui constitue justement le milieu du règne. De plus, pourquoi la bataille d'Abydos (989) conditionnerait-elle le passage de la classe 2 à la classe 3 ? En outre, Ph. Grierson date la classe 1 de janvier 977, alors que le règne de Basile commence en janvier 976. Il est peu probable que Basile n'ait pas frappé monnaie pendant la première année de son règne. Il faut donc corriger 977 en 976. Enfin, Ph. Grierson souligne la correspondance entre les dates d'émission des classes 2 (977-989) et 3 (989-1001) et le nombre de sous-types de ces classes (douze), attribuant, par là, implicitement à chaque sous-type la caractérisation d'une année d'émission. Or, l'étude de notre corpus nous a permis de présenter une nouvelle répartition des sous-types des classes 2 (22 sous-types) et 3 (20 sous-types). Faut-il, dès lors, élargir les datations en attribuant à chaque sous-type une valeur chronologique fixe, comme le fait Ph. Grierson, quitte à devoir modifier cette approche à la suite de la découverte de nouveaux sous-types ou, alors, admettre que chacun d'eux correspond à une émission, mais qu'on ne peut en évaluer la durée précise ? Cette dernière hypothèse a, d'après nous, le plus de chances de correspondre à la réalité historique. Il faut, toutefois, souligner que Ph. Grierson, lui-même, met l'accent sur le côté conjectural de sa chronologie. Il accompagne, en effet, les dates d'un point d'interrogation ou de la mention *circa*. Cependant, les publications postérieures (catalogues de vente, rapports de fouilles...) sont moins prudentes et présentent ces résultats comme acquis.

La découverte de nouveaux types et les regroupements que nous avons réalisés à la suite de notre analyse du corpus nous poussent à revoir également la chronologie relative. Pour les classes 1 à 6, nous reprenons, dans les grandes lignes, la classification de Ph. Grierson et ses arguments. Nous considérons, toutefois, la *classe 5* comme un sous-type de la classe 4, car elle ne se différencie pas assez de celle-ci pour qu'il soit légitime d'en faire une classe à part entière. Il pourrait s'agir d'un essai de changement de type abandonné parce que trop peu distinctif. Nous nous demandons, en outre, s'il ne faut pas réduire l'importance chronologique accordée par Ph. Grierson à la classe 6. Il est difficile d'admettre que, alors qu'auparavant on changeait fréquemment de type, le monnayage est demeuré inchangé ou presque pendant près de vingt ans. Cependant,

faute de preuves et de données précises, il est difficile, voire impossible, de convertir ces données en dates.

En ce qui concerne les classes qualifiées de *tetartera* de type indépendant, nous devons modifier la chronologie de Ph. Grierson de manière plus importante.

La *classe* A est représentée, dans le trésor d'Ayies Paraskies, par une pièce de 4.38 g (8). Elle ne peut donc plus être considérée comme une classe de *tetartera* de type indépendant.

Les *classes* B et C, datées des années 980 par Ph. Grierson, présentent trop d'analogies avec la classe 2 pour être considérées comme indépendantes. Elles ne se distinguent, en effet, de la classe 2 que par des variations des ornements de la hampe de la croix (triangle, globule, croix, v...), différenciations qui sont également utilisées pour distinguer des sous-types au sein de la classe 2. Dans cette optique, le croissant doit être considéré comme faisant partie de ces éléments sans qu'il soit nécessaire de lui accorder une autre signification. En effet, il se retrouve également sur les *miliaresia* des classes 1, 2 et 4 de Basile, monnaies qui ne présentent pas de dévaluation particulière. Ces classes possèdent, cependant, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, la particularité de ne comprendre que des pièces légères. On ne peut, toutefois, pas exclure, vu le nombre restreint d'exemplaires recensés, qu'elles aient également comporté des pièces lourdes.

La *classe* D pose également problème. Elle n'est, en effet, représentée, dans le catalogue de Ph. Grierson, que par un seul exemplaire au poids duquel il n'a pas eu accès. Notre corpus contient deux pièces de ce type qui ont toutes les deux un poids élevé : respectivement 4.37 g. et 4.41 g. (9). Elles ne peuvent donc être considérées comme des *tetartera* de type indépendant. Toutefois, ce nombre restreint d'exemplaires ne permet pas d'affirmer que cette classe ne contenait que des monnaies lourdes. Quoi qu'il en soit, cette émission ne peut être réduite à un simple essai, étant donné que les trois exemplaires de notre catalogue attestent deux sous-types différents. Les traits des deux empereurs sont moins géométrisés que sur les classes 1 et 2 et le nimbe crucifère est large. De plus,

(8) PENNA et BORBOUDAKIS, *op. cit.*, p. 205-210.

(9) Catalogue de vente de la maison Franz Sternberg (Zurich), 13 (vente des 17-18 novembre 1983), n° 1154 et 14 (vente des 24-25 mai 1984), n° 615.

Basile et Constantin tiennent la croix patriarcale fleuronnée. Ces éléments amènent à la lier à la classe 3 ou à la classe 4. L'absence de couronne au-dessus de la tête de Basile, ainsi que la variation des ornements de la croix du nimbe, poussent à la situer avant la classe 4. Les variations de la croix du nimbe disparaissent, en effet, à partir de cette classe, et ce, jusqu'à la fin du règne. On doit encore noter le changement de costume de Basile (il porte une chlamyde). Il faut, dès lors, intercaler cette classe entre la classe 2 et la classe 3. Le monnayage du début de règne hésiterait, ainsi, sur le costume à donner à l'empereur (*loros* simplifié, *loros* traditionnel, chlamyde) avant de revenir, avec la classe 3, au *loros* traditionnel et de conserver cet habillement jusqu'à la fin du règne.

Nous proposons donc la classification suivante :

| *nomismata traditionnels* | *nomismata légers* | *tetartera de type indépendant* |
|---|---|---|
| classe 1 | classe 1 | |
| classe A | classe A | |
| classe 2<br>-classe B (?)<br>-classe C (?) | classe 2<br>-classe B<br>-classe C | |
| classe D | classe D (?) | |
| classe 3 | classe 3 | |
| classe 4<br>-classe 5 | classe 4<br>-classe 5 (?) | |
| classe 6 | | |
| | | classe E |
| | | classe F |

Nos observations réduisent donc largement, les classes E et F mises à part, l'importance des *tetartera* de type indépendant. De plus, ces deux classes présentent des pièces légères d'un type particulier puisque leur poids modal se situe entre 4.20 et 4.24 g., au lieu des 4.05-4.09 g. caractéristiques des *tetartera* traditionnels (10). Il faut, dès lors, relativiser

(10) Nous avons traité du statut de ces deux classes et de leur chronologie dans notre article : *La classe F des nomismata de Basile II (976-1025) : une émission de guerre ?*, dans *Byz.*, 75 (2005), p. 277-294.

l'affirmation fréquemment répandue selon laquelle le règne de Basile II constitue une étape fondamentale dans l'élaboration d'une iconographie propre pour le *tetarteron*.

### *Classification de notre corpus*

**Classe 1 : les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale. Basile porte le *loros* simplifié** (GRIERSON, classe 1)

FIG. 1

- *Droit* : le buste du Christ *Pantocrator* est de face. Il porte la tunique et le manteau (*himation*). Sa main droite est dans le pli du manteau. Sa main gauche tient les Évangiles contre la poitrine. Le nimbe qui entoure sa tête est étroit.
- *Revers* : les bustes des deux coempereurs sont de face. À gauche, Basile, barbu, porte le *loros* simplifié. À droite, Constantin, imberbe, porte la chlamyde. Tous deux sont couronnés du *stemma*. Ils tiennent entre eux la croix patriarcale de la main droite. La main de Basile est au-dessus de celle de Constantin.
- *Légende du droit* : +IHS XIS REX REGNANTIUM
- *Légende du revers* : +bASIL' C'CONSTANTI' b'R' (*Βασίλειος καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων*).

a/un point dans chaque bras de la croix du nimbe ;
b/deux points dans chaque bras ;
c/un point dans les bras latéraux, un point sur la circonférence du nimbe au-dessus du bras supérieur ;
d/un point dans le bras supérieur, deux points dans les bras latéraux.

**Classe 2 : les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale. Basile porte le *loros* traditionnel** (GRIERSON, classe 2)

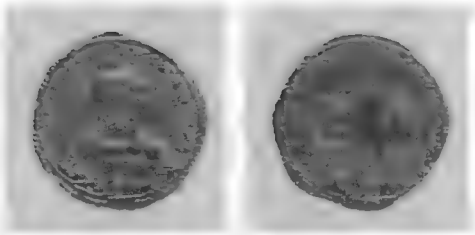

FIG. 2

– *Droit* : le droit présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe 1.
– *Revers* : le revers présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe 1, mais Basile porte le *loros* traditionnel.

a/un point dans chaque bras de la croix du nimbe (GRIERSON, 2a) ;
b/un point dans chaque bras, bras doublés, nimbe doublé ;
c/deux points dans chaque bras (GRIERSON, 2b) ;
d/un point dans le bras supérieur, deux points dans les bras latéraux (GRIERSON, 2c) ;
e/deux points dans le bras supérieur, rien dans les bras latéraux (GRIERSON, 2 cc) ;
f/barre dans chaque bras (GRIERSON, 2d) ;
g/barre dans chaque bras, triangle sur la hampe de la croix (GRIERSON, 2g) ;
h/barre dans chaque bras, un point sur la circonférence du nimbe à l'extrémité de chaque bras, triangle sur la hampe de la croix ;
i/barre dans chaque bras, point sur la circonférence du nimbe au-dessus du bras supérieur, point sur la hampe de la croix ;
j/barre dans chaque bras, triangle sur la hampe de la croix, deux points sur la circonférence du nimbe au bout des bras latéraux ;
k/trois points sur la circonférence du nimbe (GRIERSON, 2e) ;
l/trois points sur la circonférence du nimbe, globule sur la hampe de la croix (GRIERSON, 2f) ;
m/trois points dans chaque bras, bras doublés, globule surmonté d'un triangle sur la hampe de la croix (GRIERSON, 2h) ;
n/trois points dans chaque bras, le point central de chaque bras est inscrit dans un cercle, bras doublés, globule surmonté d'un triangle sur la hampe de la croix (GRIERSON, 2i) ;
o/un point inscrit dans un cercle dans chaque bras, barre sur la hampe de la croix (GRIERSON, 2j) ;

p/un point inscrit dans un cercle dans chaque bras, bras doublés, globule surmonté d'un triangle sur la hampe de la croix ;
q/rien dans les bras, globule surmonté d'une barre sur la hampe de la croix (GRIERSON, 2k) ;
r/rien dans les bras, globule sur la hampe de la croix ;
s/trois points dans les bras latéraux, un point dans le bras supérieur ;
t/un point dans le bras latéral gauche et dans le bras supérieur, deux points dans le bras latéral droit ;
u/un point dans le bras supérieur, barre dans les bras latéraux ;
v/deux points dans les bras latéraux, rien dans le bras supérieur.

**Classe 3 : les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale fleuronnée** (GRIERSON, classe 3)

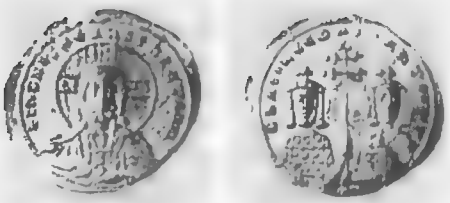

FIG. 3

- *Droit* : le droit présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe 1.
- *Revers* : le revers présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe 1, mais :
  - Basile porte le *loros* simplifié,
  - les coempereurs tiennent une croix patriarcale fleuronnée,
  - Basile tient la croix de la main gauche.

  a/deux points dans chaque bras de la croix du nimbe (GRIERSON, 3a) ;
  b/deux points dans chaque bras, bras doublés ;
  c/deux points dans chaque bras, bras doublés, nimbe à double bord (GRIERSON, 3e) ;
  d/deux points dans chaque bras, nimbe à double bord, globule sur la hampe de la croix (GRIERSON, 3j) ;
  e/deux points dans chaque bras, bras doublés et empâtés, nimbe doublé ;
  f/deux points dans chaque bras, motif en V sur la hampe de la croix (GRIERSON, 3g) ;

g/deux points séparés par une barre dans chaque bras (GRIERSON, 3b) ;
h/deux points séparés par une barre dans chaque bras, un point dans chaque quart du nimbe (GRIERSON, 3bb) ;
i/deux points séparés par une barre verticale dans les bras latéraux, trois points dans le bras supérieur, un point dans les quarts supérieurs du nimbe ;
j/croix de cinq points dans chaque bras (GRIERSON, 3c) ;
k/rosette de sept points dans chaque bras (GRIERSON, 3f) ;
l/rosette de cinq points dans chaque bras (GRIERSON, 3ff) ;
m/un point dans chaque bras, bras doublés, nimbe à double bord (GRIERSON, 3d) ;
n/un point dans chaque bras, bras doublés ;
o/rien dans les bras, nimbe à double bord, globule sur la hampe de la croix (GRIERSON, 3h) ;
p/rien dans les bras, bras doublés, nimbe à double bord, globule sur la hampe de la croix (GRIERSON, 3i) ;
q/rien dans les bras ;
r/deux points séparés par une barre dans les bras supérieur et latéral droit, un point séparé par une barre verticale de deux points disposés verticalement dans le bras latéral gauche ;
s/deux points dans les bras latéraux, un point dans le bras supérieur, bras doublés ;
t/barre dans chaque bras.

**Classe 4 : les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale fleuronnée. Une couronne est suspendue au-dessus de la tête de Basile** (GRIERSON, classe 4)

FIG. 4

– *Droit* : le droit présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe 1, mais chaque bras de la croix du nimbe est orné d'une rosette de sept points.
– *Revers* : le revers présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe 1, mais :

- les extrémités des *pendilia* des couronnes des coempereurssont bifides ;
- une couronne est suspendue au-dessus de la tête de Basile ;
- la chlamyde de Constantin est ornée d'un *tablion*.

a/rien devant ou derrière les légendes (GRIERSON, 4a) ;
b/rosette de cinq points avant et après la légende du revers (GRIERSON, 4b) ;
c/point avant et après la légende du droit (GRIERSON, 4c) ;
d/point avant et après la légende du droit, croix après la légende du revers (GRIERSON, 4d) ;
e/point avant et après la légende du revers ;
f/point avant la légende du revers, point avant et après la légende du droit ;
g/point après la légende du revers ;
h/croix après la légende du revers (GRIERSON, 4e).

**Classe 5 : les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale avec des points terminaux. Une couronne est suspendue au-dessus de la tête de Basile** (GRIERSON, classe 5)

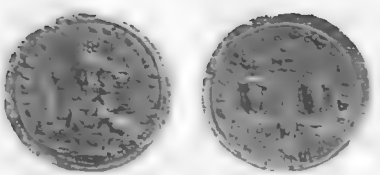

FIG. 5

- *Droit* : le droit présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe 4.
- *Revers* : le revers présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe 4, mais les coempereurs tiennent une croix patriarcale avec des points terminaux.

**Classe 6 : les coempereurs tiennent une croix simple. Un croissant orne chaque quart supérieur du nimbe** (GRIERSON, classe 6)

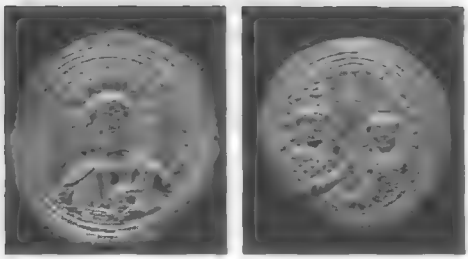

FIG. 6

- *Droit* : le droit présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe 1, mais un croissant orne chaque quart supérieur du nimbe.
- *Revers* : le revers présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe 1, mais :
  - une couronne est suspendue au-dessus de la tête de Basile ;
  - les coempereurs tiennent une croix simple ;
  - la chlamyde de Constantin est décorée d'un *tablion* orné généralement de trois points.

Les champs du droit et du revers sont entourés d'un triple grènetis.

a/rien sur la hampe de la croix, bras de la croix du nimbe empâtés (GRIERSON, 6a) ;

b/rien sur la hampe de la croix, bras de la croix du nimbe empâtés, *tablion* de la chlamyde de Constantin orné d'un point ;

c/globule sur la hampe de la croix, bras de la croix du nimbe empâtés (GRIERSON, 6b) ;

d/bras de la croix du nimbe droits ;

e/bras de la croix du nimbe droits, *tablion* de la chlamyde de Constantin orné de deux points.

**Classe A : les coempereurs tiennent le labarum** (GRIERSON, type A)

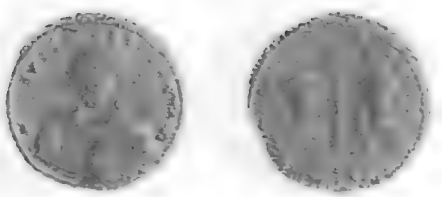

FIG. 7

- *Droit* : le buste du Christ *Pantocrator* est de face. Il porte la tunique et le manteau (*himation*). Sa main droite est dans le pli du manteau. De la main gauche, il tient les Évangiles contre la poitrine. Il est entouré de IC à gauche et XC à droite. Le nimbe est étroit. Chaque bras de la croix du nimbe est orné d'un point.
- *Revers* : les bustes des deux coempereurs sont de face. Basile, à gauche, est barbu et Constantin, à droite, imberbe. Chacun porte une robe à motifs élaborés. Ils sont couronnés du *stemma* et tiennent entre eux un *labarum* de la main droite.
- *Légende du droit* : +IHS XIS REX REGNANTIUM
- *Légende du revers* : +bASIL.C.CONSTANTI b'R .

a/croix sur la hampe, Constantin porte une robe à encolure en v ;
b/barre sur la hampe, Constantin porte une robe décorée.

**Classe B : les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale avec un croissant sur la hampe** (GRIERSON, type B)

FIG. 8

- *Droit* : le droit présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe précédente, mis à part les ornements de la croix du nimbe.
- *Revers* : les bustes des deux coempereurs sont de face. Basile, à gauche, porte le *loros* traditionnel. Constantin, à droite, porte la chlamyde. Tous deux sont couronnés du *stemma*. Ils tiennent de la main droite une croix patriarcale avec un croissant sur la hampe
- *Légende du revers* : +bASILCCONSTANTI bR (suivie d'une rosace de quatre points).

a/une barre dans les bras latéraux de la croix du nimbe, un point dans le bras supérieur ;
b/une barre dans chaque bras.

**Classe C : les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale surmontée par un globule** (GRIERSON, type C)

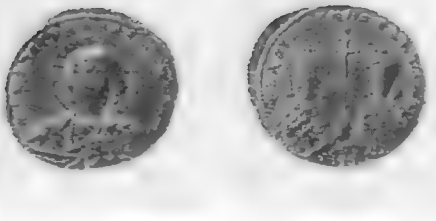

FIG. 9

- *Droit* : le droit présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe précédente, mais les bras de la croix du nimbe sont ornés de deux points.
- *Revers* : le revers présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe B, mais :
  - il n'y a pas de croissant sur la hampe de la croix patriarcale,
  - la croix est surmontée d'un large globule.

**Classe D : les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale fleuronnée** (GRIERSON, type D)

FIG. 10

- *Droit* : le droit présente le même motif et la même légende que le celui de la classe précédente, mais :
  - les bras de la croix du nimbe sont ornés de deux points ;
  - le bord du nimbe est doublé.
- *Revers* : le revers présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe précédente, mais :
  - Basile porte la chlamyde ;
  - Constantin porte une robe décorée ;
  - Basile tient de la main gauche et Constantin de la main droite une croix patriarcale fleuronnée ayant un large globule sur la hampe.

a/trois points dans les bras latéraux de la croix du nimbe, deux points dans le bras supérieur ;
b/deux points dans chaque bras.

**Classe E : les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale. Constantin porte la chlamyde** (GRIERSON, type E)

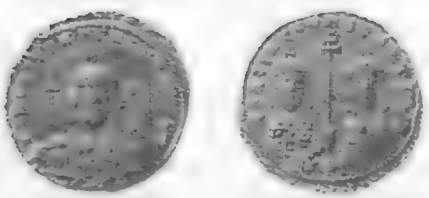

FIG. 11

– *Droit* : le droit présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe précédente, mais chaque bras de la croix du nimbe est orné de deux points.
– *Revers* : le revers présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe précédente, mais :
  – Basile porte le *loros* simplifié ;
  – Constantin porte la chlamyde ;
  – leurs couronnes ont des *pendilia* à extrémités tréflées ;
  – la croix patriarcale n'est pas fleuronnée.

**Classe F : les coempereurs tiennent la croix patriarcale. Constantin porte une robe décorée** (GRIERSON, type F)

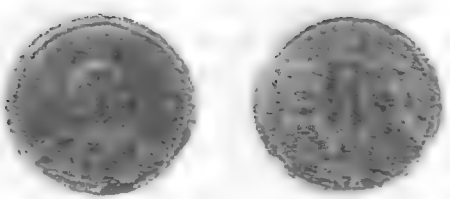

FIG. 12

– *Droit* : le droit présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe précédente, mais la croix du nimbe est empâtée. Chaque bras de la croix du nimbe est orné de deux points.

– *Revers* : le revers présente le même motif et la même légende que celui de la classe précédente, mais Constantin porte une robe décorée.

a/rien sur la hampe de la croix (GRIERSON, a) ;
b/X sur la hampe de la croix (GRIERSON, b).

Sophie LAVENNE.
Chercheur.

# THE FRAGMENTARY BODY : THE PLACE OF HUMAN LIMBS IN BYZANTINE ILLUMINATED INITIALS

Disjointed human limbs were first depicted in initial letters as early as in the 6th c. All the earliest examples are Latin, and include frontal or profile heads, reminiscent of the images on coins or medals, and accordingly enclosed in the round part of the letter (e.g., *Epistulae Pauli*, fols. 3, 21v, initial "P") (1). The 7th c. Latin manuscript of Italian origin, *Liber Sacramentorum* (2), presents the first known example of the human hand as a substitute for the central bar of the initial "E". Only from the 8th c. did Western illuminated manuscripts make free use of disjointed human forms, perceiving their ornamental qualities. The tradition of such transformations arose from "barbarian" art and perhaps specifically an Insular pictorial influence, utilizing human body parts as an essential element in ornamentation and turning the human figure in general into an ornamental motif (3).

In Byzantium, the first surviving examples of the initial letters composed of detached human limbs are known only from late 9th c., in the Paris Gregory of 879-882 (*Paris, BNF, Gr.* 510) and in the two lectionaries from c. 900 : *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277 and *Patmos, The Monastery of John the Theologian, cod.* 70 (hereafter, *Paris* 277 and *Patmos* 70). The depictions of human limbs became prevalent only in 10th-c. Byzantine manuscripts, in which disjoined heads, hands, and legs are inserted into different initial letters. These body parts may be presented separately, or joined

(1) E.g., *Epistulae Pauli (r), Munich, Bayerische Staatbibliothek, Clm.* 6436 (+ *Univ. Bibl.* 4° 928), North African or Spanish, 6th c. ; C. NORDENFALK, *Die Spätantiken Zierbuchstaben*, Stockholm, 1970, pls. 51-52.

(2) *Liber Sacramentorum, St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek*, 908, p. 167.

(3) F. HENRY, *Irish Art in the Early Christian Period (to 800 A.D.)*, London, 1965, p. 204.

in unrealistic combinations. Nevertheless, conservative Byzantine illuminators did not grasp the decorative opportunities hidden in detached human limbs, and never metamorphosed them into ornament.

Furthermore, contrary to the Western examples, the earliest Byzantine manuscripts with illuminated initials show a clear preference for impersonal human limbs, such as hands and legs (4). The substitution of the whole body by impersonal fragments causes identity to be lost, while emphasizing the quality of the motor movement, which may be variously interpreted. Understanding the role of such limbs is the central purpose of this study.

The motif of a hand introduced into the initial letter "E" substituting its central bar is found for the first time in the *Paris Gregory* of 879-882. It is repeatedly depicted there in the form of a sleeved palm in the so-called gesture of Greek benediction. Since then, the hand has remained an essential part of the initial letter *Epsilon* across the entire range of manuscripts up to the late Byzantine period, but especially in lectionaries, due to its appearance in the *incipit* "The Lord said" (εἶπεν ὁ κύριος).

Furthermore, the initial *Epsilon* of almost every Byzantine lectionary, and that in the *Tetraevangelion*, contains a blessing hand, starting the verse of the Gospel of *John* : "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (1:1) (Pl. **III** : 1). This

(4) There is no evidence of Byzantine initials composed of human faces and heads until the 10th c. When present, the face (in most cases) is represented frontally as a full-face inserted in the initial "O". Such a representation of a face, enclosed in the roundel "*imago clipeata*", was not invented for the initials, but is widely used in all kinds of manuscript decorations (in the Chludov Psalter such an image stands for the true icon, e.g., fol. 2, 23v, 51v : H. L. KESSLER, *Spiritual Seeing : Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art*, Philadelphia, Pa., 2000, p. 80). The image itself is a symbolic representation of Christ, and it became especially common after the iconoclastic controversy. The sources and the development of the initials that enclose such faces should be studied independently ; these questions are outside the scope of the present study. In Greek manuscripts originating in Italy and influenced by Latin examples, a head is one of the most common motifs. It is not necessarily that of Christ, but mostly represents a saint or an anonymous person. Unlike the purely Byzantine examples, these manuscripts generally show a full head, unattached to a body, frontally or in profile, with details such as hair, cranium, and throat, instead of the flat face only. They may appear as part of almost any letter of the alphabet, as with the other unattached human limbs (e.g., *Vat. Barberini, Gr.* 285 ; e.g. fols. 34, 40).

became the most common motif used in lectionaries in general and an almost inseparable part of the initial *Epsilon*, substituting its inner bar. So it seems that this motif was invented originally for a lectionary, as Weitzmann suggested (5), and, probably starting there, the gesturing hand became one of the major motifs composing the initial letters.

The variety of initial letters associated with the hand motif is evident especially in the earliest known illuminated lectionaries of c. 900, *Paris* 277 and *Patmos* 70. A hand appears as a part of the vertical stems of initials like "I", "H", "Π" ; extending to sides of "T", composing "Σ", and topping the ascending stem of "K" (Pls. **I ; II**). It never breaks the form of the letters, but always supports it. In all these initials it appears at the upper part, as a prolongation of the vertical stem or circular shape. The hand's gesture varies, from open palm and blessing (in variations) to the gesture of grasping the horizontal bar of a letter or sometimes another object according to the indication of the corresponding text. This variety would continue into the 10th c., while late 10th-c. manuscripts already show signs of stabilization and restriction.

As opposed to the Western initials, the cut-off hand combined with another motif is rare in the Byzantine tradition, though a striking example can be found in the Sinai Lectionary (*Sinai, the Monastery of St. Catherine, cod.* 213) dated to 967. Together with the traditional use of the hand as an integral part of *Epsilon*, in some examples unattached hands are represented among zoomorphic features and have no connection to the form of the letter (fol. 58v ; 196v – close motif inside headpiece) (Pl. **III** : 3, 4). The source of these initials is unclear (6).

(5) K. WEITZMANN, *The Constantinopolitan Lectionary, Morgan 639*, in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. by. D. MINER, Princeton, 1954, pp. 362-363.

(6) They were perhaps inspired by representations of the Last Judgment, where hands (like other parts of the human body) can be seen emerging from within various monsters. Such a tradition is found in Byzantine art only from the 11th c., but it may correspond to an earlier source. The earliest hypothetical models related to the theme of the Last Judgment are found in 9th-c. Byzantine manuscripts (*Sacra Parallela : Paris. BNF., Gr.* 923, fol. 68v ; and *Christian Topography : Sinaiticus*, fol. 89). Both differ greatly from the later (11th c.) scheme, found, for example, in *Paris BNF, Gr.* 74, fol. 51v and an ivory in London, Victoria and Albert Museum. This motif does not appear on the remaining fresco in Yilani Kilise, Cappadocia (10th-11th c.) or on the 9th-10th-c. fresco from Kastoria, Hagios Stephanos. It is also absent from the early Western

Another variant concerns the physical act of holding, forming initial "T" and "Π". Such initials can be found in 10th- and 11th-c. manuscripts, where hands are usually represented holding the horizontal bar of the letters (Pl. **IV** : 3, 9) (7). This motif in initial "Π" was apparently later transformed in Constantinopolitan manuscripts into two hands holding palm branches, referring to Paschal symbolism (Pl. **IV** : 10). Originally it figured starting the lection for Palm Sunday, whence it spread to manuscripts of different contents. This motif can be found in the so-called "Methaphrastes group" (e.g., *Rome, Vat. Barberini, Gr.* 372, fol. 130 ; *London, BL, Add.* 19352, fol. 100 ; *Mount Athos, Lavra* 46, fol. 76v, 264 ; *Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Cromwell* 19, p. 108 ; *London BL, Loan* 36/23, fol. 154v ; *Athens, NL, Gr.* 2363, fol. 130 – all related stylistically and produced in the same *ergasterion* (8).

Despite some late examples, the broad tradition of such combinations between the motif of a hand and the letters seems to have become extremely limited in the 11th c., so much so that by that time only *Epsilon* remained constantly associated with a hand motif. A hand on top of the vertical stem of the initials *Tau* and *Iota* continued to appear in certain manuscripts, definitely based on the earlier common models.

The same conclusions can be reached concerning the insertion of legs or feet into Byzantine initials. In Byzantine manuscripts some vertical stems of initial letters topped by a hand may stand on legs. Thus the ini-

representations of the Last Judgment such as St. John Church in Müstair of 800, and a late 8th-early 9th-c. Anglo-Saxon ivory in London, Victoria and Albert Museum. However, because very few of these early examples have survived, and most of these are in poor condition, it is not possible to conclude whether this motif existed earlier or may be considered as a 10th- or 11th-c. invention. B. Brenk, *Die Anfänge der byzantinischen Weltgerichtes Darstellung*, in *BZ*, 57 (1964) ; id., *Tradition und Neuerung in der Christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausends*, Vienna, 1996 ; Y. Christe, *Jugements derniers*, Saint- Léger - Vauban, 1999.

(7) E.g., *Paris* 277, fol. 9 ; *Patmos, the Monastery of John the Theologian, cod.* 29, fol. 324v ; *Athens, National Library, cod.* 59, fol. 58v ; *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Gr.* 92, fol. 127 ; *London, BL, Arundel*, 547, fol. 164v ; *Mount Athos, Karacalla Monastery, cod.* 11, fol. 115v.

(8) On this group of manuscripts see I. Hutter, *Le copiste du Métaphraste. On a Center for Manuscript Production in Eleventh C. Constantinople*, in *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e debattito*, in *Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4-10 ottobre 1998)*, Florence, 2000, Vol. II, pp. 535-586, Vol. III, pl. 1-39.

tial itself functions as a human body without being such. A few manuscripts preserve unattached leg representations, all probably based on a common model.

First examples of such combinations can be found in *Paris* 277 and *Patmos* 70 (Pl. **I** : 2, 3 ; Pl. **II** : 2 ; Pl. **V** : 3). Here hands and legs are realistically shaped. A similar motif, albeit already transformed to a decorative pattern, exists also in another lectionary from the 10th century, *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 48 (fol. 207v, 213) (Pl. **V** : 4), stylistically close to the Paris and Patmos lectionaries.

Initial "T" composed of a hand-leg motif can be seen in later Byzantine manuscripts, such as *London, BL, Arundel* 547 (9), (Pl. **IV** : 12 ; Pl. **V** : 5) also a lectionary, which is related to the *Paris* 277 and *Patmos* 70. Here, the motif is more complex, for in several cases a highly stylized head in profile is also added, representing the whole body as a pattern (fol. 30v).

For some reason an effort seems to have been made to avoid the representation of the whole human body but to turn it into a pattern. It may be significant that a considerable number of such fragmentary and patterned representations of the human body appear in lectionaries, thus avoiding representation of the whole human body in manuscripts symbolizing the *Logos*. All these manuscripts are ascribed to the eastern provinces, while *Arundel* 547 may have been produced in Constantinople.

Do these lectionaries represent the first attempts to depict the human figure in initial letters, albeit only intimated ? Note that by the first half of the 10th c. the human figure was already a part of the initial letter, especially in manuscripts of homiletic content (10). Nevertheless, continuation and transformation of an aniconic tradition can be seen in late 10th- and early 11th-c. initial letters, especially in lectionaries. They still eschew representation of the whole human body, yet they combine various parts in an unrealistic mode. The entire vertical letter-stem becomes both human and patterned. *Arundel* 547 seems to be borderline, continuing the

(9) On this manuscript see S. P. MADIGAN, *The Decoration of Arundel 547. Some Observations about 'Metropolitan' and 'Provincial' Book Illumination in 10th c. Byzantium*, in *Byz.*, 57 (1987), pp. 336-359.

(10) I elaborate on the development of the human-figured initials in my PhD dissertation : *Byzantine Pictorial Initials of the Post-Iconoclastic Period (From the End of the 9th C. to the Early 11th c.)*, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2004 (unpublished), Ch. IVD.

aniconic tradition but simultaneously inserting the whole body into the initial letter ([11]). Thus, the contents of the manuscript may dictate what motifs will be depicted in it.

This aniconic tradition later became irrelevant ; the leg motif almost disappears in the 11th-c. manuscripts, leaving the hand as fixed to certain initials, especially *Epsilon*, but also *Iota* and *Tau*.

## Possible sources of Byzantine human-shaped initials

The value of the independent limb standing for the whole body or emphasizing a specific part of the body was well understood and used in different contexts, long before it made its way into the initial letter. The importance of human limbs appears already in Egypt, where they play an essential part in hieroglyphs ([12]) as well as amulets ([13]).

In the Greco-Roman tradition, gems and amulets represent hands, legs, or heads (or busts) and symbolize gods, persons, or situations. Disjointed human limbs also had apotropaic purposes. Etruscan and Roman *ex-voto* plaques and sculptures, and Greek *tama*, namely small plaques with visual representations of a person or a diseased limb, contain legs, hands, internal parts of the body, or organs (Pl. V : 6) ([14]). Each is shaped like a real part of the body, and they function as symbolic replacements for the real limbs or organs, or their activity. These anatomical votives reflected

(11) The style of the initial letters of this manuscript differs from the previously discussed group. The motif of the Siren and the abstract tendencies suggest an influence of the early Islamic metalwork. However, additional research has to be done to support this proposal.

(12) The connection between Egyptian hieroglyphic writing and the development of the initial letter tradition in early Christian and Byzantine manuscripts was probably not direct. However, hieroglyphs were of great interest in the ancient world and were sometimes misunderstood and misinterpreted. E. IVERSEN, *The Myth of Egypt and Its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition*, Princeton, NJ, 1993.

(13) C. ANDREWS, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, Austin, 1994, pp. 69-73. Such amulets were used in burials especially in the late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period and were used as substitutes for the damaged parts of the body. Several parts of the body amulets ceased to exist afterwards.

(14) P. DECOUFLÉ, *La notion d'ex-voto anatomique chez les Étrusco-Romains, analyse et synthèse*, Bruxelles-Berchem, 1964.

a desire to be healed and to give thanks for recovery ([15]). An early Christian reference to this practice is found in Theodoret (*Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*, 8.64) : "Christians come to the martyrs to implore them to be their intercessors. That they obtained what they so earnestly prayed for is clearly proven by their votive gifts, which proclaim the healing. Some bring images of eyes, others feet, others hands, which sometimes are made of gold, sometimes of wood..." ([16]). Greek *tama* have continued to be used till modern times, and in Greek churches they can be found attached to the icons as a request for healing. This highlights the significance of this custom in Greek Orthodox tradition ([17]) (Pl. **V** : 8).

From the early centuries of Christianity, remains of martyrs and saints were believed to bear special powers of healing and to afford access to the divine, as attested in hagiographic literature ([18]). Fragments of saintly bodies were transported to churches and even to private houses. Each fragment, according to the common belief, had a power of its own ([19]). In the Latin West, from the 9th c., fragments of bones were enclosed in shrines that were shaped like detached human limbs ([20]).

(15) H. S. VERSNEL, *Faith, Hope and Worship, Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, Leiden, 1981, p. 103 ; see pp. 105-151 for the catalogue and bibliographic references.

(16) The translation is according to G. VIKAN, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art.* (*Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection* 5), Washington, D.C., 1982, p. 46.

(17) R. CORMACK, *Painting the Soul, Icons, Death Masks and Shrouds*, London, 1997, p. 82.

(18) M. KAPLAN, *De la dépouille à la relique : formation du culte des saints à Byzance du ve au xiie siècle*, in *Les reliques. Objets, cultes, symboles. Actes du colloque international de l'université du Littoral-Côte d'Opale (Boulogne-sur-Mer) 4-6 Septembre 1997*, ed. E. BOZÓKY et A-M. HELVÉTIUS, Turnhout, 1999, pp. 19-38.

(19) C. W. BYNUM and P. GERSON, *Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages*, in *Gesta*, 36/1 (1997), pp. 3-4. By the time of the Second Council of Nicea in 787 relics were required for the consecration of altars. The earliest reliquaries, shaped like sarcophagi, placed bones of a single saint together. In the Middle Ages the power and authority of relics had grown in such way that they were separated and used independently to establish the power of the Church. The tradition of transferring and dismembering holy bodies was firstly established among the Greeks, and by the 9th c. was customary in the West. J. M. MCCULLOH, *The Cult of Relics in the Letters and 'Dialogs' of Pope Gregory the Great : A Lexicographical Study*, in *Traditio*, 32 (1976), p. 145.

(20) The earliest known reliquary in the form of a body-part is the head of St. Maurice, dating from 879-887. Such shrines became extremely "fashionable"

*Ex-voto* and *tama* represented personal needs and wishes, associated with a specific person. Body-part reliquaries, on the other hand, were related to impersonal signs of spirituality. Hand- and leg-shaped reliquaries were very common in Western Christianity. The earliest known one shaped like a foot is the Egbert shrine (Trier, 977-993, now in the Cathedral treasury), but reliquaries shaped like hands in different gestures were especially popular ([21]). Contrary to head reliquaries, which may represent the presumed likeness of the particular saint, an arm is universal. The emphasis in such reliquaries is on the gesture and its significance as a divine sign of blessing. Because of the gesture, such shrines have been traditionally called "speaking reliquaries" ([22]). The arms did not speak for themselves only, but were seen as the vehicles of divine power. Miracles performed through the use of arm reliquaries were seen as inspired by God's intervention ; a saint's bone enclosed in a shrine of that shape became an intermediary between God and man. The relic is fragmentary, but its spiritual power is as strong as if it were whole. Because the message and not the individuality of the saint is emphasized, the form of the arm shrine remains almost constant : a jeweled sleeve with protruding gesturing hand, without any hint of individuality. Impersonal and powerful, the arm appears as a sign ([23]).

In Byzantium too relics played an important role and were collected for centuries. By 1204 Constantinople had one of the largest collections ([24]). The relics were placed in different parts of the churches :

only in the 12th and 13th c. On body-part reliquaries see : BYNUM and GERSON, *Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages*, p. 4 ; B. DRAKE BOEHM, *Body-Part Reliquaries : The State of Research*, in *Gesta*, 36/1 (1997), p. 8 ; C. HAHN, *The Voices of the Saints : Speaking Reliquaries*, in *Gesta*, 36/1 (1997), pp. 20-23.

(21) Henk VAN OS points out that the first references to arm-shaped reliquaries appear around the 8th c. Unfortunately, he does not specify the sources. The earliest surviving arm reliquary is dated to the mid-12th c. H. W. VAN OS, *The Way to Heaven, Relic Veneration in the Middle Ages*, Baarn, 2000, p. 136.

(22) BYNUM and GERSON, *Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages*, p. 4.

(23) HAHN, *The Voices of the Saints : Speaking Reliquaries*, p. 29.

(24) L. JAMES, *Bearing Gifts from the East : Imperial Hunters Abroad*, in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium. Papers from the Thirty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999*, ed. A. EASTMOND, Aldershot, 2001, p. 119.

in front of or under the altar, inside the walls, under the church columns and foundations ([25]). They were extremely important in the imperial court ([26]), and were used to vouchsafe the power of the emperor and the Church, as a diplomatic tool, in the emperor's ceremonies, in military life as a sign of victory, and for many other functions. Some of them are known to be deemed of great value and symbolic power. The arm of St. Stephen, transported to a church in Constantinople built especially for it as early as the 5th c., is one of them. The translation is commemorated on the ivory relief, now in Trier (the Cathedral treasury). The relic is depicted in a little box, a conventional shape of Byzantine reliquary. In Byzantium, hardly any evidence exists of body-part reliquaries ([27]).

Despite their importance, body-part relics seemingly never became of such significance as in the West, probably because the central object of veneration was the icon, which preserves the likeness of the depicted figure and has miraculous powers ([28]). But the use of some body parts as

(25) N. TETERIATNIKOV, *Relics in the Foundations of Byzantine Churches*, in *Relics in the Art and Culture of the Eastern Christian World. Abstracts of Papers and Material from the International Symposium*, ed. A. LIDOV, Moscow, 2000, pp. 23-24.

(26) S. MERGIALI-SAHAS, *Byzantine Emperors and Holy Relics. Use, and Misuse, of Sanctity and Authority*, in *JÖB*, 51 (2001), pp. 41-60.

(27) The arm of St. John the Baptist represents an exceptional example of the relic enclosed in an arm-shaped reliquary. As one of the most important relics, it was brought to Constantinople in the 10th c. and placed in the church of the Virgin of Pharos in 944 ; today it is in the Topkapi Museum, Istanbul. Its reliquary, however, is of a Western type and does not follow the Byzantine tradition. On this relic see I. KALAVREZOU, *Helping Hands of the Empire : Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court*, in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. MAGUIRE, Washington D.C., 1997, pp. 53-99.

(28) The image depicted on the icon is a true image, because on the one hand it was painted from "life" (an icon of the Virgin painted by St. Lucas) ; on the other hand it is an image not made by human hand but one that appeared in a miraculous way (*Mandylion*). This last image represents both an icon and a relic. As Liz James suggests, attitudes to icons during the iconoclasm may explain their special emphasis and significance after it. Relics, although their real fate during the iconoclasm is unclear, seem to have survived that period and were not destroyed as icons. Furthermore, she distinguishes the private role of the relics from the public role of icons, which were exposed for public veneration. L. JAMES, *Dry Bones and Pictures : Relics and Icons in Byzantium*, in *Relics in the Art and Culture of the Eastern Christian World*, pp. 25-26. Charles Barber stresses that before the iconoclasm, the icon was understood in terms of relics as truth-

visual signs is well attested. The hand as an impersonal sign was used in the Syro-Palestinian tradition as early as the 6th-7th c. in votive objects made of different materials ([29]). Sometimes it is represented holding a globe topped with a cross (Pl. **IV** : 14, 15). These sleeveless hands are cut from beneath to emphasize the protruding palm with extended fingers. The hands are hollow, and were probably placed on top of some liturgical objects. Gary Vikan explains these hands as votive objects functioning similarly to the Byzantine *tama* images ([30]). All hands have an open palm, two or three fingertips holding (or most likely touching) a cross (or a globe). The meaning of these objects is uncertain. They might have had a role close to the later Western body-part reliquaries, being impersonal and combining the magical act of healing through God's intervention and the miraculous power of the cross ([31]).

ful material proof of historical persons and events. Defending icons, iconophiles placed the emphasis on the term "likeness". Icons, linked to the prototype by a common form, began to be considered as true and necessary witnesses to the incarnation. C. BARBER, *Figure and Likeness*, pp. 36-37, 139. See on this subject H.L. KESSLER, *Configuring the Invisible by Copying the Holy Face*, in H.L. KESSLER and G. WOLF, eds., *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, edited papers from a Colloquium held at the Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996, pp.129-151 (esp. p. 139ff).

(29) M. C. ROSS, *Byzantine Bronze Hands Holding Crosses*, in *Archaeology*, 17 (1964), pp. 101-103 ; ID. *Byzanz, das Licht aus dem Osten, Kultur und Alltag im Byzantinischen Reich vom 4. bis 15. Jahrhundert* (exhibition catalog), Mainz, 2001, I. I.55 ; I.56 ; I. 57, pp. 156-160.

(30) G. VIKAN, *Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium*, in *DOP*, 38 (1983), pp. 84-85.

(31) K. WEITZMANN, *Age of Spirituality, Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh C.*, Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, November 19, 1977, through February 12, 1978, New York, 1979, p. 621, no. 557 ; Weitzmann points to the connection with Jupiter Heliopolitanus and Sabazios apotropeic hands, and estimates that they were probably mounted on the tops of staffs as votive offerings, emphasizing the hand's healing powers (*Ibid.*, p. 622) ; *Byzanz, das Licht aus dem Osten*, I. I.55 ; I.56 ; I. 57, pp. 156-160 ; for the healing meaning of such hands see VIKAN, *Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium*, pp. 84-85. Ross suggests the symbolic meaning of such hands with crosses based on the combination of the right hand as a symbol of power and the symbol of triumph of Christianity over the pagan world ; M. C. Ross, *Byzantine Bronze Hands Holding Crosses*, in *Archaeology*, 17 (1964), p. 103.

An example from *Sinai* 213 shows a possible connection between this kind of votive hands and the hand-shaped initial. On fol. 11v, a hand is represented supporting the vertical stem of the initial "T" (Pl. **IV** : 11). The position of the hand supporting the vertical stem of the letter, shaped as a decorative element, resembles votive hands supporting the cross. Since early Christianity, "T" was understood as an image of the cross ([32]), so the connection between the three-dimensional image and manuscript illumination may not be coincidental. Further development of this idea may be found in another lectionary, *Arundel* 547. A hand (attached to legs), while holding a globe from which emerges the vertical stem of "T" (Pl. **IV** : 12), also alludes to the same vocabulary found in Byzantine votive hands.

Unattached hands representing a function of holding also have a long tradition in the pagan world. They may be found in Egyptian, Greek, and Roman cultures and were also widely followed in the Byzantine world. A hand was used as a part of a candelabrum or of a cosmetic spoon ([33]). A finger may be used as a hook ([34]). Roman and Byzantine hairpins shaped like hands were widely popular. Such elongated pins, as well as other similar objects (e.g., bath usensils in the form of hands), resemble the shape of some "I" and "T" initials in certain Greek manuscripts (e.g., *Paris* 277, fol. 34 ; *Patmos, the Monastery of John the Theologian, cod.* 29, fol. 324v ; *Rome, Vat. Ottob., Gr.* 14, fol. 217v ; *Athens NL*, 2363, fol. 130 ; *Oxford, Bodl. lib., Canon, Gr.* 92, fol. 127) and may have served as one of their possible models. These objects also resemble the 6th- and 7th-c. votive hands mentioned above, a circumstance that supports the continuity of Roman pictorial forms into the Christian vocabulary (Pl. **IV** : 3, 4, 8, 9 cf. 6, 7, 13-15).

Enough objects apparently existed, such as pins, votive images, and house belongings, both Byzantine and Late Antique, to serve as models for the Byzantine hand-shaped initial letters.

(32) *PG* 2, 752 ; CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Stromata* VI. 11 ; TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marc.* III.22. 5-7, *PL* 2, 352-353 ; on this see MAAYAN-FANAR, *Byzantine Pictorial Initials*, pp. 172-174.

(33) E. D. MAGUIRE, H. P. MAGUIRE, and M. J. DUNCAN-FLOWERS, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House. (Illinois Byzantine Studies* II), Urbana, 1989, p. 190, no. 112.

(34) *Idem*, p. 51, no. 3.

The same conclusions can be reached concerning the insertion of legs or feet into Byzantine initials. Although the earliest examples are found only around c. 900, the practice of using disjointed legs in various small household objects and personal belongings (e.g., perfume boxes shaped like legs) is well attested. Lamps too were molded like a leg or a foot ([35]). In the early Christian tradition the foot was considered a symbol of protection and good fortune, and was used as a lamp to recall the spiritual light in *Psalm* 119 : 105 ([36]). The beautiful feet of those walking in the way of God were also praised ([37]). The recent publication of a bronze object representing a cross attached to a leg, depicted from the knee to the foot ([38]), highlights its purpose as a votive object (Pl. **V** : 7). It probably functioned similarly to the two-dimensional plaques attached to the icons and to the votive hands holding a cross. This 5th- to 7th-c. votive object shows that in Byzantine practice any unattached limb of the human body may be combined with another motif according to the function of the whole object. Such practice was probably especially common in votive images, which eventually may have served as a direct model for the illuminated initial letters.

## The relationship between Byzantine human-shaped initials and the Western precedents

The first Byzantine example of the motif of "*epsilon-hasta*" is known only from the third quarter of the 9th c. (879-82) in the *Paris, Gr.* 510 (Pl. **III** : 2), while disjointed body-parts in general became common only in the 10th c. They thus trailed the first Western examples by about two

(35) *Id.*, p. 68, no. 15.

(36) *Id.*, pp. 68-69.

(37) ORIGEN, *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, I.10 : "Isaiah too says : (*Isa.* iii. 7 ; *Rom.* x. 15). 'How beautiful are the feet of them that proclaim good tidings' ; he sees how beautiful and how opportune was the announcement of the Apostles who walked in Him who said, 'I am the way', and praises the feet of those who walk in the intellectual way of Christ Jesus, and through that door go in to God. They announce good tidings, those whose feet are beautiful, namely, Jesus". Trans. *ANF*, Vol. 9, p. 302.

(38) The inscription on its vertical arm reads : EV/XH KVPIAΣ. The person's name was probably written on the horizontal arm of the cross, although its two last letters are hard to decode. *Byzanz, das Licht aus dem Osten*, I.82, p. 203.

centuries. Accordingly, scholars have proposed that these motifs were imported from the West through Italy, which was exposed to both Western and Byzantine influences (39). It is rather suprising, however, that when appeared, these motifs closely resembled the early, simple Western initials, while almost wholly ignoring new developments around initial letters evident in the Carolingian manuscripts.

The Byzantine initials with human limbs show obvious similarities to those in the 8th-c. Latin manuscripts. Nevertheless, it will be further argued that neither the *Paris Gregory* nor the Paris and Patmos lectionaries (both assigned to c. 900) rely on Western models, but both could have grown out of a common source in Late Antiquity.

As mentioned, the first example of a hand introduced into the initial comes from the 7th c. *Liber Sacramentorum* (Pl. **III** : 9). It is depicted as an open palm, a widely used characteristic of God's presence in Judaism and early Christianity. So it is not unusual visually save for drawn as a part of the letter and not in a narrative context. Its crude appearance suggests that it was copied from another source and was not yet established as a part of the initial letter.

In the West the human limb was very popular during the 8th and early 9th c., and when used it was attached to any part of almost every letter of the alphabet, with a freedom typical of this tradition (40). During this period, hands, like the other body parts, hardly ever corresponded to the precise shape of the original letter but were used as a separate motif. Moreover, realistically treated human limbs appeared in fantastic

(39) L. BRUBAKER, *The Introduction of Painted Initials in Byzantium*, in *Scriptorium*, 45/1 (1991), pp. 22-46.

(40) For example : *Homilies* (*Milan, Ambr., C. inf.* 98, fol. 13a) : a hand attached to a fish (H. ZIMMERMANN, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1916, Vol. I, pl. 19e) ; *Eucherius* (*Rome Vitt. Em.*, 2107, fol. 12) : two heads emerging from the letter-stems (*Ibid.*, Vol. I, pl. 23b) ; *Collectio Canonum* (*Brussels, B.R.*, 2493 [8780-93], fol. 49v) : a human face uplifted by two dog-like creatures (ZIMMERMANN, Vol. II, pl. 121d) ; *Leges Langobardorum* (*St. Gall* 731, p. 295) : two hands attached to the top and the bottom of "I" (*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pl. 150b). More examples are given in B. TEYSSÈDRE, *Le sacramentaire de Gellone et la figure humaine dans les manuscrits francs du VIIIe siècle : de l'enluminure à l'illustration*, Paris, 1959, pp. 41-50, 143, 147.

(41) TEYSSÈDRE, *Le Sacramentaire de Gellone*, pp. 50, 133, 150 : a hand attached to a fish, composing "D" and "P" (fol. 229v, 237).

combinations with zoomorphic and other anthropomorphic motifs. This feature can be found especially in the *Sacramentary of Gellone* (41), where the initial letter may be constructed of a human hand attached to a duck, or a human leg attached to a fish (fol. 164v ; Pl. **III** : 12, 13). The interest in human limbs is said to be probably inspired by Byzantine iconography (42), perhaps through Italy, but this type of fantastic combination is undoubtedly not Byzantine. It was most likely inspired by Insular models, transformed, as Teyssèdre has suggested, into a "more realistic type". This so-called realism, however, appears to be much more metamarphosed than any known later Byzantine example.

It seems that finding the motif of detached human limbs in Latin manuscripts first does not necessarily mean that it was invented in the West. Moreover, the representation of detached human limbs as a part of the initial letter almost disappears from the pages of the Latin manuscripts after the 9th c., making way for the interplay of complete human bodies with zoomorphic and ornamental forms.

Due to the small number of Byzantine manuscripts surviving from the pre-iconoclastic period, it is impossible to state whether human limbs appeared in the early Byzantine manuscripts as well. However, the continuous tradition of the use of the human limbs, especially hands, in small-sized objects, including the votive objects discussed above, may point to a possible common model, which was assumed and transformed in the West.

Thus, an 8th-c. Latin manuscript from Italy (Bobbio), the Gregorius *Moralia in Job* (*Milan, Ambr., B* 159 *sup.*) (43), makes use of disjointed hands within different initials. All reproduce the same pattern of an upright right hand combined with additional elements (e.g., two arms, as if duplicating each other, substitute two vertical stems of the initial "H" (fol. 38v, Pl. **IV** : 2), a hand holding a band with inserted human face (fol. 14) (44), and a hand holds two bands terminating with profiles in initial "F" (Pl. **III** : 11)). These initials are also close to the later 10th-c. Byzantine representations of the hand-motif, and have been used as evi-

(42) F. Henry, *The Book of Kells : Reproductions from the Manuscript in Trinity College Dublin*, London, 1974, p. 216.

(43) Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Vol. I, pl. 16a.

(44) E. D. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, Part III, Italy : Ancona-Novara, Oxford, 1936, p. 12, no. 309.

dence of a supposed influence of Latin manuscripts on Byzantine manuscript production (Pl. **IV** : 1 cf. 2) ([45]). However, comparison of the two shows that Byzantine hands display greater diversity than these Latin ones and preserve more realistic characteristics of hand shape and gesture. They do not seem to depend on such Latin examples, but may correspond to a common model. Note that all of them depict a right hand, without any formal variations, as if copied from some object. The sleeve is cut off in a way similar to early Greek and Roman votive hands, and to the 6th-c. sleeveless votive hands from the Syro-Palestinian region (Pl. **IV** : 4, 5 cf. 6, 14, 15).

Another 8th-c. Latin manuscript (*Jerome, Commentary on Isaiah, Brescia, Bibliotheca Civica Queriniana, cod.* A. III. 14) provides an example of three hands substituting the horizontal bars of the initial letter "E" (fol. 97, Pl. **III** : 10). The hand in the middle represents a distorted Greek benediction, probably taken from a Greek source. Such representation is common in Greco-Italian manuscripts (Pl. **III** : 5), but absent from the Constantinopolitan ones and those made in the Eastern provinces. It is not possible to say if the supposed model was also an initial letter. If it was, it is likely to have been Greek. As noted earlier a gesturing hand as a part of *Epsilon* became common in Byzantine book illumination, especially in lectionaries, due to its appearance in the *incipit* "The Lord said" (εἶπεν ὁ κύριος), which is specifically Greek.

To sum up, both Byzantine and Latin initial letters make use of the hand motif. Its insertion into the initial *Epsilon* may have originally been inspired by the verses of *John* (1 : 1-9). It is not known if this tradition occurred first in Byzantium or if the 7th-c. Latin *Liber Sacramentorum* was the first to introduce this motif into the initial letter. Inspired by small objects and various connotations of detached human limbs as votive images and symbols of the power of God, and combined with a pictorial ability for distortion, Latin artists saw an opportunity to combine these motifs with various initial letters. In doing so, they turned human limbs into an additional ornamental motif.

As mentioned, the supposed Western origins of such motifs are questionable, but the fantastic combinations of these motifs with others are of

(45) A. GRABAR, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IXe-XIe siècles)* (*Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques* 8), Paris, 1972, p. 52, fig. 200.

"barbarian" influence. The increasing popularity of such elements in certain 8th- and 9th-c. Latin manuscripts may explain the variety of combinations. Yet the use of the "human limb" in itself seems exclusively Byzantine, being an essential continuation of Greco-Roman and early Christian traditions. It was apparently imported into Latin manuscripts through small-sized votive images. They, like the other small objects, might have served as the foremost model for the growing vocabulary of initial letter illumination.

The idea of inserting human limbs into initials other than *Epsilon* may have reached Byzantium through the same sources of small objects whereby it reached the West. However, the Western distortions of the letter or of the image seem to have been unacceptable in Byzantium. This fact may explain the realistic features of human limbs, contrary to highly patterned zoomorphic representations. The transitional period of the late 9th and the 10th c. allowed some experimental depictions with the human body, which may explain their extensive use. All Byzantine manuscripts whose initial letters consist of human limbs show variations of the same type, thus seeming to reflect a common model. Such a model is most evident in the manuscripts attributed to Constantinople and the Eastern provinces, not in the Greco-Italian manuscripts.

The use of the human limbs, especially in lectionaries, may point to some problems of representing the whole body of Christ. Furthermore, diversification of initials shaped as body parts occurs mostly in the first known illuminated lectionaries of c. 900 : *Paris* 277 and *Patmos* 70. This, as well as the analysis of other aspects of these manuscripts, leads to the conclusion that the model may have emerged at the time of the iconoclastic controversy. If this was indeed the case, the insertion of body parts as substitutes for the whole human figure benefited from a robust theological setting. Such manuscripts may have appeared in Byzantium already in the 8th c., contemporary with the 8th- and 9th-c. Latin manuscripts with body-part representations. Such models may well have survived in the provinces but might have been absent from the Metropolitan area at the time of the Paris Gregory, or were deliberately shunned in this manuscript. Only the choice of the "*epsilon-hasta*" representation in this manuscript, closely connected to the motif of the hand, seems established, and may go back to the Late Antique vocabulary ([46]).

(46) MAAYAN-FANAR, *Byzantine Pictorial Initials*, Chapter IC, p. 26.

The expansion of motifs composed of other body parts may well have had an iconoclastic background, and was abandoned in the Paris Gregory in favor of more classical letter illumination.

The avoidance of full-body representation was especially common in monastic circles, where this tradition was alive at least until the middle of the 11th c. (47). Such a tradition also continued to exist in the much later lectionaries. It can be found in luxurious manuscripts of Constantinopolitan origin, for example, *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon, Gr.* 92 (late 11th-early12th c.) (48).

Thus, the introduction of the motif of the human limbs into Byzantine initial letters seems to have had no need for direct models taken from Latin manuscripts. Despite the interval in time, the Byzantine tradition of the use of the human limbs in manuscript decoration seems more established than the Western. A further attempt will be made to understand a possible connection of the initial letters composed of human limbs to the text of the specific manuscripts, and their more general significance as a part through which the qualities of the whole might be discovered.

## The lectionary : The initial as a sign or literal illustration ?

Since disjointed human limbs are especially common in the manuscripts of the lectionary context, it is important to study the text-image relationship in the two earliest illuminated Byzantine lectionaries, *Paris* 277 and *Patmos* 70, of c. 900. Comparison of the motif enclosed in the initial with the adjacent verse reveals that in the significant number of cases the motif is literally connected to the words of the text.

Thus, legs composing the initial "Π" (*Patmos* 70, fol. 123v, Mt. 25 : 41b) visually render the word "Depart (go)" (πορεύεσθε) (Pl. **II** : 2). Another verse shows a connection between the initial "H" (*Patmos* 70,

(47) Galavaris mentions the survival of an aniconic tradition in the 11th-c. manuscripts from Mount Athos, explaining it by the fear of the image among the monks. G. GALAVARIS, *Aspects of Book Illumination on Mount Athos*, in *Διεθνὲς Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινὴ Μακεδονία 324-1430 μ. Χ., Θεσσαλονίκη 29-31 Ὀκτωβρίου 1992 (Μακεδονικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* 82), Thessalonica, 1995, pp. 94-95.

(48) I. HUTTER, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften. Oxford, Bodleian Library III,* Stuttgart, 1982, no. 68, figs. 253-279.

fol. 203 ; *Paris* 277, fol. 54v, *John* 19:32 ; Pl. **I** : 2) standing on two legs and shod in soldier's boots, and the words of the verse : "Then the soldiers came..." (ἦλθον οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται). In these examples the association is obvious. These legs function as symbolic narrative, avoiding actual representation.

Hands in both manuscripts are often represented substituting the central bar of the initial *Epsilon*, and in some cases they hold small objects. These correspond directly to the adjacent text. For example, a scythe (*Patmos* 70, fol. 33v) symbolizes the act of reaping, in keeping with the adjacent text of *John* 4 : 38 : "I sent you to reap that for which you did not labor" (Pl. **III** : 6). In another example (*Patmos* 70, fol. 45v) a hand extends deep into the text column, lightly holding a fish (Pl. **III** : 7). The motif corresponds directly to *Luke* 24 : 42 : "They gave him a piece of broiled fish (ἰχθύος)...". Not only is the fish represented, but also the act of bestowing.

A similarly depicted object may be interpreted variously, depending on the immediate textual context. Thus, a hand holds two round objects (*Patmos* 70, fol. 39v), which from the adjacent verse of *John* 10 : 31 prove to be stones : "The Jews took up stones again to stone him". In *Paris* 277, fol. 85 a similar round object represents bread, corresponding to *John* 21 : 13 : "Jesus came and took the bread and gave it to them...". Illustrating the verse of *Mt.* 20 : 10b (*Paris* 277, fol. 125), a similar object now is the coin (δηνάριον), which according to the Gospel parable was given to each laborer.

The same conclusion can be reached concerning a stick-shaped object. In the context of *Mt.* 24 : 48-49 (*Paris* 277, fol. 19 ; *Patmos* 70, fol. 155v) it corresponds to the weak slave, who beats his fellow slaves. In *John* 19 : 19, "Pilate also had an inscription written and put on the cross", this object corresponds to the word ἔγραψεν (*Paris* 277, fol. 71, Pl. **II** :3 ; *Patmos* 70, fol. 211, 230), representing a pen. In one more case *Mt.* 26 : 51 (*Paris* 277, fol. 28v), a hand holds a red stick (?) – here a sword according to the text : "...one of them which were with Jesus stretched out his hand, and drew his sword, and struck a servant of the high priest's..." (...ἐκτείνας τὴν χείρα ἀπέσπασεν τὴν μάχαιραν...). Moreover, the initial divides the text and relates directly to the relevant part of the sentence. In all the above cases a hand stands for the whole figure, summarizing the essence of the text in one sign.

This method of literal connection between an object held by a hand and the text survives in later lectionaries. It can be seen, for example, in *Sinai*

213 ([49]). On fol. 90 a hand is inserted into an initial *Epsilon*. It holds a cross, corresponding directly to the verse of *Mt.* 10 : 38 : "and whoever does not take up the cross (τὸν σταυρόν) and follow me is not worthy of me" (Pl. **III** : 8).

Some anthropomorphic elements in *Paris* 277 and *Patmos* 70 may be understood as symbols of Christ, or God the Father. One example is the initial "Σ", which is composed of two hands with open palms, substituting the contour of the letter (Pl. **I** : 6). This insertion of the motif of hands into the initial is highly unusual. In each of the two lectionaries the letter appears in different verses, and carries different meanings. In *Patmos* 70 the letter starts *Mt.* 27 : 10b (fol. 195v), corresponding to the verse : "the Lord commanded me". This representation is one of the numerous representations of a hand signifying speech (the Lord's speech in this case). The same motif appears to construct the same letter in *Paris* 277, corresponding to the last word of the verse of *Mt.* 27 : 22, "(Let him be) crucified" (...Σταυρωθήτω, fol. 49), and again on fol. 59 relating to *Mt.* 27 : 35, "And they crucified him..." (σταυρώσαντες δὲ αὐτόν...). Clearly the motif of two outstretched hands is connected here not just to the same letter but illustrates the same word.

The motif of outstretched hands appears in these manuscripts also in connection with the initial *Tau* ("T") several times. Two open palms, extending to either side of the vertical stem of the letter, appear here as an additional element and do not play any role in the initial letter structure (*Patmos* 70, fol. 180v ; *Paris* 277, fol. 21v, fol. 23v, fol. 36v, fol. 71). The connection of this motif with the initial "T" is also highly unusual ([50]). However, here the connection with the text has to be studied independently in each case. At least twice (*Paris* 277, fol. 21v and 71) the

(49) However, the repetition of motifs and the use of repeated patterns as initials only at the beginning of the lessons and as marginal decorations attest that in most cases the verse and the motifs are not directly related.

(50) The only similar composition occurs in the 10th-c. lectionary in *Athens National Library, cod.* 59, fol. 10v. Here, however, instead of the hands two griffon heads extend to either side of the vertical letter stem. A. Maraval-Chatzinicolaou and C. Toufexi-Paschou, *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece. Manuscripts of the New Testament Texts*, Vol. 1 : *10th-12th Century*, Athens, 1978-1985, pp. 38, 41 fig. 31.

motif seems to be significant ([51]). The first appearance of hands extending to both sides of the vertical stem of "T" is found at the beginning of *Mt.* 25 : 34 (*Paris* 277, fol. 21). This verse relates to the Last Judgment. The motif seems to correspond directly to the words of the passage : "(And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left). Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world...". The motif may emphasize the words of the verse and function as direction signs. The initial, however, does not appear at the beginning of the verse but only in connection with its second sentence. The illustration might have been made for the previous verse, and it appears here because of the better connection between the letter *Tau* and the decorative element.

The same motif appears on fol. 71 corresponding to *John* 19 : 15 : "...Pilate saith unto them, Shall I crucify your King ?" (τὸν βασιλέα ὑμῶν σταυρώσω) (Pl. **II** : 3). Here the connection was probably to the crucifixion. The symbolical concept of the letter *Tau* as the cross was well known since early Christianity and is represented in various Latin ([52]) and Byzantine manuscripts ([53]). In this particular manuscript, where hands and legs serve as a symbolic representation of the body, two hands protruding from either side of the vertical stem of "T" may well allude to the crucified Jesus. This symbolism is based on *John* 21 :18. The hands stretched outwards in prayer as a sign of God are mentioned in the Odes of Solomon : "I extended my hands and allowed my Lord, For the expansion of my hands is His sign. And my extension is the upright cross" ([54]).

(51) A similar motif attached to "T" appears in *Paris* 277 on fol. 23v (*Mt.* 26 : 11) and on fol. 36v (*John* 15 : 18) and *Patmos* 70, fol. 180v (*John* 15 : 18). In these cases the connection between text and initial seems uncertain.

(52) The Sacramentary of Gellone (790-c. 804) contains the first known example of such a crucifix-initial, fol. 143v.

(53) For example, in the later Byzantine lectionary (*Mount Athos, Monastery of Dionysiou, cod.* 587m) of 1059, the initial *Tau* (fol. 97), is formed by the figure of the crucified Christ, corresponding to the symbolism of the letter *Tau*. The image is part of a wider marginal scene, which also includes the two crucified thieves.

(54) Ode 27, cited after J. H. CHARLESWORTH, ed. and trans., *The Odes of Solomon*, Montana, 1977, p. 106. And also: "I extended my hands and approached my Lord, For the expansion of my hands is His sign. And my extension is the common cross, That was lifted up on the way of the Righteous One". Ode 42, *Ibid.*, p. 145

This gesture had liturgical importance, being used as a part of the baptismal rite ([55]).

The explanation of hands stretched out sideways was made by Tertullian, who relates to the position of hands in prayer, stretching out as in Christ's crucifixion : "We, however, not only raise our hands, we even stretch them out and by adopting the attitude of the suffering Lord (on the Cross) we glorify Christ also while at prayer" ([56]). It may therefore be concluded that the appearance of hands in prayer in certain cases of the initials "Σ" and "Τ" is a symbol alluding to the crucifixion ([57]).

Against this background, additional anthropomorphic elements in the two lectionaries may perhaps be seen as a symbol of Christ. For instance, in *Patmos* 70 (fol. 20v), the vertical stems of an initial "Π" end with two legs wearing boots, while two hands (though overcolored) hold the stems. A cross is indicated on top of the initial. This initial starts John 6 : 42b : "How can he now say, 'I have come down from heaven' ?" It seems that here too, the motif substitutes the figure of Christ. The same motif in *Paris* 277 (fol. 21) does not correspond to this symbolism but to the general action of moving, starting the word προσελθών (having approached) of *Mt.* 25 : 20 (Pl. **I** : 3).

The hint at the aniconic representation of God may also be more specific. For example, the vertical stems of the initial "Π" (*Patmos* 70, fol. 44) are represented by two hands holding the horizontal bar of the letter, starting the word "Father" (Πάτερ) in relation to God in different verses. Examples may be given from *John* 12 :27b (*Patmos* 70, fol. 44), *John* 11 : 41b (*Patmos* 70, fol. 140), and *Luke* 23 : 46b (*Patmos* 70, fol. 202 ; *Paris* 277, fol. 53v). Note that when the same initial does not correspond directly to Christ's or God the Father's symbolism, non-anthropomorphic motifs are preferred (e.g., *Patmos* 70, fol. 50v, *John* 15 : 2).

Thus, the connection between text and image is not accidental, even if not immediately evident. In some cases it is symbolic, in others literal.

(55) D. Plooij, *The Attitude of the Outspread Hands ('Orante') in Early Christian Literature and Art*, in *The Expository Times*, 23 (1911-1912), p. 199.

(56) G. Q. Reijners, *The Terminology of the Holy Cross in Early Christian Literature as Based upon Old Testament Typology*, Nijmegen, 1965, pp. 151-152.

(57) In early Christian art the crucifixion may also be represented by means of outstretched hands (e.g., the crucifixion on the carved panel of the door of the 5th-c. St. Sabina in Rome. Here the outstretched hands of Christ are stressed, while the cross is given as a clue).

Such unusual emphasis on the body parts, especially connected to the symbolism of God, reveals a restrictive attitude to figural representation. It thus serves as further evidence of a model for both manuscripts, which might well occur in the iconoclastic period.

Despite the above findings, some of the anthropomorphic motifs appear to be regularly connected to certain letters, without any visible relation to the adjacent text. So although in the cases mentioned above the foot motif can correspond directly to the text, the repetition of the same motif may create an association between the anthropomorphic element and the initial letter shape.

The transformation of the lower part of the vertical stems of various letters (mainly "T", "Π", and "Φ") into legs is well attested in *Patmos* 70 (Pl. **V** : 3). This transformation, albeit less common, occurs in *Paris* 277 as well (Pl. **V** : 2). This motif becomes a repeated one quite unconnected to the text. Another example is the initial "I", which is always topped by a hand in Greek benediction (Pl. **I** : 1) ([58]). A general connection between the hand in the Greek blessing gesture and the letter "I" is only to be expected. "I", the first letter of Christ's name, was probably originally used to indicate him. But here it seems to appear as a fixed motif.

## Conclusions

Evidence of disjointed human limbs in Byzantine initial letters exists only from the end of the 9th c. This trailed their appearance in Western initials by more than a c., a fact that has raised suggestions as to their dependence on some Western precedents. However, analysis of the surviving material shows that first examples of such initials might have appeared in Byzantine manuscripts already in the 8th c., contemporary with the earliest Latin initials of this kind. A common origin for both, dating to Late Antiquity, has been proposed here, even though the ways of application were different. While Western artists seem to have turned body parts into

(58) In *Paris* 277: fol. 36v (*John* 15:16b) ; fol. 37 (*John* 15:22), fol. 50v (*Mark* 15:28) ; fol. 54 ; fol. 66v (*Luke* 23:29) ; fol. 68v (*John* 18:32) ; fol. 53v (*Luke* 23:47) ; In *Patmos* 70: fol. 122v (*Luke* 21:36b) ; fols. 163 and 165 (*Mt.* 26:8) ; fol. 196 (*Mt.* 27:24) ; fol. 202 (*Luke* 23:47) ; fol. 202v (*John* 19:27b). Fol. 141v (*Mt.* 21:15): the initial "I" terminates on top with a hand in a blessing gesture, two fingers protruding upwards.

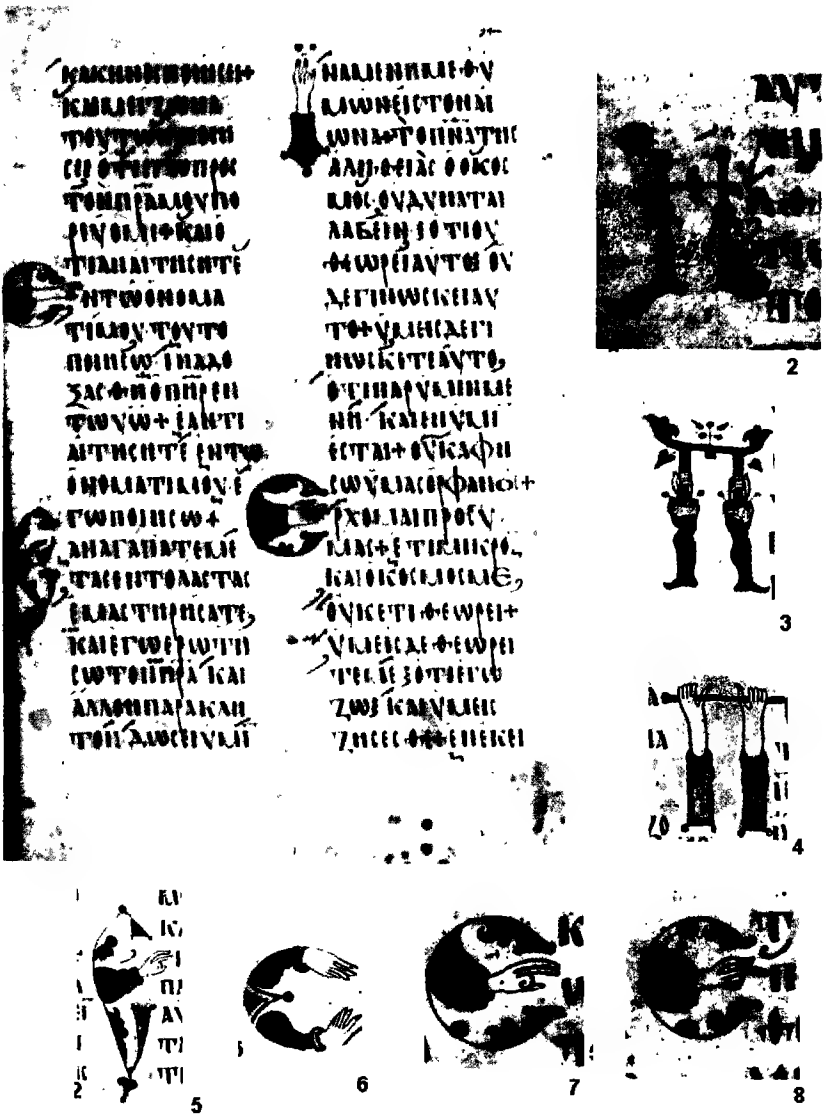

PLATE I. — 1 : Ms *Paris, BNF, gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 34 (photo : Bibliothèque Nationale de France) ; 2 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 54v (detail) (photo : Bibliothèque Nationale de France) ; 3 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 20v ; 4 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 9 (from GRABAR, *Les manuscrits grecs*) ; 5 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 25v (photo : Bibliothèque Nationale de France) ; 6 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 49 ; 7 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 54v (photo : Bibliothèque Nationale de France) ; 8 : Ms *Paris, BN., Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 54v (photo : Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

ornamental forms, Byzantine artists retained their human characteristics. They were actually used to substitute the whole figure.

An attempt to avoid the representation of the whole human body by substituting impersonal body parts attests to a conservative attitude to the insertion of the human body into initial letters, probably in response to the iconoclastic polemic.

Found in the 9th c. in the manuscripts of different contents, the use of disjointed human limbs is nevertheless especially connected to lectionaries, reflecting an interest in the problem of the representation of God Incarnate. The Paris and Patmos lectionaries show that different disjointed human body parts were used as visualizations of God and human actions. Many of these images have a direct connection with the text of the Gospels. Yet they may also have symbolic implications.

When brought into the church during the liturgical service, lectionaries symbolize Christ himself. Thus, avoidance of the whole human figure in the lectionaries can be explained by the sacred nature of the text, and use of the initials as visual memory signs. These signs have a dual role. They stress the liturgical significance of the verse, and also emphasize its meaning by the literal, very compressed, references to the actual text of the manuscript. This tradition of summarizing a narrative by means of a human limb is attested even in the much later lectionaries. For example, in the luxurious lectionary made after the mid-11th c. (*London, BL, Loan* 36/23, fol. 183v) ([59]), an initial "T" ends with a leg colored in red and placed inside a golden bowl filled with water. The initial opens a lection on the Washing of feet, thus directly relating to the text. A desire to protect such holy books from representation of the human figure is well attested even in the luxurious Oxford lectionary (*Bodl. lib., Canon., Gr.* 92). This practice continued in provincial and Constantinopolitan lectionaries, even when in the 11th c. another form of lectionary illumination, including scenes from the life of Jesus, became common.

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(59) HUTTER, *Le copiste du Métaphraste*, pp. 562-563, pl. 36,9.

# AN ULTIMATE WEALTH FOR INAUSPICIOUS TIMES : HOLY RELICS IN RESCUE OF MANUEL II PALAEOLOGUS' REIGN

At the close of the fourteenth century on Manuel II Palaeologus' accession to the throne, the Byzantine empire was not but a pale idol of its former self ; deep was not only the destitution of the Constantinopolitan population but also the want of the imperial palace. The decline of the Byzantine capital was apparent to Western travelers and the city's greatness was nothing but a memory. "Everywhere throughout the city", reminisces the Spanish nobleman and diplomat Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, "there are many great palaces, churches and monasteries, but most of them are now in ruin. It is however plain that in former times when Constantinople was in its pristine state it was one of the noblest capitals of the world" (1). Only thanks to its unique location, its thousand year-old glorious past and above all its unfading fame as a city of holy relics (2), the most precious commodity of Christendom, Constantinople retains still something from its old splendor and constitutes a pole of attraction for Russian and Western visitors alike. It is not an accident that in 1363 magister Petro de Pestagali, former physician of Pope Innocent VI (1352-1362) rushes to this "God-protected and God-glorifying Constantinople" with the single purpose of securing for himself holy relics and symbols

(1) Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, *Embajada a Tamorlan (1403-1406)*, English transl. by G. Le Strange, London 1928, p. 88. See also, J. P. A. van der Vin, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople*, I, Leiden 1980, pp. 99-100. D. Zakythinos, *Byzance : État-Société-Économie*, (*Variorum Reprints*) London 1973, ch. XI, pp. 36-37.

(2) In the14th c. the Italian traveler Nicolas de Martoni was convinced that the churches of the Byzantine capital were still full of the relics which Constantine the Great had brought to Constantinople. See Nicolas De Martoni, *Liber peregrinationis*, ed. L. Legrand, in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, 3 (1895), p. 643 ; A. Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte*, (*Archives de l'Orient Chrétien*, 7) Paris 1961, p. 90, n. 1.

of the Passion of Christ. The sale seems to have been enacted by the Patriarch. The authenticity of the said relics is testified to by nine priest-monks (3).

Up to the conquest of Constantinople by the knights of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and its systematic pillage that followed, the Christian world as a whole identified the city at Bosporus with the place that held the most significant collection of the relics of Christendom. This renowned Constantinopolitan collection consisted of holy relics of saints, of Old and New Testament personalities (4), of two most revered and well known relics of the Theotokos, her *Maphorion* and the Holy Girdle, *palladia* of the "God-guarded city" from the fifth century onwards (5), as well as relics related to Christ and symbols of his Passion. What made this collection unique and famous was these last relics of Christ's Passion which from the beginning, purposefully and systematically, had been housed in the royal chapel of the Theotokos of Faros and had been connected with the person of the Byzantine emperor and the ritual of the Byzantine court (6). This Constantinopolitan collection of relics, which had suffered significant loss during the Latin occupation (1204-1261), continued to exist (albeit reduced and altered) and to be an attraction for travellers, diplomats, and pilgrims even after the re-conquest of Constantinople in 1261 (7). We know of thirteen visitors to the Byzantine capital in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, twelve of whom have left memoirs with an explicit reference to this most famous collection, the Christ related relics. These vistiors were : *five Russians* (Stephen of

(3) *MM*, III, Vienna 1887, pp. 273-275.

(4) Liz JAMES, *Bearing Gifts from the East : Imperial Relic Hunters Abroad*, in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium. Papers from the Thirty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999*, ed. A. EASTMOND, UK, Variorum, 2001, p. 126.

(5) N. H. BAYNES, *The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople*, in *AB*, 67 (1949), pp. 174-175.

(6) P. MAGDALINO, *L'église du Phare et les reliques de la Passion à Constantinople (VII^e/VIII^e-XIII^e siècles)*, in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, ed. J. DURAND et B. FLUSIN, Paris, 2004, p. 15 ; C. MANGO, *Introduction*, in *Ibidem*, p. 11 ; Sophia MERGIALI-SAHAS, *Byzantine Emperors and Holy Relics. Use and Misuse, of Sanctity and Authority*, in *JÖB*, 51(2001), p. 53.

(7) J. EBERSOLT, *Constantinople. Recueil d'études d'archeologie et d'histoire*, Paris, 1951, p. 113 ; VAN DER VIN, *Travellers*, pp. 98-99 ; CLAVIJO, *Embajada*, pp. 62-63, 76, 80-83.

Novgorod, Ignatius of Smolensk, the "Anonymous" of the Description of Constantinople", Alexander the Clerk, Zosima the Deacon) (8) ; *two French* (Ghillebert de Lannoy, and Bertrandon de La Broquière) who have left descriptions of the city of the first half of the fifteenth century (9) ; *two Spanish* (Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, a nobleman and diplomat (10), and Pero Tafur (11) ; an *Armenian*, a late 14th-early 15th c. Anonymus pilgrim (12) ; a *Florentin* (Cristoforo Buondelmonti) (13) ; a *German* pilgrim (Guillaume von Boldensele) (14) and *an Englishman* (Sir John Mandeville) (15). All these men testify to the presence of Passion relics in the city. Noteworthy is the fact that out of six most famous Passion relics which were conserved in Constantinople prior to its sack in 1204, only three had survived after 1261. Furthermore the Palaeologan collection of Christ related relics consists of less important and not as well known relics ; and these not whole but in pieces (16).

(8) For them and their accounts see G. P. MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, 19), Washington, 1984, pp. 15-195.

(9) *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy, Voyageur, diplomate et* moraliste, ed. Ch. POTVIN, Louvain, 1878, pp. 11, 65-66 ; BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIÈRE, *Le voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière, premier écuyer trenchant et conseiller de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne*, ed. Ch. SCHEFER, Paris, 1892, pp. 154, 160-162.

(10) Clavijo visits Constantinople in 1403 and is afforded a privileged guided tour with a special display of the Passion relics one by one in the Petra monastery of St. John the Baptist ; cf. CLAVIJO, *Embajada*, 80-83 ; G. P. MAJESKA, *The Relics of Constantinople after 1204*, in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ*, ed. DURAND-FLUSIN, pp. 185-6 ; MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers*, p. 369, n. 44.

(11) Tafur visited Constantinople some time in 1437 and left a narrative of the relics which was shown to him at St. Sophia ; cf. PERO TAFUR, *Travels and Adventures 1435-1439*, translated and edited by M. LETTS, London, 1926, p. 140.

(12) See S. BROCK, *A Medieval Armenian Pilgrim's Description of Constantinople*, in *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, NS 4 (1967), p. 88.

(13) Buondelmonti visited Constantinople around 1420 ; see *Le vedute di Constantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, ed. G. GEROLA, in *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 3 (1931), p. 276.

(14) He visited Constantinople in 1332-1333 ; see FROLOW, *Vraie Croix*, p. 504.

(15) See EBERSOLT, *Constantinople*, p. 120, n. 6 ; *Mandeville's Travels : Texts and Translations*, ed. M. LETTS (*Hakluyt Society Publications*), London, 1953, I, pp. 6-10 ; II, pp. 233-236 and 421.

(16) MAJESKA, *The Relics of Constantinople after 1204*, p. 185, n. 15 and pp. 186-187, tab. 2.

Already from the middle of the 14th c. the holy relics are the only valuable objects which have remained in possession of the impoverished imperial family. The poverty of the imperial palace was such that at the coronation ceremony of John Kantakouzenos (21st May, 1347) in the place of golden and silver, cups made of pewter and clay were used, and the crown jewels were made of glass ([17]). The jewels of the crown, which had been given as pawn to Venice in 1343 by empress Anna of Savoy wife of Andronicus III in order to secure a loan of 30,000 *doukata*, had never been returned to Constantinople ([18]). In 1356/1357 empress Helen Kantakouzene, wife of John V Palaeologus and mother of Manuel II, for lack of any other revenue she resorts to the collection of relics of the palace in order to face pressing financial circumstances. She herself declares that it is with broken heart that resorts to this sale and affirms that the emperor does no longer possess any other object of value ([19]). The collection leaves the Byzantine palace in five priceless and most artistically crafted reliquaries. The broker of this significant transaction is a Florentine merchant who lived in the quarter of Pera. From this particular transaction the empress receives 100,000 *hyperpyra*, an exorbitant amount which she was under pressure to pay as ransom. The content of the five reliquaries which had set their price so high consisted of Drops of Christ's blood from the crucifixion and a piece of the Tunic of Christ, of his Purple Robe, of the Sponge, of the Swaddling clothes, of the Precious Wood, as well as a relic of St. John Chrysostome and, possibly, a piece of the Holy Girdle, or of the Veil of the Theotokos ([20]).

The holy relics will assume an even further significance and value for the destitute imperial family during the reign of emperor Manuel II Palaeologus and in the person of the emperor himself. His profound devo-

(17) Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia*, II (*CSHB*), Bonn, 1830, pp. 788-789. See also, D. M. Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor. A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, c.1295-1383*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 87-88.

(18) Dölger, *Regesten*, 5. Toil, n° 2891, 9-10 ; *MM*, III, pp. 124, 140 ; P. Hetherington, *Byzantine and Russian Enamels in the Treasury of Hagia Sophia in the late 14th Century*, in *BZ*, 93 (2000), p. 133, n. 3, and Id., *The Jewels from the Crown : Symbol and Substance in the Later Byzantine Imperial Regalia*, in *BZ*, 96 (2005), p. 157.

(19) P. Hetherington, *A Purchase of Byzantine Relics and Reliquaries in Fourteenth-Century Venice*, in *Arte Veneta*, 37 (1983), p. 18, n. 47 and 48.

(20) *Ibidem*, pp. 11-18 και 22, n. 65.

tion and attachment to holy relics is corroborated by the testimony of Clavijo and of the French diplomat Ghillebert de Lannoy according to whom the keys of the reliquaries were kept by the emperor himself (21). Clavijo even testifies that Manuel had cut off the small finger of St. Anna from her relic and kept it with his own personal belongings, an act which had resulted in a legal procedure against him (22). The leading role which the relics had assumed and the contribution they had made at crucial moments to the reign of Manuel II have no precedent. Depending on the needs and circumstances, the holy relics were used for a different purpose each time. On a first instance, in 1395, Manuel turns to the holy relics to finance military actions which the rescue of Constantinople required. More specifically, he offers to the Venetians the Tunic of Christ which had healed the woman with an issue of blood (*haemorrhoousa*) (23) and other relics as pawn for a loan (24). This petition not being fulfilled, the same request is submitted to the Venetian authorities one year later (25). Strangely enough, the Venetians, notorious collectors of relics of saints and of the Passion relics (26), reject Manuel's offer. Their lack of interest in the relic under consideration (27) had nothing to do with the fact that they possessed an impressive and significant collection from spoils after

(21) CLAVIJO, *Embajada*, p. 63 : "Very numerous are the relics preserved in this church (St. John in Petra), but the Emperor himself holds the keys of the chests where for the most part they are guarded". See also the testimony of another diplomat, Ghillebert de Lannoy, who visited Manuel II in 1422 : "Et me fist monstrer sollempnellement les dignes relicques dont plusieurs en y avoit en la cité et mesmes aucunes précieuses qu'il avoit en sa garde, sy comme le saint fer de la lance et autres très dignes ; *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, p. 65.

(22) CLAVIJO, *Embajada*, p. 92.

(23) Cf. Mark, 5 :25ff.

(24) F. THIRIET, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, I, Paris, 1958, n° 892, 4. G. DENNIS, *Two Unknown Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus*, in *TM*, 3 (1968), p. 398, n. 4 ; DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 3256.

(25) G. DENNIS, *Official Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus*, in *Byz.*, 41 (1971), pp. 46-47, n° 3.

(26) D. NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice. A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*, Cambridge, 1988, pp. 25, 184-185 and pp. 410-411 ; A. FROLOW, *Notes sur les reliques et les reliquaires byzantins de Saint-Marc de Venise*, Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής και Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας Αθηνών, 4, n° 4 (1964-1965), pp. 205-226.

(27) THIRIET, *Régestes*, n° 896, 8 ; DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 325.

the sacking of Constantinople in 1204. Behind their rejection one may sense Venetian pragmatism on the one hand and a first hand experience and sensibility on the other, an experience which they had acquired as the only Crusaders of 1204 able to read the Greek inscriptions on the reliquaries ([28]). It is known that imperial origin was sufficient qualification to remove any doubt as to the authenticity of holy relics and render them even more precious ([29]), although no such thing seems to have worked in the case of the Venetians ; yet these were not indifferent in securing any other Christ related relics as it is attested to by a later and strange event. After the fall of Constantinople one of the many Greeks who had fled to Venice is found negotiating with the Venetian Senate the sale of the Tunic of Christ for 10.000 *doukata* ([30]). The outcome of these negotiations was positive as the Venetians accepted the offer of a simple individual,[31] in difference to what they had done with the Byzantine emperor himself!

The catalogues of the Passion relics in Constantinople before 1204 and a little after ([32]), refer to *two* Tunics of Christ, the "Purple" and the "Seamless" one. These two tunics coincide fully with the ones mentioned in the Bible ([33]). The specific Tunic which Manuel connects with the woman with an issue of blood, which he even specifies as being blue in color (*ὥσπερ χρῶμα ἢ οὐράνεον*) ([34]), is not found in any catalogue of

(28) NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice*, p. 184.

(29) FROLOW, *Vraie Croix*, p. 40.

(30) NICOL, *Byzantiun and Venice*, p. 419, n. 4. N. JORGA, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades au xv^e siècle. IV. Documents politiques*, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 8 (1900-1901), p. 103, n. 1 : "... Le 15 février 1457, le sénat de Venise decide de négocier avec un "quidam Grecus" qui offrait pour 10.000 ducats le vêtement du Christ et d'autres reliques pour un prix qui n'est pas indiqué".

(31) F. DE MÉLY, *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, III, Paris, 1904, p. 408.

(32) FROLOW, *Vraie Croix*, n° 283, pp. 301-305.

(33) John, 19:2, 5, 23.

(34) S. C. ESTOPAÑAN, *La unìon, Manuel II Paleologos y sus recuerdos en Espana*, Barcelona 1952, p. 98, linea 20-21. DENNIS, *Two Unknown Documents*, p. 400 : ...μικρὰν μερίδα τοῦ ἁγίου ῥούχου τοῦ Λυτρωτοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ, ὥσπερ χρῶμα ἠεραναῖον ; For the meaning of the word ἠεραναῖον, see E. TRAPP, *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.-12. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, 1994 (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 4. Faszikel), Wien 2001, p. 652.

(35) ROBERT OF CLARI, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, tranl. By E. H. MCNEAL, Toronto, 1996, pp. 103-104.

the Passion relics before, or during, the sacking of 1204 ([35]), nor in any visitors' account of the 14th and 15th c. ([36]). If one may suppose that the said Tunic which Manuel offered as pawn is none other than the "Seamless Tunic of Christ", the question is raised, Why did he not use this well known designation ? Is it, perhaps, that this Tunic which Manuel was offering to the Venetians one of dubious authenticity which the emperor might have "invented" in order to meet his debts ?

The century-long existence of the Seamless Tunic of Christ in Constantinople is confirmed by pilgrims' accounts dating from the first half of the 14th c. ([37]), by Joseph Bryennios (*ca.* 1350-*ca.* 1430/1431) in the end of the 14th c., and by accounts of the 15th-c. Spanish travellers Clavijo and Pero Tafur ([38]). Joseph Bryennios specifically identifies this Tunic as the "one woven in heaven" (*ἄνωθεν ὑφαντὸν* ([39])). On this specific topic the testimony of Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo is a valuable one as he is the best witness to the exact contents of the Palaeologan collection. During the Palaeologan period the Passion relics, which were kept in a single chest, were displayed to visitors as a collection. However for Clavijo they were opened by the authorities and offered to view one by one ([40]). Clavijo makes the specific remark that among the Passion relics displayed to him was the Seamless Tunic of Christ for which the soldiers of Pilate cast lots ([41]). Furthermore he points that the Seamless Tunic was kept sealed in a silver coated box, complete, "folded up and sealed with seals", with a sleeve only afforded to viewing. This sleeve and anything else one could see of the Tunic was "of dark red hue or it might be verging

(36) MAJESKA, *The Relics of Constantinople after 1204*, pp. 186-187.

(37) The evidence is of Sir John Mandeville who, among the relics of the Passion in Constantinople in the first half of the fourteenth century which he enumerates, makes mention of the Seamless Tunic. See EBERSOLT, *Constantinople*, p. 120, n. 6 ; *Mandeville's Travels : Texts and Translations*, ed. M. LETTS (*Hakluyt Society Publications*), London, 1953, I, pp. 6-10 ; II, pp. 233-236 and p. 421). Identical is the list given by the German pilgrim Guillaume von Boldensele who visited Constantinople in 1332-1333. See FROLOW, *Vraie Croix*, p. 504.

(38) CLAVIJO, *Embajada*, pp. 82-83 ; TAFUR, *Travels*, p. 140.

(39) EBERSOLT, *Constantinople*, p. 118, n. 2.

(40) MAJESKA, *The Relics of Constantinople after 1204*, pp. 185-186 and ID., *Russian Travelers*, p. 369, n. 44.

(41) John, 19 :23-24 : *ἦν δὲ ὁ χιτὼν ἄραφος, ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑφαντὸς δι' ὅλου. εἶπαν οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, Μὴ σχίσωμεν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ λάχωμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ τίνος ἔσται.*

on rose colour". In so far as the color of the Seamless Tunic is concerned we cannot ignore Tafur's different testimony, according to which "the coat without a seam ... must at one time have been violet, but had now grown *grey* with age". Thus in the midst of contradicting evidence one may ponder whether the Tunic of Christ which Manuel offered to the Venetians and the Seamless one were not identical. Two reasons lead us to this hypothesis : first the difference in color presented by the evidence (the one blue and the other red/rose, or violet/grey) ; and second that the Seamless Tunic at the time of Clavijo's embassy (1403-1406) was found *whole*, kept almost untouched, with only a few small pieces missing stolen by pilgrims during the times when it was not kept sealed ([42]), while as we will see it had already been *cut into pieces* and offered by Manuel to Western rulers during the emperor's residence in Paris (1400-1402) ([43]).

The relics played a unique role during Manuel's personal diplomatic mission to the West (1399-1402) ([44]). The "blessed objects" (ἁγιάσματα), as the emperor himself calls the Passion relics, will become the exclusive and, for Manuel II, a kind of diplomatic gift *par excellence* to the courts of the West which he visited and in some instances the foundation for new diplomatic relations. More specifically, after he had cut "the clothing of the Savior" (the Tunic of Christ which the Venetians had condescendingly rejected) into small pieces he offered "a portion" of it to Pope Boniface IX, other portions to the Queen Margaret of Denmark ([45]), to the anti-Pope Benedict XIII ([46]), and to the King of England Henry IV ([47]). He also offered a piece of the same Tunic, along with a piece of the Holy Sponge, to Martin I King of Aragon ([48]). To Charles III, King of Navarra, and to

(42) CLAVIJO, *Embajada,* pp. 82-83.

(43) See DENNIS, *Two Unknown Documents*, pp. 397-404.

(44) DÖLGER, *Regesten*, n° 3281, 3282, 3285, 3290.

(45) DENNIS, *Official documents of Manuel II*, p. 49, n° 11 and 12 ; ID., *Two Unknown Documents*, pp. 399-403.

(46) FROLOW, *Vraie Croix*, p. 544.

(47) St. A. SUSSMAN, *Anglo-byzantine Relations during the Middle Ages*, University of Pennsylvania, Ph. D., 1966, University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan, p. 249, and n. 39 : «..Henry IV and the Emperor Manuel II went to spend the Christmas season at the palace of Eltham. While at Eltham, Manuel gave to Henry a tunic which was purported to have been woven by the Virgin Mary for Jesus».

(48) *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català (1301-1409)*, ed. A. RUBIÓ I LLUCH, Barcelona, 1947, n° DCLX, p. 686.

the duke of Berry he offered a piece from the Holy Cross (49), while during a sojourn in his court in 1400, he offered to the duke of Pavia, Jean Galeazzo Visconti, a thorn from the Crown of Thorns of Christ (50).

The reasons behind the use of relics by Manuel II as diplomatic gifts to Western rulers, exclusively and openhandedly, seem to have been the following : 1) the diplomatic etiquette which was leaving no room for omitting offering gifts during a diplomatic mission even for a Byzantine Emperor in poverty (51) ; 2) the powerful symbolism which relics, and especially relics of the Passion of Christ, carried as emblems of political authority (52) and as symbols of the very survival of Constantinople (53) and of the Byzantine empire (54), and 3) the inexplicable and invincible fascination which relics exercised upon Western society as a whole (55), something which rendered them immensely desirable as diplomatic gifts bestowing an equal dignity to the officials who were receiving them (56) and to the simple citizens as well (57).

(49) FROLOW, *Vraie Croix*, p. 92 and p. 543, n° 823 and p. 547, n° 830, 13.

(50) DE MÉLY, *Exuviae*, p. 268 and p. 342.

(51) See F. L. GANSHOF, *Le Moyen âge. Histoire des relations internationales*, I, Paris, 1953, p. 125 ; N. OIKONOMIDES, *Byzantine Diplomacy, A. D. 1204-1453 : Means and Ends*, in *Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, Cambridge, 1990, ed. J. SHEPARD and S. FRANKLIN, Brookfield, V, 1992, p. 85.

(52) See MERGIALI-SAHAS, *Holy relics*, p. 43, n. 8 and 9.

(53) From the time of the establishment of Constantinople holy relics had been connected with its fortune and its survival. During the last and crucial decades of the Byzantine capital, and with the initiative of Manuel II, holy relics became eloquent carriers, mediators and ambassadors, of the pressing message in favor of its survival. Cf. MERGIALI-SAHAS, *Holy relics*, pp. 41-42 and n. 3, and p. 58.

(54) Cf. Ioli KALAVREZOU, *Helping Hands fot the Empire : Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court*, in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. MAGUIRE, Washington, D. C. 1997, p. 53.

(55) MERGIALI-SAHAS, *Holy Relics*, pp. 58-59.

(56) A characteristic example of one such prominent recipient of relics from Manuel Palaeologus is that of Henry IV, king of England, who was given a piece from the tunic of Christ for which there was a tradition that it had been woven by Mary for Christ. Henry divided this relic into two pieces and placed the one piece in the Westminster Abbey and the other he gave to Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury (1396-1414). Arundel, in turn, cut his portion to three smaller pieces which he decorated with gold, precious stones and pearls and placed them under the three most precious relics of his Cathedral. (Cf. SUSSMAN,

Relics were also called to defend, in a unique way, the interests of the empire in the relations between Manuel II and Martin V (1395-1410), King of Aragon. The offering of relics of Christ which Martin V had received as a gift from Manuel II during the diplomatic mission of the latter to the West signals the beginning of diplomatic relations between the two ([58]). Known for his reverence for and attachment to relics, Martin was interested even more in securing relics of the Passion of Christ for the cathedral of the Holy Cross in Barcelona which was under construction ([59]). In 1397 he had already received as a gift from Benedict, antipope in Avignon, a piece of the Holy Cross and he had requested from Benedict's cardinals relics of Mary and of saints ([60]). Under these circumstances the gift from the Byzantine emperor acquired a greater significance since, beyond their uniqueness in comparison to other relics, the relics of Christ held a special meaning for a church devoted to the passion of Christ. For this reason the Spanish ruler accepted this gift with great enthusiasm and profound reverence ([61]), promising to help Constantinople with six armed galleys ([62]). It is worth noticing that in

*Anglo-byzantine Relations*, p. 249 and n. 39.) The interest of the Englishmen for relics in possession of the Byzantine emperors in Constantinople can be detected from two precious parchment manuscripts of 1150 found in the imperial chapel, which are mainly catalogues of relics (Krijnie N. CIGGAAR, *Western Travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium, 962-1204 : Cultural and Political Relations*, New York, 1996, p. 148). However, never England was particularly rich in relics of the Passion of Christ. In spite of their noted participation in the Crusades, the Englishmen are counted among those who profited the least from the pillaging of relics in 1204. (See H. M. GILLETT, *The Story of the Relics of the Passion*, Oxford, 1935, p. 102).

(57) Sophia MERGIALI-SAHAS, *Manuel Chrysoloras (ca. 1350-1415), an Ideal Model of a Scholar-Ambassador*, in *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines*, n. s., 3 (1998), p. 10.

(58) *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català*, n° DCLX, pp. 686-687.

(59) ESTOPAÑAN, *La Union*, p. 63 : "Don Martín llegó a poseer reliquias importantes, y favoreció en Barcelona la construcción de la iglesia de la Santa Cruz para los cistercienses con intención de depositar en elle su tesoro de reliquias".

(60) *Idem*, p. 63, n. 55 and n. 56.

(61) *Idem*, p. 63 : "Martin recibiera con entusiasmo y devoción las dos preciosas reliquias del Señor enviadas por el emperador".

(62) *Diplomatarii de l'Orient Català*, n° DCLXIV (Barcelona, 3 febrer 1401), p. 689.

1405 Martin continues to search for relics of saints, of Mary and, especially, relics of the Passion of Christ. To this purpose he sends a Catalan to Constantinople to make such a request to Manuel II. Manuel, in a letter to Martin written in Latin (63), responds that in the past other princes had also made similar requests to him as well as to his father John V and that some of them had even personally visited Constantinople in an effort to achieve their goal, but with no result ; in his case, however, things were different as the emperor had bonds of special friendship with him and, even more, Martin had expressed the desire to offer military assistance to Byzantium. After all Manuel knew that the Pope had offered indulgences to those who had shown eagerness to assist and in Martin's kingdom funds had already been collected for the deliverance of Constantinople. The Byzantine emperor admits that he could not but consent to Martin's request and sends him the following relics : a piece of the column on which Christ had been tied ; a piece of the stone on which Peter had wept when he denied Jesus three times ; part of the grill on which Saint Laurence had suffered martyrdom ; and a piece of the stone on which Jesus' body had been anointed after its descent from the cross (64). This last relic had been particularly cherished by the Byzantine emperors since the Comnenian times, and carried a special meaning : it connected Christ himself, whose dead body it had received, with Mary whose tears it had presumably accepted (65). The emperor sent these relics later (October 23, 1407) during a complex mission by Manuel Chrysoloras which included stops in Venice, Genova, Paris, and Aragon. On this occasion and in

(63) Edited by C. Marinesco, *Manuel II Paléologue et les rois d'Aragon,* in *Academie Roumaine. Bulletin de la section historique*, 11(1924), n° I, pp.198-200.

(64) *Idem*, p. 199 :"De columna in qua ligatus fuit Salvator Noster ; de lapide super quem Petrus incumbens, post ternam Christi negacionem, amarissime flevit ; de lapide in quo, post deposicionem a cruce ut ungerent, positus fuerat humani generis Liberator, ac eciam de craticula super quam Sanctus Laurencius fuit assatus" ; C. Marinesco, *Du nouveau sur les relations de Manuel II Paléologue (1391-1425) avec Espagne,* in *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*, 7 (1953), pp. 435-436.

(65) As the scene is not mentioned explicitly in any of the four gospels, the specific stone has been characterized by a contemporary researcher as an "apocryphal relic". Cf. Sadrine Lerou, *L'usage des reliques du Christ par les empereurs aux XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècles : le Saint Bois et les Saintes Pierres*, in *Byzance et les reliques du Christ,* p. 179.

return the emperor was asking the King with a letter to help his plenipotentiary to receive the funds which had been collected in his kingdom for the defense of Constantinople (66). Martin's death, which occurred only shortly before Chrysoloras' arrival to his court, changed completely the development of the events (67).

At the time when the reign of Manuel II was approaching its end the relics has still various roles to play at his service. One of them was as gifts to prominent ambassadors in Constantinople. A characteristic example is that of the diplomat Ghillebert de Lannoy, representative of the King of England and of the duke of Burgundy, who visited Constantinople in 1422 as head of an impressive large delegation (68). The gift which Ghillebert brought to Manuel from the King of England were jewels (*joyaux du roi de Angleterre*). The gift with which Manuel II sent off his distinguished guest was a quantity of white velvet ("*trente deux aunes de velours blancq*") and, of course, a cruciform reliquary made of gold and decorated with a sizeable pearl, divided into five compartments where he had inserted a piece of the Tunic of Christ (*robe Nostre Seigneur*), a piece of the Holy Shroud of Christ (*Saint Suaire*), a piece of Virgin's *maphorium* (*de la chemise Nostre Dame*) and relics of Saints Stephen and Theodore (69).

The admirable aid which holy relics afforded to the Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaeologus is a unique and equally complex phenomenon which we have attempted simply to unfold in this brief study. As means of securing financial revenues, as the single and the only diplomatic gifts, as basis for launching new diplomatic relations, as means of securing military and financial aid, as formidable imperial emblems in support of an abated emperor, as poles of attraction to the Byzantine capital in decline, and as carriers and ambassadors of the plea for its deliverance, the relics of Christ – the only remnant that had survived from the glory and the mystique of the Byzantine past – served above all as a powerful alibi which disguised a humiliating reality.

*Athens, Greece.* Sophia MERGIALI-SAHAS.

(66) MARINESCO, *Manuel II Paléologue et les rois d'Aragon*, pp. 198-199.
(67) MERGIALI-SAHAS, *Chrysoloras*, p. 9.
(68) *Œuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, p. XVIII.
(69) *Idem*, pp. 65-66.

# LA *VISION (ΘΕΩΡΙΑ) SYMBOLIQUE.* À PROPOS DE LA THÉORIE DE LA CONNAISSANCE APPLIQUÉE PAR MAXIME LE CONFESSEUR DANS LA MYSTAGOGIE (1).

Le lecteur non averti de la *Mystagogie* (2) de Maxime le Confesseur est parfois gêné par l'inconfort provoqué par la richesse de ce texte du VII^ème^ s. byzantin qui est et reste difficile d'abord. Il y remarque toutefois très vite un accent délibérément placé sur un édifice cultuel (l'église) et sur la portée métaphysique de son organisation interne. Il peut également y découvrir la description d'actions rituelles comme des entrées, des sorties, des montées, des descentes, des proclamations en commun ou non. De plus, tant l'édifice que l'action liturgique qui s'y déroule font l'objet d'une interprétation symbolique complexe pour qui n'est pas familiarisé avec les préoccupations de ce que nous pourrions appeler par convention la première scolastique byzantine.

Un des principaux obstacles qu'il faut surmonter consiste à se demander comment pénétrer dans le sens des propositions maximiennes. On doit consentir à faire un choix. Il est incontestable qu'en fonction du métier du lecteur de Maxime le Confesseur, les critères d'analyse et les sélections liées à ses intérêts particuliers vont considérablement différer. On peut par exemple noter que si la *Mystagogie* a éveillé la curiosité d'éminents liturgistes tels R. Bornert (3), R. Taft (4) ou encore H.-I.

(1) Cet article a initialement fait l'objet d'un exposé oral présenté en mars 2004 à la *Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme* (MMSH) de l'Université d'Aix-Marseille. Son contenu doit beaucoup aux précieuses remarques faites par l'équipe de chercheurs qui entouraient Monsieur Gilles Dorival.

(2) *PG* 91, 657c-718d.

(3) Cf. R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VII^e^ au XV^e^* s., Paris, 1966 (§2 : La *Mystagogie* de saint Maxime le Confesseur).

(4) Cf. R. Taft, *Le rite byzantin. Bref historique*, Paris, 1996.

Dalmais (5) pour ne citer qu'eux, elle est restée un monument littéraire peu connu des autres corps de métiers tels les philologues et les philosophes.

Jusqu'à la thèse de Ch. Boudignon (6), aucun travail d'envergure n'a, à notre connaissance, pris la mesure du caractère philosophique de ce document byzantin. Ce dernier a eu l'initiative et l'audace de proposer une hypothèse de lecture résolument novatrice de la *Mystagogie* (7). Les notes qui sont présentées ci-après et qui portent sur un aspect central de la théorie de la connaissance mise en oeuvre par Maxime le Confesseur dans la *Mystagogie* s'inscrivent délibérément dans la ligne qu'il a ouverte.

Dans la seconde *approche théorique* de la *Mystagogie* (8), Maxime le Confesseur propose de considérer l'*église* comme le type et l'image du monde tout entier en tant qu'elle a même union et même division que lui. Un bref coup d'œil sur ce texte rend manifeste que le moine byzantin part d'un objet de perception sensible : un édifice cultuel et sa configuration

(5) Cf. H.-I. DALMAIS, *'Place de la Mystagogie' de saint Maxime le Confesseur dans la théologie liturgique byzantine, Studia Patristica,* 5 (1962), pp. 277-283 ; IDEM, *Mystère liturgique et divinisation dans la 'Mystagogie' de saint Maxime le Confesseur,* dans *Epektasis. Mélanges patristiques offerts au cardinal Daniélou,* Paris, 1972, pp. 55-62; IDEM, *Théologie de l'Église et mystère liturgique dans la 'Mystagogie' de saint Maxime le Confesseur* dans *Studia Patristica* 13 (1975), pp. 145-153 ; IDEM, *L'Église, icône du Mystère : la 'Mystagogie' de saint Maxime le Confesseur, une ecclésiologie liturgique,* dans *L'Église dans la liturgie, Conférence Saint Serge, XXVI[ème] semaine d'études liturgiques (26-29 juin 1979),* Rome, 1980, pp. 107-117.

(6) *La «Mystagogie» ou traité sur les symboles de la liturgie de Maxime le Confesseur (580-662),* éd. Ch. BOUDIGNON, Université de Provence (Aix-Marseille I), U.F.R. Civilisations & Humanités, Janvier, 2000 (ce texte doit faire l'objet d'une prochaine parution dans le *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca*).

(7) Mentionnons toutefois l'intéressant essai de Marie-Lucie Charpin-Ploix qui a proposé, dans le cadre d'une thèse défendue en 2000 en Sorbonne, d'axer sa lecture de la *Mystagogie* sur la réception de la formule christologique de Chalcédoine (451). Les traits les plus saillants de sa thèse ainsi qu'une nouvelle traduction de la *Mystagogie* viennent de paraître. Voir : MAXIME LE CONFESSEUR, *La Mystagogie,* Paris (*Les pères dans la foi,* 92), 2005.

(8) *κατὰ δευτέραν δὲ θεωρίας ἐπιβολήν* (*PG* 91, 668c-669d). Le terme *θεωρία* – fréquent dans la *Mystagogie* – recouvre plusieurs variantes de sens possibles. De façon générale, il se rapporte à l'action de voir, d'observer, d'examiner mais également, par extension, à la contemplation de l'esprit, à l'étude et à la spéculation. Sur le sujet, on peut consulter A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Contemplation et vie contemplative selon Platon, Paris,* 1950[2].

architecturale. Savoir si le bâtiment auquel se réfèrent les propos du moine byzantin est de forme basilicale ou de plan centré comme la récente Sainte Sophie de Constantinople bâtie par Justinien au cours du VI^ème^ s. a relativement peu d'importance car il s'agit moins de tel ou tel plan que la structure binaire inhérente à l'architecture de l'église chrétienne quel que soit l'environnement culturel dans lequel nous nous trouvons.

*Du contexte général à la question particulière*

Pour non seulement fonder notre proposition de lecture mais également pour en faciliter l'accès, il nous est apparu important de reprendre – malgré sa difficulté – l'intégralité de la seconde approche théorique sur l'*église* (9). Cette démarche nous permettra en outre de mieux préciser le contexte de notre argument.

> Selon une seconde approche théorique, il disait que la sainte église de Dieu est type et image du monde tout entier composé d'essences visibles et invisibles, en tant qu'elle présente la même union et division que lui.
>
> A/ Car de même qu'elle est une seule maison par la construction, elle admet la différenciation par une certaine propriété qui dépend de la position de sa configuration. Elle se divise en un lieu réservé aux seuls prêtres et aux célébrants que nous appelons 'sanctuaire' et en un autre ouvert à l'accès de tout le peuple croyant que nous appelons 'temple'.
>
> B/ À nouveau, elle est substantiellement une n'étant pas divisée par ses parties à cause de leur différence réciproque, mais encore elle délie ces mêmes parties de la différence qui se trouve dans leur dénomination en les référant à son propre 'un',
>
> C/ montrant que toutes deux sont la même chose l'une pour l'autre, faisant apparaître que l'une est pour l'autre par cohésion ce que chacune est par constitution pour elle-même. Le temple est sanctuaire en puissance, étant consacré par le rapport de la 'mystagogie' avec le terme, inversement, le sanctuaire est temple en acte en possédant le principe de la propre 'mystagogie'.
>
> D/ EN TOUS DEUX, ELLE EST EN PERMANENCE UNE ET LA MÊME.
>
> A'/ Ainsi, le monde tout entier des êtres issus de Dieu par génération se divise en un monde intelligible rempli d'essences intellectuelles et incorporelles,

(9) Nous avons proposé une exégèse de cette *theoria* dans notre ouvrage : P. MUELLER-JOURDAN, *Typologie spatio-temporelle de l'ecclesia byzantine. La Mystagogie de Maxime le Confesseur dans la culture philosophique de l'Antiquité tardive (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae,* 74), Leiden, 2005, p. 127ss.

et en ce monde sensible et corporel noblement tissé de nombreuses formes et natures.

[incise] *C'est une sorte d'autre église non faite de mains d'hommes qui point avec sagesse par celle qui est faite de mains d'hommes. Elle a pour sanctuaire le monde d'en-haut assigné aux puissances d'en-haut et pour temple le monde d'en-bas adjoint à ceux qui ont pour part de vivre dans la perception (i.e. par l'intermédiaire des sens).*

B'/ À nouveau, il y a un seul monde non divisé par ses propres parties, au contraire, de ces mêmes parties il circonscrit la différenciation qui provient de leur propriété naturelle en les référant à son propre et indivisible 'un'.

C'/ Il montre qu'elles sont tour à tour la même chose pour soi et l'une pour l'autre sans confusion, qu'elles sont engagées l'une dans l'autre, l'une toute entière dans l'autre toute entière,

D'/ QUE TOUTES DEUX COMME PARTIES CONSTITUENT LE MÊME TOUT 'UN', ET PAR LUI LES PARTIES SONT UNIFORMEÉMENT ET TOTALEMENT CONSTITUÉES COMME TOUT.

Car le monde intelligible tout entier apparaît mystérieusement imprimé dans le monde sensible tout entier en des formes symboliques pour ceux qui ont la capacité de voir. Le sensible tout entier est dans l'intelligible tout entier, simplifié en *logoi* par voie de connaissance intellective. Celui-ci est en celui-là par les *logoi*, celui-là en celui-ci par les types. Et leur action était comme le serait une roue dans une roue dit l'étonnant visionnaire des grandes choses Ezéchiel en parlant, me semble-t-il, des deux mondes.

À nouveau encore : depuis la création du monde, ses réalités invisibles sont observées dans les créatures par le moyen de l'intelligence. Si donc, par les choses apparentes sont observées les choses non apparentes, comme il est écrit, combien plus par les choses non apparentes, pour ceux qui s'attachent à la contemplation spirituelle, les choses apparentes seront-elles saisies par l'intelligence. La theoria symbolique des intelligibles par l'intermédiaire des choses visibles est science spirituelle et intelligence des visibles par l'intermédiaire des invisibles. Il faut en effet que les êtres qui sont en tout révélateurs les uns des autres aient des reflets vrais et évidents les uns des autres et une relation indéfectible qui soit fondée en eux.

Nous devons dans l'immédiat focaliser plus particulièrement notre attention sur le dernier paragraphe : *À nouveau encore, depuis la création du monde ...*

À l'instar du texte intégral, ce paragraphe est bien structuré comme le grec ci-après le montre clairement : *καὶ πάλιν, τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου, τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, φησὶν ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος.*

***Καὶ εἰ***
***Καθορᾶται***
*διὰ τῶν φαινομένων*
*τὰ μὴ φαινόμενα, καθὼς γέγραπται,*
***πολλῷ δὴ που καὶ***
*διὰ τῶν μὴ φαινομένων τοῖς θεωρίᾳ πνευματικῇ προσανέχουσι*
τὰ φαινόμενα
***νοηθήσεται***

Les idées de cette brève section sont organisées sur la base d'une délicate articulation entre *ce qui apparaît* (*τὰ φαινόμενα*) et ce qui n'apparaît pas (*τὰ μὴ φαινόμενα*) que nous pouvons résumer par deux rapports, (1) par les visibles les invisibles, (2) par les invisibles les visibles.

Il est certainement utile de se demander à quoi se réfèrent pour Maxime les φαινόμενα par définition visibles. Il est vraisemblable que sa thèse qui a tout lieu d'être considérée comme une exégèse de l'épître aux Romains (Rm 1.20) commette une petite infraction sur la littéralité du courrier de l'apôtre Paul dans la mesure où Maxime, à l'inverse de l'Apôtre, ne prend pas pour base les créatures (*ποιήματα*) mais une construction faite de main d'homme relevant d'un art particulier (*τέχνη*), ici l'art de bâtir. Il est peu probable que Paul y fasse allusion quand bien même pareille approche pouvait n'être pas étrangère à la tradition juive ([10]).

Peut-on dès lors s'autoriser à comprendre *ce qui apparaît*, non pas comme un objet de nature, 'sensible' et donc visible, renvoyant à une forme invisible, mais comme une certaine structure visible dans la disposition d'un édifice de pierre qui exprimerait une structure invisible que nous pourrions par exemple considérer comme le dessein providentiel du

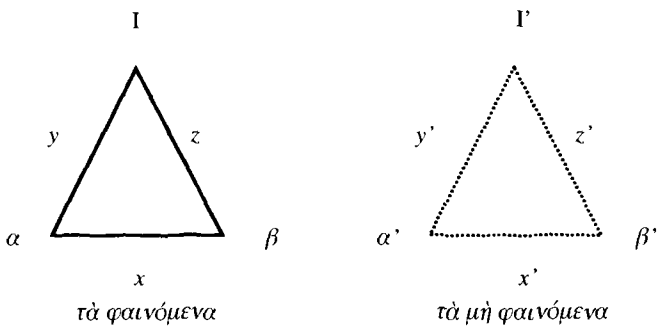
(10) À titre d'exemple bien que le sujet mérite une enquête plus approfondie: FLAVIUS JOSÈPHE, *Les Antiquités juives*, éd. E. NODET, Paris, 1992² III.6.3 (123) affirme : «... cette *division de la Tente imitait la disposition de la nature universelle (μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως)*». Voir également PHILON D'ALEXANDRIE, *De vita Mosis* [II.74-76], éd. R. ARNALDEZ et al., Paris, 1967 ; *Quaestiones in Exodum* II.52,58, éd. A. TERIAN, Paris, 1992 ; R. GOULET, *La Philosophie de Moïse. Essai de reconstruction d'un commentaire philosophique préphilonien du Pentateuque*, Paris, 1987, notamment le sixième chapitre : le culte et le sanctuaire, p. 394ss.

Créateur portant sur la totalité de ce qui est ([11]) ? On pourrait ainsi faire l'hypothèse qu'il y a pour Maxime une correspondance étroite entre une structure formelle *a priori* ou *prérequise* par définition invisible et son exécution concrète, ici dans un édifice religieux, là dans le monde tout entier sensible et intelligible, là encore dans le composé âme-corps de l'être humain. C'est bien entendu ce qu'il faut, dans l'état actuel de nos recherches, démontrer.

Le dernier paragraphe de la deuxième *approche théorique* (voir ci-dessus) donne à penser qu'il faudrait par préférence classer sous la catégorie *visible* le monde sensible et sous la catégorie *invisible* le monde intelligible. Sans totalement écarter cette possibilité de lecture, il semble plus pertinent – si l'on veut tenir compte du contexte global de comparaison de cette *approche théorique* – de comprendre *ce qui apparaît* comme la visibilité de certains rapports fondés dans la perception du lien qui unit sanctuaire et temple. En partant de la structure du texte de la seconde *approche théorique* rapportée ci-dessus, nous pourrions dire que le premier volet A/B/C/D basé sur des rapports visibles – des rapports de proportion – correspond 'terme à terme' au second volet A'/B'/C'/D' lui-même fondé sur des rapports non-visibles. Qu'il suffise pour confirmer cet état de fait de rappeler la dialectique traditionnelle entre l'église faite-de-mains-d'homme (*χειροποίητος*) et l'église non-faite-de-mains-d'homme (*ἀχειροποίητος*) ([12]) que Maxime s'approprie assez naturellement dans ce contexte. Nous obtenons ainsi un rapport analogique fondamental qui traverse tout le champ de ce qui n'est pas à proprement parlé divin pour Maxime, le créé. Ce rapport de base a la forme suivante : $\alpha$-$\beta$ = $\alpha$'-$\beta$'. Il peut être développé et présenté graphiquement comme suit :

(11) Il faut mentionner ici le très bel essai de D. J. O'MEARA, *Geometry an the Divine in Proclus,* dans *Mathematics and the Divine*, éd. T. KOETSIER et L. BERGMANS, Amsterdam, 2005, pp. 133-145 (voir en particulier : 4. *The metaphysics of geometry*, pp. 139-141).

(12) GRÉGOIRE DE NYSSE, *La vie de Moïse* [2.174.9-11], éd. J. DANIELOU, Paris, SC 1[ter], 1968[3], distingue le Tabernacle incréé dans sa préexistence du Tabernacle créé lorsqu'il reçoit une existence matérielle. Sur la tente non-faite-de-mains-d'hommes, *Ibidem*, 2.167.1ss ; 2.169.8 ; 2.170.1. La notion est bien attestée chez un auteur alexandrin de l'époque de Maxime, entre autres occurrences, COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTÈS, *Topographie chrétienne,* t. 1, II.3.9ss, éd. W. WOLSKA-CONUS, Paris, *SC* 141, 1968.




Si $\alpha$ et $\beta$ – correspondant respectivement au temple et au sanctuaire – référés à l'unité substantielle de l'*église* ne sont qu'une seule et même chose, $\alpha$' et $\beta$' – désignant le monde sensible et le monde intelligible – ne sont qu'*un-tout* dès lors qu'ils sont référés au monde tout entier.

D'un point de vue rhétorique, on constate que Maxime construit son discours sur une alternance **un** et **deux** : **un** (une seule maison), **deux** (se divise en...), **un** (substantiellement une), **non-deux** (pas divisée), **un** (référés à l'un), **deux** (toutes deux), **un** (même chose), **deux** (en tous deux), **un** (une et la même).

Résumons le chemin déjà parcouru et notons de l'église objet de perception sensible :

1. elle a un 'un' propre (*τὸ ἓν ἑαυτῆς*)
2. elle a des 'parties' propres (*τοῖς ἑαυτῆς μέρεσι*)
3. elle possède de l'union par la construction (*κατὰ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν*)
4. elle admet la distinction selon une certaine configuration (*κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ σχήματος*)
5. elle est le type (i.e. empreinte, moule, matrice) de quelque chose d'autre
6. elle exprime un rapport de proportion stable et déterminé des parties d'un certain composé

*Les étapes d'un certain processus de connaissance*

Affinons notre analyse et demandons-nous par quels 'intermédiaires' Maxime nous fait passer du visible à l'invisible, c'est-à-dire de la perception sensorielle à l'intellection. En admettant que le point central de la présente proposition de lecture repose sur la notion de *schéma* et qui plus est de *schéma* visible que nous traduisons à la suite de Boudignon par

configuration, on peut raisonnablement soutenir que ce *schéma* ne présente pas de différences 'structurelles' lorsqu'il est conçu par l'intelligence.

Maxime le Confesseur apporte peut-être une piste qui accrédite la présente démarche en affirmant notamment : «*le* monde intelligible *tout entier apparaît mystérieusement imprimé dans le* monde sensible *tout entier en des formes symboliques pour ceux qui ont la capacité de voir. Le* sensible *tout entier est dans l'*intelligible *tout entier, simplifié en logoi par voie de connaissance intellective* ([13]). *Celui-ci est en celui-là par les* logoi ([14]), *celui-là en celui-ci par les types*».

Peut-on tirer parti des informations fournies par Maxime ? Nous pouvons par exemple tenter une réécriture de cette proposition en remplaçant monde sensible par visible et monde intelligible par non-visible. La possibilité de ce rapprochement a déjà été signalée. Reformulons donc les choses ainsi : le *non-visible* tout entier apparaît mystérieusement imprimé dans le *visible* tout entier en des formes symboliques pour ceux qui ont la capacité de voir. Le *visible* tout entier est dans le *non-visible* tout entier, simplifié en logoi par voie de connaissance intellective. Celui-ci est en celui-là par les *logoi*, celui-là en celui-ci par les *types*.

Nous aurions ainsi du visible qui manifeste en types du non-visible et du non-visible qui 'assume' du visible simplifié en *logoi*. En poursuivant cette démonstration, nous pouvons affirmer que le support – objet de perception visuelle – sur lequel prend appui Maxime le Confesseur, à savoir la construction ecclésiale et sa configuration (*schéma*) interne, représente en *types* la même configuration (*schéma*) simplifiée en *logoi* lorsqu'elle est conçue par voie de connaissance intellective. Ici visible, là invisible. Ici objet de perception, là objet d'intellection.

Le *schéma* est dans l'objet de perception.

Le même *schéma* est dans les types comme constantes et juste rapport de proportion.

(13) Le topique est néoplatonicien. Cf. PROCLUS, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, éd. E. DIEHL, 3 vol., Leipzig, 1903-1906, I.13.1ss : «*les Sensibles sont dans les Intelligibles à titre exemplaire, et les Intelligibles dans les Sensibles par mode de copies* (*τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἐν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἐστι παραδειγματικῶς καὶ τὰ νοητὰ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς εἰκονικῶς*)».

(14) Nous avons – après bien des hésitations – préféré ne pas traduire 'logos' ou même 'logoi'. Nous sommes conscients que c'est l'inverse d'un choix.

Le même *schéma* est dans les *logoi* comme une certaine structure a priori que nous définissions plus haut comme une certaine pré-disposition de la Providence divine portant sur la totalité de ce qui est ([15]).

On peut enfin légitimement admettre que les *logoi* sont réduits à l'unité d'un *logos* unique de création. Si la *Mystagogie* ne paraît rien en dire ([16]), l'*Ambiguum* 7 ([17]) et la *Question à Thalassios* 48 ([18]) permettent de raisonnablement fonder cette ultime étape.

Nous pouvons sur cette base établir le graphique suivant :

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Schéma (σχῆμα) | (σχῆμα) | (σχῆμα) | (σχῆμα) |
| L'objet de perception 1 ‡ | | | |
| *Configuration d'un édifice sacré* | les types ‡ | | |
| | | les *logoi* ‡ | |
| | | | le logos-un |
| | | | fl le logos-un |
| | | fl les *logoi* | |
| | fl les types | | |
| l'objet de perception 2 | | | |
| *Monde sensible ou univers physique [Cf. Mystagogie §3]* | | | |

Ce tableau permet de beaucoup mieux saisir les bases mêmes de la théorie de la connaissance proposée par Maxime le Confesseur dans la *Mystagogie* notamment lorsqu'il affirme : «*La theoria symbolique des intelligibles par l'intermédiaire des choses visibles* est *science spirituelle et intelligence des visibles par l'intermédiaire des invisibles*».

Pour point de départ, dans la construction ecclésiale, nous percevons un certain espace pourvu d'une limite et de formes géométriques identifiables, nous retenons de cette activité de perception certaines constantes visibles, les *types*, sorte de figures géométriques inscrites dans la pierre.

(15) La thèse d'un *schéma* transversal peut s'autoriser d'une idée, semble-t-il, bien admise dans le néoplatonisme. Voir par exemple PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis elementorum librum commentarii*, éd. G. FRIEDLEIN, Leipzig, 1873, 136.18ss ; PROCLUS, *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, éd. E DIEHL, 3 vol., Leipzig, 1903-1906, II.74.23-27.

(16) À noter toutefois la référence insistante de Maxime tant à l'unité substantielle de l'*église* qu'à l'unité foncière du monde tout entier.

(17) Cf. *Ambiguum* 7, *PG* 91, 1081c : *Πολλοὶ λόγοι ὁ εἷς λόγος ἐστί, καὶ εἷς οἱ πολλοί.*

(18) Cf. *Ad Thalassium* 48.74-76, éd. C. LAGA et C. STEEL, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*, 7, Leuven-Turnhout, 1980.

De ces figures visibles, on parvient par un effort d'abstraction au postulat de formes invisibles régies par des rapports de proportion universels que nous pouvons nommer à la suite de Maxime : *logoi*.

Le système de Maxime – en cela profondément marqué par le néoplatonisme – nous permet de postuler ultimement l'*existence* d'un *logos* 'un' et premier, contenant en lui tout le déploiement ultérieur de l'univers créé.

La seconde étape de la *theoria* symbolique consiste en partant du *logos* 'un' à passer par les *logoi* qui disent à la fois la détermination de l'essence, le nom, le concept et également un certain rapport de proportion mathématique, puis à migrer jusqu'aux *types* qui expriment dans la permanence de certaines formes visibles les constantes qui traversent le monde visible qui peut enfin – dans cet environnement culturel profondément marqué par le problème de la corruption qui paraît régir le monde sensible – être restitué à la faculté humaine de perception ([19]).

La *theoria* symbolique proposée par Maxime le Confesseur dans un cours paragraphe du second chapitre de la *Mystagogie* devait ainsi fournir un des éclairages les plus précis qui soient pour comprendre un aspect central de la théorie de la connaissance qui traverse l'œuvre du moine byzantin.

Il est à noter au terme de cette brève proposition de lecture que la démarche de Maxime est moins scientifiquement exacte que pédagogiquement pertinente dans la mesure où elle attire et oriente la pensée humaine vers ce qui demeure ('constantes' ou *logoi*) dans le mouvement perpétuel des êtres et des choses. Elle s'inscrit parfaitement dans la préoccupation du néoplatonisme qui voulait voir dans les sciences mathématiques – ici la géométrie – une propédeutique à l'apprentissage du vrai et une certaine cause explicative de l'ordre de l'Univers.

*Université de Fribourg.* Pascal MUELLER-JOURDAN.

(19) Nous nous sommes assez longuement attardé sur la dialectique 'corruption/proportion' qui témoigne d'un important point de contact entre la pensée maximienne et le néoplatonisme, dans P. MUELLER-Jourdan, *Typologie spatio-temporelle de l'ecclesia byzantine. La Mystagogie de Maxime le Confesseur dans la culture philosophique de l'Antiquité tardive* (*Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae*, 74), Leiden, 2005. Voir en particulier les pages 132-137.

## Appendice Texte grec du chapitre 2 de la Mystagogie

*Nous croyons utile de rapporter en appendice le texte grec sur lequel se fonde notre étude. Nous sommes conscients que la PG ne saurait satisfaire aux exigences de la philologie. Nous pouvons cependant annoncer la parution prochaine de la Mystagogie de Maxime le Confesseur dans le Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca (Leuven-Turnhout). Monsieur Christian Boudignon, qui a bien voulu nous faire part de ses résultats quasi définitifs pour la portion de texte étudié y travaille depuis de nombreuses années. Notre traduction a largement tenu compte de ses remarques et des 'corrections' que l'édition scientifique de ce texte comportera.*

*PG 91 / Chap. II, Col. 668 C*

*Περὶ τοῦ πῶς, καὶ τίνα τρόπον εἰκών ἐστι τοῦ ἐξ ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων οὐσιῶν ὑφεστῶτος κόσμου ἡ ἁγία τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησία.*

*Κατὰ δευτέραν δὲ θεωρίας ἐπιβολήν, τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου τοῦ ἐξ ὁρατῶν καὶ ἀοράτων οὐσιῶν ὑφεστῶτος, εἶναι τύπον καὶ εἰκόνα, τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίαν, ἔφασκεν· ὡς τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ καὶ ἕνωσιν, καὶ διάκρισιν ἐπιδεχομένην. Ὥσπερ γὰρ [δ'] αὕτη κατὰ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν εἷς οἶκος ὑπάρχουσα, τὴν κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ σχήματος ποιᾷ ἰδιότητι, δέξεται διαφοράν, διαιρουμένη εἵς τε τὸν μόνοις ἱερεῦσί τε καὶ λειτουργοῖς ἀπόκληρον τόπον, ὃν καλοῦμεν ἱερατεῖον· καὶ τὸν πᾶσι τοῖς πιστοῖς λαοῖς πρὸς ἐπίβασιν ἄνετον, ὃν καλοῦμεν ναόν. Πάλιν μία ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν, οὐ συνδιαιρουμένη τοῖς ἑαυτῆς μέρεσι, διὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν μερῶν διαφοράν· ἀλλα καὶ αὐτὰ τῇ πρὸς τὸ ἓν ἑαυτῆς ἀναφορᾷ τὰ μέρη, τῆς ἐν τῇ κλήσει διαφορᾶς ἀπολύουσα, καὶ* |669A| *ταὐτὸν ἀλλήλοις ἄμφω δεικνύουσα· καὶ θάτερον θατέρῳ κατ' ἐπαλλαγὴν ὑπάρχον, ὅπερ ἑκάτερον ἑαυτῷ καθέστηκεν ὃν ἀποφαίνουσα· ἱερατεῖον μὲν τὸν ναὸν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν, τῇ πρὸς τὸ πέρας ἀναφορᾷ τῆς μυσταγωγίας ἱερουργούμενον· καὶ ἔμπαλιν ναὸν τὸ ἱερατεῖον, κατὰ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς ἰδίας αὐτὸν ἔχον μυσταγωγίας ἀρχήν, μία δι' ἀμφοῖν καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ διαμένει. Οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἐκ Θεοῦ κατὰ γένεσιν παρηγμένος σύμπας τῶν ὄντων κόσμος, διαιρούμενος εἵς τε τὸν νοητὸν κόσμον, τὸν ἐκ νοερῶν καὶ ἀσωμάτων οὐσιῶν συμπληρούμενον· καὶ τὸν αἰσθητὸν τοῦτον καὶ σωματικὸν, καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μεγαλοφυῶς συνυφασμένον εἰδῶν τε καὶ φύσεων· ἄλλη πως ὑπάρχην ἀχειροποίητος Ἐκκλησία, διὰ ταύτης τῆς χειροποιήτου σοφῶς ὑποφαίνεται· καὶ* |B| *ἱερατεῖον μὲν ὥσπερ ἔχων τὸν ἄνω κόσμον, καὶ ταῖς ἄνω προσνενεμημένον δυνάμεσι· ναὸν δὲ, τὸν κάτω, καὶ τοῖς δι' αἰσθήσεως ζῆν λαχοῦσι προσκεχωρημένον.*

*Πάλιν εἷς ἐστι κόσμος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μὴ συν διαιρούμενος μέρεσι· τοὐναντίον δὲ, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν μερῶν τὴν ἐξ ἰδιότητος φυσικῆς διαφοράν. τῇ πρὸς τὸ ἓν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀδιαίρετον ἀναφορᾷ περιγράφων· καὶ ταὐτὸν*

*ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀσυγχύτως ἐναλλὰξ ὄντας· καὶ θατέρῳ θάτερον ὅλον ὅλῳ δεικνὺς ἐμβεβηκότα· καὶ ἄμφω ὅλον αὐτὸν ὡς μέρη ἕνα συμπληροῦντας, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ὡς ὅλον μέρη ἑνοειδῶς τε καὶ ὁλικῶς συμπληρουμένους. Ὅλος γὰρ ὁ νοητὸς* |C| *κόσμος ὅλῳ τῷ αἰσθητῷ μυστικῶς τοῖς συμβολικοῖς εἴδεσι τυπούμενος φαίνεται τοῖς ὁρᾶν δυναμένοις· καὶ ὅλος ὅλῳ τῷ νοητῷ ὁ αἰσθητὸς γνωστικῶς κατὰ νοῦν τοῖς λόγοις ἁπλούμενος ἐνυπάρχων ἐστίν. Ἐν ἐκείνῳ γὰρ οὗτος τοῖς λόγοις ἐστί· κἀκεῖνος ἐν τούτῳ, τοῖς τύποις· καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῶν ἕν, καθὼς ἂν εἴη τροχὸς ἐν τῷ τροχῷ, φησὶν ὁ θαυμαστὸς τῶν μεγάλην θεατὴς Ἰεζεχιήλ, περὶ τῶν δύο κόσμων, οἶμαι, λέγων. Καὶ πάλιν· Τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, φησὶν ὁ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος. Καὶ εἰ καθορᾶται διὰ τῶν φαινομένων τὰ μὴ φαινόμενα, καθὼς γέγραπται, πολλῷ δὴ καὶ διὰ τὼν μὴ φαινομένων τοῖς θεωρίᾳ πνευματικῇ προσανέχουσι τὰ φαινόμενα νοηθήσεται. Τῶν γὰρ νοητῶν ἡ διὰ τῶν ὁρατῶν συμβολικὴ* |D| *θεωρία, τῶν ὁρωμένων ἐστὶ διὰ τῶν ἀοράτων πνευματικὴ ἐπιστήμη καὶ νόησις. Δεῖ γὰρ τὰ ἀλλήλων ὄντα δηλωτικά, πάντως ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀριδήλους τὰς ἀλλήλων ἔχειν ἐμφάσεις, καὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐταῖς σχέσιν ἀλώβητον.*

# UNE LEÇON PROBLÉMATIQUE DANS L'*OR.* 6 DE S. GRÉGOIRE DE NAZIANZE (ÉDIT. *MAIOR ET CRITICA).*

Le Centre d'Études des textes de S. Grégoire de Nazianze à l'Université Catholique de Louvain, à Louvain-la-Neuve édite les versions orientales de ses Discours. L'objectif final est d'en publier une édition critique basée conjointement sur une étude exhaustive de la tradition manuscrite grecque et des versions latine et orientales (= *editio maior*).

Deux importants articles de C. Macé et ses collaborateurs ont posé des jalons sûrs pour accéder à cette finalité (1). Depuis la première de ces publications, l'édition critique de l'*Or.* 6 *arm.* est en voie d'impression et j'ai pu la comparer ainsi que la version syriaque S2 (révision effectuée par Paul d'Édesse à Chypre, en 623-624) et la traduction latine de Rufin à la tradition grecque.

Si la présente démarche propédeutique convainc de la nécessité d'une méthodologie pluridisciplinaire pour aborder d'authentiques pièges qui attendent l'éditeur, elle n'aura pas été vaine.

Au chapitre 17, S. Grégoire le Théologien rappelle le destin providentiel des Juifs, notamment leur sortie d'Égypte et la marche vers la terre promise. Mais les bonheurs du peuple élu cessèrent quand celui-ci refusa d'adorer le Christ. C'est la Croix qui le mena à sa fin.

Dans l'excellente édition critique grecque de Mme Calvet-Sébasti (2), 17, p. 164, on trouve le fragment suivant : τοῦ σταυροῦ τὴν ἐσχάτην

(1) C. MACÉ - C. SANSPEUR, *Nouvelles perspectives pour l'histoire du texte des discours de Grégoire de Nazianze. Le cas du discours* 6 *en grec et en arménien,* dans *Le Muséon*, 113 (2000), p. 377-416. (= C. MACÉ - C. SANSPEUR, *Perspectives).* M. DUBUISSON - C. MACÉ, *L'apport des traductions anciennes à l'histoire du texte de Grégoire de Nazianze. Application au discours 2,* dans *Orientalia Christiana*, 2 (2003), p. 287-340.

(2) M.-A. CALVET-SEBASTI (éd.), *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours* 6-12 (*SC.* 405), Paris, 1995, p. 120-179.

αὐτοὺς συνελαύνοντος (*quand la Croix les eut réduits à l'extrémité*). En apparat, l'éditrice relève que le texte des Mauristes (*P.G.*, vol. 35, col. 744, C 5-6 et note 96) porte la leçon πρὸς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπώλειαν. La *P.G.* précise dans son apparat critique que la *Parisiana editio*, datant de 1609 (I, *Or.* XII, p. 201), reproduite à Cologne en 1690, ne porte pas le mot ἀπώλειαν. L'édition de Jean Herwagen (Bâle, 1550) n'atteste pas non plus le substantif ἀπώλειαν.

L'*Or.* 6 *gr.* de S. Grégoire a été conservé dans 129 manuscrits antérieurs à 1550, répertoriés et décrits par le Professeur J. Mossay (3).

Mme le Professeur V. Somers a dépouillé 67 manuscrits (4) et aucun d'entre eux ne porte la leçon πρὸς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπώλειαν mais bien πρὸς τὴν ἐσχάτην.

La version latine de Rufin (ca 400, qui consiste plutôt en une adaptation qu'en une traduction authentique) ne possède pas cet épisode de l'histoire juive. La recension syriaque S2 n'a pas traduit non plus le substantif τὴν ἀπώλειαν (5). Par contre, la version arménienne (ca 500), précise et fidèle (6), éditée par C. Sanspeur (en cours d'impression) et basée sur la totalité des 39 manuscrits, livre le texte suivant : **խաչն զնոսա առ վերջին ամօթն վարեաց** (*la croix les mena vers leur ultime turpitude*). Il n'existe aucun lieu variant dans la tradition textuelle. Les termes **առ վերջին ամօթն** rappellent assez bien τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπώλειαν.

Le dictionnaire de Bailly (7) qui ne cite aucun emploi de l'adjectif ἐσχάτη (contrairement à τὸ ἔσχατον ou τὰ ἔσχατα) signale que le verbe ὄλλυμι / ὄλλυμαι (même racine que ἀπώλεια) revêt parfois une connotation morale (= *se laisser corrompre*).

(3) J. Mossay, *Repertorium Nazianzenum. Orationes. Textus Graecus*, I-VI, Paderborn-Munich - Vienne - Zurich, 1981-1998 (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der Altertums*, N.F., 2. Reihe : *Forschungen zu Gregor von Nazianz.* Band 1,5,10,11,12,14).

(4) V. Somers, *Histoire des Collections complètes des* Discours *de Grégoire de Nazianze (Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain*, 48), Louvain-la-Neuve, 1997. Je remercie l'auteur de m'avoir transmis le résultat de ses contrôles.

(5) Le Professeur J.-C. Haelewyck a effectué cette vérification. Qu'il en soit vivement remercié.

(6) Macé - Sanspeur, *Perspectives*, p. 393-395.

(7) A. Bailly, *Dictionnaire grec-français*, revu par L. Sechan et P. Chantraine, Paris, 1950, p. 817, col. 3, p. 818, col. 1.

Le dictionnaire de Liddell et Scott ([8]) a recensé deux fragments dans lesquels ἡ ἐσχάτη signifie *la fin.* Il s'agit d'Astrampsycus Onirocriticus (IIe s. a.Chr.) : οὐχ ἕξεις ἐσχάτην καλήν (sans référence précise) et de la Septante ([9]) : εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην (*à la fin*).

Le dictionnaire de Estienne ([10]) rappelant d'abord que le neutre singulier (τὸ ἔσχατον) et le neutre pluriel (τὰ ἔσχατα) sont bien employés substantivement, cite cependant un extrait de Polybe ([11]) où τὴν ἐσχάτην n'est pas suivi d'un substantif, (*locutio elliptica est,* dit le lexicographe) mais du pronom ταύτην : τοὺς ὑπολοίπους τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις καθοπλίσαντες, οἷον ἐσχάτην τρέχοντες ταύτην (*Ayant équipé tous les hommes mobilisables qui restaient, vu que Carthage courait un péril extrême).*

Par contre, dans la *Loeb Classical Library,* W. R. Paton ([12]) traduit l'extrait comme suit : *and by all them remaining citizens of military age, whom they had armed as a sort of forlorn hope.*

La traduction anglaise de W. R. Paton n'est pas acceptable ; *a forlorn hope* signifie *un espoir perdu.* Au contraire, l'éditeur de la collection Budé serre le texte grec de fort près. La traduction précise est la suivante : *vu que [ les] Carthaginois couraient à cette extrémité.* W. R. Paton n'aurait-il pas compris ἐσχάτην ταύτην parce que pareille locution n'apparaît qu'à l'époque hellénistique ?

Les locutions τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπώλειαν (retrouvée dans la *P.G.*, reprenant le texte établi par les Mauristes) et ἔσχατον ἀπωλείας sont utilisées par divers auteurs byzantins tels Gaius (écrivain ecclésiastique du IIIe s. 001.134.16 : εἰς ἔσχατον ἀπωλείας ὄλεθροι) ([13]), Eusèbe dans son *Histoire* (IVe s. 5.28.19.3 : εἰς ἔσχατον ἀπωλείας ὄλεθρον), Athanase

(8) G. Liddell et R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon, with Supplement.* Oxford, 1968, p. 700, col. 1.

(9) *Septuaginta*, éd. A. Rahlfs, Nördlingem, 1979, II, *Ecclésiaste*, 1, 11, p. 239.

(10) H. Estienne, mis à jour par C. B. Hase, *Thesaurus Graecae linguae*, Paris, 1831, vol. III, lettre E, col. 2112-2114.

(11) Polybe, *Histoires*, I, 87, 3, éd. P. Pedech (*Collection des Universités de France*), Paris, 1969.

(12) Polybius, *Historiae,* I, 87, 3, éd. W. R. Paton (*Loeb Classical Library*), London, New-York, 1922.

(13) Pour chaque auteur byzantin cité, la cote renvoie à L. Berkowitz et K. A. Squitier, *Thesaurus linguae Graecae. Canon of Greek Authors and Works*, 3e éd., New-York, Oxford, 1990.

(IV^e s. 061.27.557.35 : καὶ τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπώλειαν), Jean Chrysostome (IV^e s. 006.47.446.7 : εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπώλειαν. L'emploi de cette locution a été retrouvé neuf fois dans son œuvre), Zosime (historien du V^e s. 001 4.25 4.3 : εἰς ἔσχατον ἀπωλείας), Stéphane (médecin philosophe du VI^e s : 0021.10.166 : ἐσχάτης ἀπωλείας), Photius (lexicographe du IX^e s. 014479.9 : ἡ ἐσχάτη ἀπώλεια), Nicéphore Grégoras (historien du XIII^e s. 0013.161.10 : ἐσχάτην ἀπώλειαν).

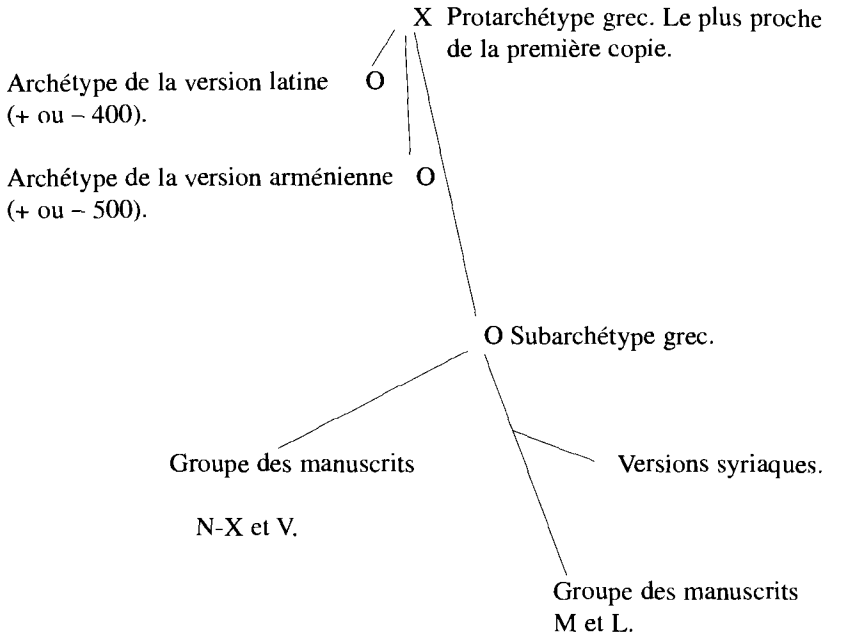
À ce stade, notre problème est axé sur le texte de la *P.G.* Les éditeurs ont-ils vu un ou des manuscrits que nous ne possédons plus ? J'ai consulté le Professeur Mossay à ce sujet (14). Il reconnaît cette possibilité mais fait remarquer que les Mauristes n'hésitaient pas à transformer une leçon manuscrite pour "classiser" les textes qu'ils éditaient. Ils connaissaient évidemment des locutions comme εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπώλειαν, εἰς ἔσχατον ἀπωλείας fréquemment usitées par les écrivains byzantins.

Si le substantif ἀπώλειαν résulte d'une correction d'éditeur, toute correspondance avec la version arménienne devient fortuite. D'autre part, le traducteur arménien qui connaissait très bien le grec (15) a pu préciser **ա՛ն վերջին** (εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην) par l'ajout de **ամօթ** (qui rend assez bien ἀπώλειαν). Il ne s'agit pas d'un accident dans la transmission ni de l'intervention d'un copiste : les 39 manuscrits arméniens attestent bien le substantif **ամօթ**. J'insiste sur le fait que la traduction arménienne est unique, ancienne et fidèle à son modèle. D'après le *stemma* établi dans les études de C. Macé et de ses collaborateurs, que nous développons, le Professeur Mossay et moi-même, en préparation d'une *editio maior* des *Or. gr.* 10, 12, le modèle du traducteur arménien, comme celui de Rufin, est antérieur au subarchétype grec d'où dérivent les *codices* N-X, M, L, V et la S2 syriaque.

On peut globalement schématiser l'histoire de la transmission textuelle comme ci-dessous :

(14) Outre les avis qu'il m'a prodigués, il m'a permis de consulter les anciennes éditions des *Or.* de Grégoire de Nazianze. Qu'il en soit remercié.

(15) MACÉ - ANSPEUR, *Perspectives,* p. 396.




À ma demande le Professeur Mossay a sondé sur M.F. ([16]) une série de manuscrits des groupes L et V (homélies lues et non lues à date fixe). Pour les L : Athènes *B.N.*, 2542 ; Athos *Pantkr.*, 234 ; Paris *B.N., Coisl.* 052 ; Paris *B.N.*, 0562 ; Paris *B.N.*, 0456 ; Vatican *Vat. gr.*, 1249 ; Venise *Marc. gr.*, 072. Pour les V : Paris *B.N.,Coisl.* 053 ; Paris *B.N., gr.* 0518 ; Paris *B.N., gr.* 0538 ; Paris *B.N.,gr.* 0540 ; Paris *B.N., gr. 0552.* Aucun ne porte ἀπώλειαν. Pourtant le *codex* Paris *B. N., gr. 0983* (= le L 371), f. 26v, l. 2 *ante finem*, présente un espace blanc (de + ou – 4 cm.) entre ἐσχάτην et αὐτούς. Il semble qu'apparaissent des traces d'une écriture, aujourd'hui disparue, à l'endroit même de l'espace blanc. Quelqu'un (un correcteur ?) a-t-il gratté un mot de la phrase ? Il devrait s'agir de ἀπώλειαν vu sa localisation dans le texte. S'il en était ainsi, un accord existerait bien entre le *codex* L 371, l'édition des Mauristes et la version arménienne. Il est difficile de croire en une démultiplication de hasards.

Si L 371 porta d'abord τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπώλειαν, le copiste a-t-il ajouté le substantif ? Il pourrait l'avoir lu dans un autre *codex*. Pareille hypothèse est plausible. L'arborescence de la tradition est à ce point immense

(16) J'adresse ma gratitude au Professeur Mossay pour l'aide apportée.

que de nombreux témoins doivent avoir disparu. D'autre part, plus l'étude des sources progresse, plus il est certain que certains manuscrits ont été contaminés (ce phénomène est également typique de la tradition arménienne). Le *Parisinus* dont question, quoique récent (XIV^e^ s.) ([17]), peut fort bien attester de très anciennes leçons.

Le futur éditeur de l'*editio maior* de l'*Or.* 6 courrait de grands risques si, d'office, il prenait position contre la leçon ἀπώλειαν. Personnellement, c'est à cette dernière que j'accorde ma faveur. Les raisons de mon choix ont été formulées tout au fil de cette petite étude.

1. L'incontestable ancienneté de la leçon de l'archétype arménien, attestée par tous les manuscrits qui en dérivent.
2. L'emploi de ἡ ἐσχάτη ἀπώλεια dans les écrits byzantins du III^e^ au XIII^e^ s.
3. L'usage de ἐσχάτη (employé substantivement) n'a été retrouvé jusqu'à ce jour, que dans la littérature hellénistique. Qu'il soit sorti de la plume d'un écrivain "hyperclassicisant" tel S. Grégoire de Nazianze me surprend grandement.
4. La possibilité que le *codex* grec L 371 ait porté le substantif ἀπώλειαν *ante correctionem.*
5. Les Mauristes ont pu consulter un manuscrit que nous ne connaissons pas.

Par contre, l'imposition de la leçon attestée par une très large majorité de témoins grecs ne reposerait que sur une vue purement dogmatique et étriquée de la critique : la foi dans le "suffrage universel", qui remonte à la Renaissance. Malheureusement pour les doctrinaires, en matière de recherche scientifique, il n'existe ni autorité dogmatique ni idée préconçue. Le chercheur observe, analyse et classe des faits ; il en tire souvent une vérité, quasi toujours une hypothèse plausible. Quand l'éditeur de textes est confronté à des leçons problématiques, son choix, quelque motivé soit-il, ne se situera que dans une fourchette de probabilités.

Dans son manuel de critique textuelle (peu connu chez nous), le chanoine Vaganay ([18]) référait en premier lieu à Tertullien : *id uerius quod*

(17) Copié par le copiste Antoine, éparque de Corfou (cf. M. VOGEL et V. GARDHAUSEN, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance,* Leipzig, 1909, p. 35). Ce *codex,* classé L, fait partie en réalité de la famille des M dont il présente les caractéristiques, comme L 10 et L 28.

(18) L. VAGANAY, *Initiation à la critique néotestamentaire*, Lyon, 1934. L'auteur, avec une remarquable perspicacité, ne se contente pas de décrire des tech-

*prius, id prius quod ab initio, id ab initio quod ab apostolis.* Plus loin, traitant du nombre de témoins, il émettait cette pertinente remarque : "cent manuscrits qui dérivent l'un de l'autre ne constituent qu'une seule autorité ; deux manuscrits indépendants doivent compter pour deux. Au surplus, même en face d'une majorité réelle, il faudrait bien se garder de lui donner raison sans autre forme de procès... C'est la qualité du texte qui importe et non la quantité de ses représentants. *Non numerantur sed ponderantur*".

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niques de l'édition. Il les analyse en homme de terrain, en tire les profits qu'elles renferment et élabore une synthèse capitale pour l'ecdotique.

# FINANZIERUNG DER KRIEGFÜHRUNG IN BYZANZ AM BEISPIEL DER BYZANTINISCH-BULGARISCHEN KRIEGE (976-1019)

Ohne die entsprechende Finanzierung können keine Kriege geführt werden. Erst recht gilt dies für Byzanz, als in diesem Weltreich mit seiner enormen räumlichen Ausdehnung unter der Herrschaft der makedonischen Kaiser im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert ein Feldzug wie beispielsweise gegen die Bulgaren mehrere Monate dauerte.

Mit *Kriegführung* sind heute allgemein die Vorbereitung, insbesondere die Planung, und die Durchführung von militärischen Massnahmen in einem Krieg bzw. bewaffeten Konflikt gemeint. Zentral angesprochen sind die Bereiche von *Taktik* (Gefecht) und *Strategie* (geordnete Führung der miteinander verbundenen Gefechte). Fragen der Finanzierung militärischer Operationen gehören nach heutigem Verständnis zum Bereich der *Logistik*. Unter Logistik wird die Bereitstellung aller Mittel für militärische Operationen verstanden, d. h. die Bedarfsfeststellung, die Beschaffung und Verteilung von Menschen, Material, Einrichtungen und Dienstleistungen (1). Militärische Logistik ist die Lehre von der planmässigen und zielgerichteten Führung aller physischen, geistigen und *finanziellen* Vorgänge der Planung und Entwicklung, der Herstellung, (Nach-)Beschaffung und Lagerung, der Bewegung und Behandlung, der Verteilung und Bereitstellung von Material, Gütern, Einrichtungen, Diensten (gemeint : Personal, *Finanzen*, Informationen) und Kräften, um sie zum richtigen Zeitpunkt und am richtigen Ort den Streitkräften zuzuführen, damit diese eine höchstmögliche operative und taktische Einsatzbereitschaft und Kampfkraft erhalten und während der Operation auf-

(1) Vgl. z. B. : H. E. ECCLES, *Logistik und Landesverteidigung. Ein Handbuch*, Neckargemünd, 1963, S. 52 ; M. VAN CREVELD, *Supplying War. Logistics from Wallenstein to Patton*, Cambridge, 1977, S. 1.

rechterhalten. Logistik beinhaltet auch die Entsorgung und Evakuierung (2). Um das Mögliche in militärischen Operationen zu schaffen, hat die Logistik den Bedarf an Mitteln, Leistungen, Raum und Zeit vorauszusehen und *vorauszuberechnen* (3). Die Tatsache, dass jeder Krieg nicht nur ein militärisches, sondern immer auch ein wirtschaftliches Unternehmen ist (4), zeigt sich spätestens bei den Kriegsvorbereitungen, wenn es darum geht, die Versorgung mit Lebensmitteln sicher- sowie Ausrüstung und Transportmittel bereitzustellen. Neben diesen Posten und fortifikatorischer Massnahmen in strategischen Positionen belastete auch die Finanzierung der Truppen den Staatstresor und andere Bereiche der Wirtschaft (5).

Unser Thema berücksichtigt die bedeutendste Periode der byzantinischen Armee (10./11. Jh.). Wie zeitgenössische Militärtraktate lehren, wurzelte die wachsende Wirksamkeit der Armee in den Bemühungen der Kaiser Nikephoros II. Phokas (963-969) und Basileios II. (976-1025), verstärkt schwerbewaffnete Reiter (*kataphraktoi*) (6) einzusetzen und die kombinierte Infanterie- und Kavallerie-Taktik zu vervollständigen. Gleichzeitig begannen sich die Zusammensetzung und die Struktur der

(2) Vgl. hierzu : P. M. STRASSLE, *Logistik Armee Schweiz. Eine interdisziplinäre, militärwissenschaftliche Studie*, Teil I, Bern, 1999, S. 25 f., 30-35 ; DERS., *Die zukünftige Entwicklung der Militärlogistik. Systemtheoretisch-kybernetischer Denkansatz am Beispiel der Schweizer Armee – ein mögliches Lösungsmodell*, in *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift (ÖMZ)*, 1 (2004), S. 31-46 ; J. KAPOUN, *Zum Wesen der Logistik. Nutzung betriebswirtschaftlicher Erkenntnisse für die Truppenführung*, in *Truppenpraxis*, 4 (1981), S. 263-266, hier 264 ; F. H. U. BORKENHAGEN, *Grundzüge einer effizienten Logistik in einem militärischen Defensivkonzept*, in *Die Praxis der defensiven Verteidigung*, hgg. von Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker, Hameln, 1984, S. 29-39, hier 29 (E. LUTZ, *Lexikon zur Sicherheitspolitik*, München, 1980, S. 162) ; *Air Force Doctrine Document* 40, 11 May 1994, by order of the Secretary of the Air Force, 1994 ; H. BÄCK, *Erfolgsstrategie Logistik* [Reihe : *Betriebswirtschaftliche Forschungsbeiträge*, hgg. Christoff ASCHOFF – Peter MÜLLER-BADER], München, 1984, S. 112.

(3) KAPOUN, ebd. S. 265 ; STRASSLE, 1999, S. 33.

(4) Zur Interaktion von Krieg und Wirtschaft allgemein s. G. BOUTHOUL, *Traité de sociologie. Les guerres. Eléments de Polémologie*, Paris, 1951, S. 220-242.

(5) In Anlehnung an Ebd., S. 179-194.

(6) Für die Lektüre sei darauf hingewiesen, dass die griechischen Wörter klassisch transkribiert (wobei die Buchstaben eta mit e, omega mit o und ou mit u) wiedergegeben werden.

Armee zu ändern. Das in Konstantinopel zentralisierte Kommando ersetzte die alten Heereseinheiten der *tagmata* und *themata* durch neue Kontingente, hauptsächlich ausländische Truppen (v. a. warägische Söldner der Kiever Rus'), die dezentral in den Provinzen einquartiert waren. Während der 50jährigen Herrschaft Basileios' II. hatte die Kampffähigkeit des byzantinischen Heeres ein hohes Niveau erreicht. Damals führte Ostrom erfolgreich Krieg an all seinen terrestrischen und maritimen Fronten. In dieser Periode dynamischer Expansion wurde nicht nur das Reichsterritorium gegen äussere Angriffe erfolgreich verteidigt, sondern eroberte Konstantinopel auch viele zuvor an die Araber und Bulgaren verlorengegangene Gebiete wieder zurück (Reconquista). Die Herrschaft des Reiches in Europa wuchs auf die doppelt so grosse Fläche an. Nach der langwierigen, aber erfolgreichen Rückeroberung des bulgarischen Territoriums nach über 40jährigem Krieg verliefen die Landesgrenzen erneut entlang der Donau bis ins nordwestliche Gebiet der Balkanhalbinsel. In Asien waren die arabischen Angriffe zurückgeschlagen worden, und das Reich beherrschte Positionen im Norden Syriens und Mesopotamiens. Byzanz vereinigte armenisch-georgisches Territorium, beherrschte die Halbinsel Krim (*thema* Chersones) und leistete den Arabern Widerstand in Süditalien und auf Sizilien. Dagegen zeigte sich die Periode nach Basileios II. bis zum Regierungsantritt von Kaiser Alexios I. Komnenos (1081-1118) als Zeit schnellen militärischen Verfalls. Lediglich in den dreissiger und vierziger Jahren des 11. Jahrhunderts gab es noch begrenzte Erfolge in Italien sowie an der Ostgrenze. Damit bewegen wir uns in einer für die byzantinische Geschichte geradezu beispiellosen Zeit permanenter, militärischer und politischer, aber auch wirtschaftlicher und sozialer Anspannung, ohne dass dabei der Staat innerlich ausgehöhlt wurde. Das Rhomäerreich erlangte eine nachher nie wieder erreichte territoriale (die flächenmässig grösste Expansion seit Kaiser Justinian I., 527-565), politische und militärische Grösse mit einer gut funktionierenden Wirtschafts- und Sozialstruktur. Für die Sicherheit des Staates, die nötig war, um wirtschaftlich zu prosperieren, sorgte die immobile (*themata*) und mobile (*tagmata*) Organisation der Armee. Was die immobile Verteidigung betrifft, war in unserem Zeitraum das ganze Reich in die Verteidigung integriert und wurden die strategischen Positionen fortifiziert. Es gab *themata* von unterschiedlicher Grösse. Hinsichtlich der mobilen Verteid-gung wurde mit den starken *tagmata* und den *themata*-Heeren aus Angst und Zurückhaltung (vor einer offenen Feldschlacht) die defensive Strategie des Verzögerns und Ermattens, des

Hinhaltens und Zermürbens verfolgt, weshalb denn in erster Linie auch Belagerungskriege geführt wurden. Im Rahmen eines systematischen militärischen Ausbaus wurden Armeen von 12-16'000 Mann eingesetzt, deren Kern die schwere Reiterei bildete.

Während von einer Forschung zum Thema der Finanzierung der Kriege in Byzanz überhaupt nicht die Rede sein kann, enthalten die griechischen historischen Quellen (11.-12. Jh.) und vereinzelt auch die byzantinischen Militärhandbücher (6.-11. Jh.) nur äusserst wenige Angaben zu unserem Thema. Der Konnex von Kriegführung und Finanzierung ist quellenmässig kaum greifbar. Ein grundsätzliches Problem liegt, abgesehen vom gänzlichen Fehlen bulgarischer Belege, darin, dass die narrativen Texte nur spärliche Nachrichten über die einzelnen militärischen Ereignisse enthalten. Mehrheitlich werden die Operationen bloss erwähnt, ohne nähere Angaben über Bauten, Kampfverlauf, Logistik usw. zu vermitteln. Die Autoren (und deren Informanten) interessierten sich weniger für den eigentlichen Ablauf des Geschehens als vielmehr für dessen Ursachen und Folgen, für Kriegsparteien und Kampfentscheidendes, ebenso für (anekdotenhafte) Besonderheiten und Ausserordentliches.

Zunächst fragen wir nach dem genuin byzantinischen militärtheoretischen *Verständnis* von Finanzierung als integralem Bestandteil der Logistik und damit der Kriegführung sowie nach den finanziellen *Herausforderungen*. Sodann wird das Problem der *Finanzierung* der Feldzüge – speziell im Zusammenhang mit den Kriegen der Byzantiner gegen die Bulgaren (976-1019) – analysiert.

## 1. Finanzierung als integraler Bestandteil der Logistik

Deutlich genug wird in der byzantinischen Militärtheorie auf die Notwendigkeit der Fachkenntnis für eine sichere Kriegführung aufmerksam gemacht (7). Kriege würden nicht durch die Masse der Körper und das unüberlegte Anstürmen entschieden, sondern mit *Gottes Hilfe* durch *Taktik* und *Strategie* sowie durch den *Mut* des Heeres. Dabei führte das Wohlwollen Gottes zum Nützlichen und liesse die von den Menschen entworfenen Pläne zu einem guten Ende gelangen (8). Aus dem tiefgläu-

(7) *Das Strategikon des Maurikios. Einführung, Edition und Indices* von G. T. Dennis, Übersetzung von E. Gamillscheg (CFHB XVII), Wien, 1981 (zit. : MS), Pr 21 ff.

(8) *Leonis imperatoris Tactica, sive De re militari liber* (handschriftlicher Titel : *„Ton en polemois taktikon syntomos paradosis"*), ed. Joannes Meursius,

bigen Verständnis für Gottes Walten heraus konnte sich bald einmal eine mystische Kraft zur Schau Gottes entwickeln. Unter *Taktik* (*taktika*, *taktike[sc. techne]*, *taxis*, *parataxis*) (9) verstanden die Byzantiner alles, was mit der Durchführung des strategisch vorbereiteten, konkreten Kampfes zu tun hatte, d. h. die Truppen- und Kampfführung. Dagegen meint *strategia* oder *strategike* (sc. *techne*) die Kenntnis, die zur Kunst der Führung (*agein*) des Heeres (*stratos*) im Ernstfall durch den Feldherrn (*strategos*) gehörte. Strategie bezog sich auf den Feldzug (*strateia*), die ganze Operation und die Führung des Heeres in allen Situationen (10). Strategie und Taktik wiederum waren abhängig von der Kenntnis der

in : *PG* 107, Paris, 1863 (zit. : LT ), S. 669-1120, hier : Praef. 6 und 8 (B und C, S. 677) (MS VII A Pr 4-12), II 41 (MS Pr 45 ff.), XII 3 (MS II 1, 8 ff.), XIV 27 (MS VII B 12, 14 ff.), 37 (MS VII B 15, 7 f.), XVI 1, XVIII 18 (MS XI 1, 6), XX 12 (MS VIII 1, 32 f.), 55 (MS VIII 2, 21 ff.), 119 ; MS XI 4, 236.

(9) Das Verb *tassein* erscheint in unmittelbarem Zusammenhang entweder mit der Schlachtordnung (*parataxis*) resp. deren verschiedenen Linien und Reihen (LT IV 25 [MS I 3, 38], 37 [MS I 5, 23], VIII 20 [MS I 8, 5], XII 12 [MS II 1, 44 f.], XII 50 [MS II 8, 5], XIV [MS VII B 2, 4] u. a.) oder mit Funktionsbezeichnung und deren Trägern (LT VIII 21 [MS I 8, 14], XII 13 [MS II 1, 52], 50 [MS II 8, 5], XII 133 [MS VII A Pr 33] u. a.). Ausserdem steht *tassein* in Verbindung mit Truppenkörpern und Bezeichnungen von Truppengattungen (LT VIII 19 [MS I 8, 2], XII 6 [MS II 1, 20 f.] ; MS P 202, 204 ; u. a.). Das Wort *taxis* (von *tassein* abgeleitet) wird ausschliesslich in taktischem Zusammenhang verwendet und steht v. a. in Verbindung mit der konkreten militärischen Auseinandersetzung. Mehrheitlich sind die verschiedenen Arten der Linie in der Schlachtordnung gemeint, s. : LT VIII 20 (MS I 8, 5. 9), XII 9 (MS II 1, 32), 12 (MS II 1, 46), 15 (MS II 1, 56), 22 (MS II 1, 88. 92). Weiter wird mit *taxis* allgemein die Aufstellung, Formation und Anordnung des Heeres zur Schlacht verstanden, s. : LT IV 15 (MS I 3, 21), 21 (MS I 3, 28), IX 11 (MS I 9, 34), XII 8 (MS II 1, 28) ; *The Anonymous Byzantine Treatise on Strategy* (*Peri Strategias*), in : *Three Byzantine Military Treatises. Text, Translation, and Notes* by G. T. Dennis (CFHB XXV), Washington, 1985, S. 1-136 (zit. : Peri Strat. [Dennis]), hier : 14, 4 f. Oft steht anstelle von *taxis* synonym auch *parataxis*, s. : LT IV 15 (MS I 3, 31), XII 7-9 (MS II 1, 26. 28. 32), 12 (MS II 1, 46) u. a. Der Terminus *parataxis*, ausschliesslich als Schlachtordnung verstanden, wird immer bzgl. der konkreten Kampfsituation gebraucht (LT IV 20 [MS I 3, 26], VIII 20 [MS I 8, 4], 21 [MS I 8, 11. 14], 24 [MS I 8, 26], XII 12 [MS II 1, 44], 13 [MS II 1, 52] u. a.). *Taktika* (Pl.) meint immer die Taktik allgemein (MS I 3, 6, II 2, 5). *Taktike* (sc. *techne*), auch *taktika*, ist die Kunst, ein Heer in Schlachtordnung aufzustellen (Peri Strat. [Dennis] 14, 3 f.).

(10) LT Praef. 677 (MS VII A Pr 2 ff.), I 3, XX 192, Epil. 44 ; MS VII P 2 f., VII A Pr 2 f.

*Taktik* und der *Gewohnheiten* des *Gegners*, welche es den Byzantinern ermöglichte, sich diesem *anzupassen* und ihn mit einem proportionierten Heer erfolgreich zu bekämpfen. Auch wird in den Taktika geraten, diesen nicht mit Gewalt, sondern mit *strategia* und überlegt zu besiegen ([11]). Nicht genug wird die zentrale Rolle der Führung, insbesondere die Organisationsgabe des Feldherrn herausgestrichen ([12]). Bekanntlich trug der Heerführer ausser der militärischen auch begrenzte politische Verantwortung (in kriegsdiplomatischen Handlungen – fernab vom Zentrum an der Front). Der Stratege war mit seinem Heer mehr oder weniger eine selbständige und auf sich alleine gestellte Einheit, die zu einem gewissen Grad auch autonom, d. h. unabhängig von zentralen Führungsstellen, operierte. Diesen Kern der Kriegführung unterstützten als eigentliche Dienste folgende *technai* : *hoplitike* (im folgenden jeweils ergänzen mit : sc. *techne* ; die Fechtkunst der Hopliten betreffende Bewaffnung, d. h. technische und taktische Waffenausbildung, Drill), *architektonike* und *mechanike* (Bereiche der Baumeister und Mechaniker ; Fortifikation, künstliche Vorrichtungen, Maschinen gegen feindliche Geschosse und Lager), *astronomike* (Kunst der Sterndeutung), *hieratike* (Glaubenspflege im militärischen Alltag), *iatrike* (Sanitätsdienst) und nicht zuletzt die *logistike* (Logistik, praktische Rechenkunst) ([13]).

Gefragt nach den wirtschaftlichen Bedingungen der Kriegführung, sind Unterhalt und Versorgung der Streitkräfte, also die *Logistik*, angesprochen. Bekanntlich ist es deren Aufgabe, die Mittel und Dienstleistungen (Versorgung – Verpflegung, Munition, Material – und Trans-

(11) MS XI Pr 6-9 ; LT XX 12 (MS VIII 1, 32). Vgl. weiter : MS III 10, 29 f., VIII 2, 248 f. Zum Vergleich des Krieges mit der Jagd s. o. In beiden Situationen entscheiden nicht Gewalt und offener, frontaler Angriff, sondern Kunstgriffe (*sophismata*) (vgl. LT XII 137 und 138 [MS VII A Pr 45-53]).

(12) LT XIV 27 (MS VII B 12, 16 f.), 37 (MS VII B 15, 6 f.) ; MS VIII 2, 159 f.

(13) LT Epil. 53, 65. Zur waffentechnischen und -taktischen Ausbildung s. noch LT Epil. 54-56, 66. Zu den Mechanikern, die künstliche Vorrichtungen gegen feindliche Geschosse bauten s. LT Epil. 60. Der in Byzanz weitgehend personenorientierte und nicht institutionalisierte militärische Sanitätsdienst war nach Truppenkörpern (*bandon/tagma*) organisiert und beschränkte sich auf die Front, wo *ad hoc* eigentliche Verwundetennester eingerichtet wurden (LT XII 51-53 [MS II 9, 1-30], 119 [MS VII B 17, 17 ff.] ; MS V 2, 7). Die Sanitäter (*depotatoi, despotatoi, skribones*) folgten im taktischen Geschehen der Schlachtlinie, nahmen die im Kampf Verwundeten auf und versorgten sie (LT IV 15 [MS I 3, 30 ff.]).

port, ebenso Reparatur ([14])) zur Unterstützung operativer und taktischer Einsätze der Streitkräfte zu planen und für den Einsatz bereitzustellen ([15]). Als Kunst der Berechnung ([16]) befasste sich die *logistike techne* u. a. mit der Gliederung und der Versorgung der Truppen ([17]). Sie stellte Normen auf sowohl für die Fortdauer der kriegerischen Bewegungen, die nicht zuletzt wesentlich auch von der Versorgung abhängig war (s. die Belagerung von Triaditza, heute Sofia, 986), als auch für die Ruhephasen. Die Versorgung der Armeen mit Nahrungsmitteln erfolgte in erster Linie aus den Feldzugsgebieten selbst. Blieb die Versorgung von Mensch und Tier durch lokale Ressourcen aus, wurden Territorien nicht wegen ihres strategischen Wertes besetzt, sondern um eben Ressourcen zu erschliessen und dadurch den Krieg aufrechtzuerhalten. Es trat aber auch der Fall ein, dass Feldzüge verzögert oder gar abgebrochen wurden, da die Armeen nur ungenügend oder von einem gewissen Zeitpunkt an gar nicht mehr versorgt werden konnten. Eben ganz im Sinne von Rechenkunst verstand der byzantinische Kaiser Leon VI. (886-912) Logistik, wenn er deren Aufgabe darin sieht, das Heer zu besolden, sachgemäss zu bewaffnen, und zu gliedern, es mit Geschütz und Kriegsgerät auszustatten, rechtzeitig und hinlänglich für seine Bedürfnisse zu sorgen und jeden Akt des Feldzuges entsprechend vorzubereiten, d. h. Raum und Zeit zu berechnen, das Gelände auf die Heeresbewegungen sowie des Gegners Widerstandskraft richtig einzuschätzen und diesen Funktionen gemäss die

(14) Das in den Quellen nicht eigens erwähnte Reparaturwesen war natürlich durch die in der Truppe eingeteilten verschiedenen Spezialtechniker (u. a. für die Konstruktion und Bedienung der Waffen sowie den Bau von Genie-Einrichtungen, Lager usw.) mitberücksichtigt (vgl. T. G. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Waffenkunde von den Anfängen bis zur lateinischen Eroberung* [*Byzantina Sorbonensia* 6], Wien, 1988, S. 227).

(15) S. o., vgl. auch A. Beaufre, *Totale Kriegskunst im Frieden. Einführung in die Strategie*, Frauenfeld, 1963, S. 24.

(16) Schon in der Antike unterschieden die Griechen in Mathematik zwischen Arithmetik (*arithmetike techne*) als Zahlentheorie und Logistik (*logistike techne*), der Lehre vom praktischen Rechnen : Geometrische Grössenlehre (Flächenberechnung) : Addition, Subtraktion, Multiplikation, Division, geometrische Algebra. S. P. Carelos, *Barlaam tu Kalabru Logistike* (*Barlaam von Seminara*), Athenai, 1996.

(17) LT Epil. 53-68, bes. 57, 64, 66. Etymologisch gesehen wird *logistike* (sc. *techne*) von *lego* (im Sinne von dazuzählen, darunterrechnen) resp. *logizomai* (rechnen, berechnen, überlegen) abgeleitet. Während mit *logismos* „Rechnung, Berechnung Überlegung" und mit *logistikos* „berechnend" gemeint sind, verstehen sich *he logistike* resp. *ta logistika* als praktische Rechenkunst.

Bewegung und Verteilung der eigenen Streitkräfte anzuordnen. Das Notwendige (Lebensmittel) musste genauso beschafft werden wie das Geld, um damit Waffen, mechanische Maschinen und anderes zu kaufen. Ebenso fällt auch das Sammeln und Verteilen der Beute in den logistischen Bereich. Leons Logistik-Begriff umfasst somit die Aufgaben der Vorbereitung des Heeres zum Krieg sowie diejenigen des Marsch- und Quartierwesens, ohne dass aber expressis verbis von der Finanzierung die Rede ([18]). Gerade dieser Autor war es, der spätere Militärschriftsteller nachhaltig beeinflusste. Seine Auffassung von Logistik wurde als Technik, als eigentliche Kriegsstatistik, verstanden, die sich der Logik und Mathematik zur Berechnung von Marschrouten für Truppenbewegungen, zur Auswahl des Geländes für den Bau von Verteidigungsstellungen und Befestigungen, also der Massnahmen zur Unterstützung von Strategie und Taktik bediente. Die *logistike* war sozusagen die mathematische Seite der Kriegführung.

Um die Truppen zu *finanzieren*, bediente man sich bei den *tagmata* eines Soldsystems (mit abgestuften Soldzahlungen) oder eines Systems von Naturalbezügen, während bei den *themata* der Landbesitz anstelle des Soldes stand. Weiter gilt es, auch die Rolle der Plünderung sowie der Kriegsbeute und Geschenke zu untersuchen : Handelt es sich dabei etwa um eine zusätzliche Belohnung (ausser als Motivation) oder um eine solche anstelle der eigentlichen, aber eventuell nicht ausrichtbaren Besoldung ? Dieser Punkt muss gerade in unserem Fall besonders beachtet werden, da Kaiser Basileios II. gleich an mehreren Fronten ausgesprochen erfolgreich Krieg führte. Finanziell gesehen müssen im Rahmen der Kriegsvorbereitungen auch wirtschafts- und fiskalpolitische Massnahmen berücksichtigt werden wie z. B. Kriegsabgabe und -steuer, wirtschaftliche Autarkie und Ressourcennutzung, ebenso das Wegführen unproduktiver Bevölkerungsteile aus dem umkämpften Gebiet, damit sie nicht zu einer wirtschaftlichen und militärischen Belastung (Beeinträchtigung der Kampfkraft) wurden.

## 2. Finanzielle Herausforderungen

Fragen wir nach den Herausforderungen, die in Byzanz, speziell im Fall der jahrzehntelangen Kriege gegen die Bulgaren (976-1019), an die

(18) In den Kapiteln 4 bis 11 (LT) behandelt Kaiser Leon die einzelnen Elemente der Logistik, nämlich : Heeresorganisation, Bewaffnung, Truppenübungen, Kriegsgesetz, Märsche, Tross und Feldlager.

Finanzierung gestellt wurden, so ergibt sich folgendes Bild. Geographisch gesehen gilt es zu bedenken, dass wir es mit weitläufigen, vom Zentrum weit entfernten, leicht zugänglichen, offenen Frontlinien ohne genügenden natürlichen Schutz zu tun haben und dass die logistischen Verbindungen relativ lang waren (z. B. Konstantinopel-Donau-Front 600 km und mehr). Die südlichen Teile des operativen Territoriums – gemeint : die Agäis-orientierten Gebiete Thrakiens, sodann Makedonien, das Gebiet des *thema* Hellas (heutiges Mittelgriechenland mit Thessalien, Böotien und Attika) und der Peloponnes – befinden sich in der semiariden Zone. In solchen halbtrockenen Gegenden sind die jährlichen Niederschläge gering. Dies hat zur Folge, dass in der Landwirtschaft die Produktivität labil, anfällig ist und es daher schnell zu Ertragsengpässen und demzufolge auch zu Hungersnöten kommen kann. Nur am Rande sei erwähnt, dass heute das Territorium von Griechenland bloss zu 30% landwirtschaftlich genutzt wird. Was den Holzbestand betrifft, führt die Semiaridität dazu, dass in den Wäldern keine genügende Regenerationskraft vorhanden ist und jede Holzentnahme irreversible Folgen zeitigt. Hinsichtlich der Bodenschätze beherrschte Byzanz im 10. und frühen 11. Jahrhundert im Osten noch Gebiete mit reichen Vorkommen von Gold (Armenien), Blei und Kupfer (kleinasiatische Schwarzmeerküste), Eisen (Armenien), Erdöl und Holz, so dass das Reich die Kriege weitgehend aus eigenen Mitteln bestreiten konnte und wegen der Ressourcen noch nicht fremdabhängig war, wie dies dann gegen Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts der Fall sein sollte, als die ressourcenstarken Gebiete an der östlichen Peripherie des Reiches von den Seldschuken erobert wurden. Beim Territorium des bulgarischen Staates zwischen 972 und 1018 sowie beim operativen Raum der bulgarisch-byzantinischen Auseinandersetzungen handelt es sich um ehemaliges resp. noch aktuelles byzantinisches Reichsgebiet an der nördlichen und westlichen Peripherie sowie im Zentralraum des europäischen Teils von Byzanz. Gerade wegen der Nähe der bulgarischen Angriffszonen zu der leicht und schnell erreichbaren Hauptstadt, dem Lebensnerv des Weltreiches, war dieses Territorium eine für Ostrom wichtige strategische Zone ([19]).

Hinsichtlich der *militärischen Kräfte*, die sich auf bulgarischer und byzantinischer Seite konzentrierten, haben wir es mit einem latent ange-

(19) Es handelt sich hier um die Gebiete folgender heutiger Staaten : Griechenland, Albanien, Bulgarien, ehemalige jugoslawische Republik Mazedonien, Serbischen Republik von Serbien-Montenegro und europäischer Teil der Türkei.

spannten Kriegszustand zwischen zwei Parteien mit quantitativ und qualitativ starkem Kräftepotential und einer intelligenten Kriegführung zu tun. Ein weiterer wichtiger Faktor für die logistische Unterstützung war durch die Grösse der Heere (12-16.000 Mann) gegeben. Grundsätzlich als Verteidigungsarmee konzipiert und operierend, hatten die *byzantinischen* Streitkräfte neben defensiven auch offensive Aufgaben zu erfüllen. Im letzteren Fall nahm die Armee auch den Charakter einer Besatzungs- und Rückeroberungsarmee an. Dies entsprach ganz der Kriegführung der byzantinischen Generalität, den Staat der Bulgaren zu zerstören, deren Streitkräfte zu unterwerfen sowie deren Territorien ins Byzantinische Reich zu reintegrieren. Die *Bulgaren* unter der Herrschaft Samuels (976-1014) und seiner Nachfolger erwiesen sich als Dauerbedrohung für Byzanz, als hartnäckiger und schier unwiderstehlicher Gegner, der es lange Zeit verstand, zum richtigen Zeitpunkt die Schwächen seines Kontrahenten auszunutzen.

Als die Bulgaren in den siebziger bis neunziger Jahren des 10. Jahrhunderts in die byzantinischen Balkangebiete einfielen, plünderten und verwüsteten sie weite fruchtbare Landstriche (Makedonien, Thrakien, v. a. aber Thessalien, Spercheios-Senke, Boiotien), was sich – gerade zur Herbstzeit – in erster Linie in Ernteeinbussen, aber auch im Verlust von Tieren und Gütern sowie im Entzug von Arbeitskräften aus der Wirtschaft auswirkte. Bei den während Jahrzehnten umkämpften Landschaften Makedonien und Thrakien handelt es sich um eine im Vergleich zu anderen damals noch zu Byzanz gehörenden Gebieten nicht ausgesprochen ressourcenreiche Zone. Neben landwirtschaftlicher Produktion verfügte sie vielleicht auch noch im 10./11. Jahrhundert über wenige und nicht näher bekannte Bodenschätze wie Gold (Makedonien, Thrakien, Bulgarien, Strymongebiet, Mons Pangaios), Silber (Achris, Mons Pangaios, Chalkidike, Serbien), Kupfer (Dalmatien/Illyricum) sowie Eisen (Chalkidike, Serbien) und Blei (Dalmatien). Allerdings entbehrt es unserer Kenntnis, ob diese Vorkommen im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert überhaupt auch ausgebeutet wurden, zumal, abgesehen von zwei Ausnahmen (Gold – Bulgarien ; Eisen – Chalkidike), direkte Belege für diese Zeit nicht existieren ([20]). Primär könnte das Interesse des bulgarischen Zaren Samuel den (unbefestigten) städtischen Siedlungen mit ihren Versor-

(20) S. R.-J. Lilie, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber. Studien zum Strukturwandel des byzantinischen Staates im 7. und 8. Jh.* (*Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 22), München, 1976, S. 258 ff., 262 ff.

gungseinrichtungen und Reichtümern sowie den Klöstern gegolten haben. Auf dem Lande wurden wohl verlassene Acker- und besonders Grasflächen zur Versorgung von Mensch und Tier genutzt, während die Bauern in die nächste Stadt oder Festung flohen oder sogar schon seit mehreren Jahren nicht mehr auf ihre verödeten Güter zurückgekehrt waren. Die Ruinierung dieser Gebiete musste für Ostrom einen herben Verlust an Einnahmen aus Steuern und landwirtschaftlicher Produktion bedeutet haben, die seit 976 und vermutlich bis 991 dem Haushalt Bulgariens zugeflossen waren. So beispielsweise nutzte Samuel im Fall von Larissa vorerst resolut die durch den Wechsel des *strategos* eingetretene Schwächung der Verteidigungskraft zu seinen Gunsten aus. Wohl liess er die Bewohner der von ihm belagerten Stadt aussäen, die Ernte jedoch besorgten die Bulgaren selbst. Die anschliessende Deportation der Stadtbevölkerung (sprich : Arbeitskräfte) schwächte möglicherweise Zentrum und Region des *thema* Hellas. Dadurch wurde dieser handeltreibenden Metropole nicht nur die Lebensader, sondern einem möglichen byzantinischen Widerstand präventiv die Spitze genommen (21). Von schweren Verlusten des byzantinischen Feldheeres hören wir nur gerade bei den Katastrophen in der Porta Traiana (zwischen Sofja und Plovdiv ; 986) (22) und südwestlich von Strumbitza (heute Strumica ; 1014) (23). Diese Verluste an Mensch, Tier und Material, mit solchen man in kleinem Umfange auch bei erfolgreichen Operationen rechnen musste, erforderten beispielsweise 986 einen finanziellen Aufwand für den Ersatz und die Rekrutierung, wovon aber in den Quellen nicht die Rede ist. Dadurch, dass Basileios II. an zwei Fronten (Osten : Kaukasus, Nordsyrien ; Norden : Balkanhalbinsel) und zudem mehrheitlich gleichzeitig Krieg führte, bedurfte es einer aufwendigen Versorgung und damit einer

(21) *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena. Sočinenie vizantijskogo polkovodca XI veka. Podgotovka teksta, vvedenie, perevod i kommentarij* G. G. LITAVRINA, Moskva, 1972 (zit. : KEKAUMENOS [LITAVRIN]), S. 250, 30-252, 11 ; *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum, editio princeps*, recensuit Ioannes THURN (*CFHB* V, Series Berolinensis), Berlin-New York, 1973 (zit. : Io. SKYL.), S. 330, 6.

(22) *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis historiae libri decem et liber de velitatione bellica Nicephori Augusti e recensione* Caroli BENEDICTI HASII, Bonn, 1828 (zit. : Leon DIAK.), S. 171, 16 ff., 172, 21 ff., 173, 9 f. ; Io. SKYL. 331, 42 f. ; *Ioannis Zonarae Epitomae Historiarum* libri XIII-XVIII, ed. Th. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonn, 1897 (zit. : Io. ZON.), S. 549, 12 f. ; *Des Stephanos von Taron Armenische Geschichte aus dem Altaramäischen* übersetzt von Heinrich GELZER und August BURKHARDT, Leipzig, 1907 (zit. : STEPH. TAR.), S. 186, 31-187, 3.

(23) Io. SKYL., S. 350, 68 ff. 81.

reichsweiten wirtschaftlichen, besonders finanziellen Konzentration auf diese militärischen Aufgaben hin.

Indem auf byzantinischer Seite zentrale *tagmata* vorübergehend bis dauerhaft an dezentralen Standorten (Winterlager) im Grenzraum stationiert und dezentrale Truppen (*themata* und *tagmata*) ausserhalb des Kernraumes des Reiches gesammelt wurden, brachte dies der Hauptstadt vielleicht eine gewisse logistische Entlastung. Umgekehrt aber, indem die hauptstädtischen *tagmata* des Kaisers auf ihrem Durchzug durch die Provinzen von den entsprechenden *themata* logistisch versorgt wurden, waren jene für diese a priori eine zusätzliche Belastung ([24]). Erst recht spürbar war dieser weitere Aufwand der *themata*, wenn noch die obligatorischen Schenkungen und verschiedenen Ergänzungsleistungen an Tieren und Nahrungsmitteln mitberücksichtigt werden, die für den Kaiser und dessen Gefolge bereitgestellt werden mussten ([25]). Diese unentgeltlichen Ablieferungen an Gerste sowie an Gross-, aber auch Kleinvieh betrafen den land- und speziell auf Viehzucht ausgerichteten viehwirtschaftlichen Bereich der *themata*. Hinzu kam, dass die in vier Gruppen aufgeteilten *themata* nach altem Brauch in einem Vier-Jahres-Zyklus regelmässig Zahlungen für den kaiserlichen Feldzug zu entrichten hatten (*rhogeuesthai*), und zwar unabhängig von der geographischen Ausrichtung der jeweiligen Operation ([26]).

Schliesslich sei bedacht, dass die Finanzierung in Byzanz in einem Umfeld schrumpfender Bevölkerung funktionieren musste. Der relative Mangel an Ressourcen veranlasste das Reich auch nicht zu massiven Fortifikationen mit umfangmässigen Wachmannschaften und Vorräten. Vielmehr blieben die Bemühungen je älter das Reich wurde, spätestens seit der zweiten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts, auf eine kleinere und mobilere Verteidigung mit einem Minimum an Lebensmittel- und Waffenvorräten beschränkt. Vielleicht spielte nicht zuletzt auch dieses Ressourcenproblem in den Überlegungen der byzantinischen Traktatver-

(24) *Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regiis libellus* ediderunt B. Wassiliewsky-V. Jernstedt, Petropoli, 1896 (Nachdruck, Amsterdam 1965 ; zit. : Kekaumenos [Wassiliewski/Jernstedt]), S. 103 f. (Kap. 259).

(25) *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions. Introduction, Edition, Translation and Commentary* by J. F. Haldon (*CFHB* XXVIII), Wien, 1990, Texte A, B und C (zit. : Konst. Porph. Treatises), C, S. 116, 347 ff.

(26) Ebd., S. 134, 647 ff. und Kommentar (mit weiterführender Spezialliteratur) auf S. 256.

fasser eine Rolle, wenn sie beispielsweise argumentieren, dass Kraft und intellektuelle Fähigkeiten den zahlenmässig überlegenen Gegner besiegen könnten.

## 3. Finanzierung

Im Zusammenhang mit der Finanzierung der Kriegführung interessieren neben der Organisation auch die verschiedenen Inhalte und Formen von Einnahmen und Ausgaben ([27]). Nur am Rande sei bemerkt, dass in allen nachstehenden Fällen bloss wenige qualitative und kaum quantitative Angaben vorliegen ([28]).

In der zweiten Hälfte des 10. und der ersten des 11. Jahrhunderts wurden zurückeroberte Gebiete oft direkt als kaiserliche betrachtet (*episkepseis*) und als autonome fiskalische Einheiten unmittelbar dem Fiskus unterstellt. Zu diesen Massnahmen gehörten sowohl die kaiserliche Reorganisation der Administration der zwischen 998 und 1018 eroberten bulgarischen Gebiete als auch die zunehmende Tendenz zur Zentralisierung der fiskalischen und militärischen Angelegenheiten in Konstantinopel zur Zeit von Kaiser Basileios II. (976-1025) und danach ([29]). In der *Zentralisierung* der *Kontrolle* über öffentliche *Fiskalgüter* im sogen. „*epi ton oikeiakon*" und im Verfall des allgemeinen *logothesion* widerspiegeln sich dieses Kaisers Bemühungen, die Ressourcen noch stärker staatlich zu kontrollieren, um sie vor Missbrauch zu schützen ([30]).

Was die *Einnahmen* betrifft, zielte laut neuesten Forschungsergebnissen Basileios' II. Gesetzgebung, wie übrigens schon diejenige von Nikephoros II. Phokas (963-969), darauf ab, inskünftig die bereits praktizierte *Fiskalisierung* der *strateia* der Soldatenbauern der *themata* zu

(27) Schon der Anonymus des 6. Jh.s stellte fest, dass der grösste Teil der öffentlichen Einnahmen für die Soldaten verwendet wurde (PERI STRAT. [DENNIS] 2, 18 ff.).

(28) Vgl. hierzu auch die kritischen Bemerkungen bei P. CARELOS, *Bemerkungen zur Herrschaft Basileios' II Bulgaroktonos*, in *BSl* 53 (1992), S. 1-16, hier 8, Anm. 38, bzgl. der quellenbedingten Schwierigkeit, Einkünfte und Ausgaben von Byzanz zu quantifizieren.

(29) J. HALDON, *Military Service, Military Lands, and the Status of Soldiers : Current Problems and Interpretations*, in *DOP*, 47 (1993), S. 1-67, hier 51.

(30) Ebd.

generalisieren ([31]). Allerdings hielt sich der Staat stets die Möglichkeit offen, zu entscheiden, ob er beim jeweiligen Feldzug lieber die fiskalische Option oder jene des persönlichen Dienstes oder eine Kombination von beiden Varianten erfüllt haben wollte ([32]). Die angebliche Zunahme des Minimalwertes eines unveräusserlichen Stratiotengutes durch die umstrittene Reform der *strateia* von Nikephoros II. Phokas von vier auf zwölf Pfund Gold für einen *kataphraktes* (mit besserer Ausrüstung als früher) verdeutlichte ausser der Wichtigkeit der schwerbewaffneten Reiterei ganz besonders die Tatsache, dass der Kaiser im Fall der Themensoldaten mehr des Geldes als der Manneskraft bedurfte, um seine Truppen mit *Söldnern* und *Berufssoldaten* zu formieren ([33]). Leider fehlt es aber gerade für die Zeit Basileios' II. und unmittelbar davor gänzlich an Nachrichten, die auch nur annähernd eine Vorstellung von der Entwicklung der Soldatengüter (u. a. Grösse, Anteil im Vergleich zum übrigen Staats- und Grossgrundbesitz) und deren Fiskalisierung für unseren

(31) Die Institution *strateia* meint ein spezifisches Verhältnis zwischen dem Staat, einem in den Militärrollen registrierten Soldaten und dem von diesem gehaltenen Land (Ebd., S. 30, Anm. 76, 35, 59). Gemeint ist dasjenige Land, welches das Einkommen produzierte, um die strate a zu unterstützen (Ebd., S. 59). Zu *strateia* (rechtlicher Status und Verwaltung) unter der Herrschaft von Konstantinos VII. s. P. LEMERLE, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the 12th Century*, Galway, 1979, S. 115-156 u. a., und HALDON, ebd., S. 29 ff. Im folgenden berufen wir uns auf J. F. Haldon, da er P. Lemerles Thesen, mit denen er sich weitestgehend einverstanden erklärt, mitverarbeitet. Ebenfalls zu *strateia*, ihren fünf verschiedenen Arten und ihrer Fiskalisierung im 10. Jh., allerdings vor 976, ausführlich s. : H. AHRWEILER (GLYKATZI), *Recherches sur l'administration de l'Empire byzantin aux IXe-XIe siècles*, in : *BCH* 84 (1960) S. 1-111, hier 10-19 ; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle. Propriété et exploitation du sol* (*Byzantina Sorbonensia* 10), Paris, 1992, S. 251 ff. ; G. G. LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo i gosudarstvo X-XI vv. Problemy istorii odnogo stoletija : 976-1081 gg.*, Moskva, 1977, S. 241 f. ; E. MCGEER, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth : Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*, Washington, 1995, S. 200 f. ; J. HALDON, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565-1204*, London, 1999, S. 124 f.

(32) HALDON, 1993, S. 37 f., 49.

(33) Ebd., S. 49 f. ; KAPLAN, ebd., S. 436 ; LITAVRIN, ebd., S. 241-244. T. G. Kolias bezweifelt sehr die Verdreifachung des besagten Minimalbetrages im Rahmen der von ihm selbst in Frage gestellten, ja bestrittenen Reform der *strateia* von Nikephoros II. Phokas. Zur finanziellen Situation des *stratiotes*, allerdings nur für die Zeit vor 976, s. KOLIAS, 1993, S. 37-56.

Zeitraum zulassen würden ([34]). Diese fiskalpolitische Entwicklung muss auf dem Hintergrund der im 10. Jahrhundert bzgl. Effektivität und Kampfkraft viel wichtiger gewordenen *tagmata* gegenüber den *themata* gesehen werden. Zudem entsprach sie der allgemeinen und für das späte 10. Jahrhundert belegten Tendenz, staatliche Fronarbeiten und Dienste zu fiskalisieren ([35]). Finanzierung und Rekrutierung der *themata* begannen sich immer weniger von denjenigen der sich vergrössernden *tagmata* zu unterscheiden. Mehr und mehr wurde im 11. Jahrhundert die Armee insgesamt von der sie finanzierenden Zentralregierung abhängig ([36]).

Im Jahre 1002 führte Basileios II. trotz starken Widerstandes von seiten der *dynatoi* (Mächtigen, besonders der Kirche) wegen der Bulgarenkriege das sogen. *allelengyon* ein, um den Staatstresor zu füllen ([37]). Trotz des Sieges über die Bulgaren und entgegen früherer Versprechen schaffte der Kaiser dieses Institut auch nach 1018 nicht ab ([38]). Diese beiden Entscheide lassen sich v. a. dadurch erklären, dass einerseits die jahrzehntelange Kriegführung an mehreren Fronten die Staatskasse enorm strapazierte, andererseits die auf den freien Bauern und Dörfern lastenden Steuern langfristig immer drückender wurden und die dadurch bedingte Steuerflucht (vermutlich in den Schutz eines Grossgrundbesitzers, lat.

(34) Zum *Stratiotenbesitz* (*stratiotika ktemata*), der hier bewusst nicht Gegenstand der Betrachtung ist, sei für die Zeit vor den siebziger Jahren des 10. Jh.s auf A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*, London, 1973, S. 134 ff., verwiesen. Auch W. Treadgold, *Byzantium and Its Army 284-1081*, Stanford, 1995, äussert sich mangels Fakten für die Zeit von Basileios II. darüber nicht.

(35) S. A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900-1200*, Cambridge, 1989, S. 109 ff.

(36) N. Svoronos, *Société et organisation intérieure dans l'Empire byzantin au XI^e siècle : les principaux problèmes*, in : *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford, 5-10 September 1966, ed. J. M. Hussey, D. Obolensky, S. Runciman, London, 1967, S. 373-389, hier 380.

(37) Io. Skyl. 347, 76 ff. ; Io. Zon. 561, 1 ff. ; Ch. S. Sifonas, *Basile II et l'aristocratie byzantine*, in *Byz.*, 64 (1994) 118-133, hier 122 f. Diese vom Zweck her und zeitlich begrenzte Fiskalmassnahme wird in den Quellen in substantivierter Form genannt. Davon unterschieden werden muss nach P. Lemerle (ebd., S. 80) das Prinzip der kollektiven Verantwortung für die Steuer über viele Jahrhunderte hinweg, wofür in den Texten stets das Adverb *allelengyos* (und nicht das Substantiv) steht. S. ebenso : Svoronos, ebd., S. 376 f. ; Kaplan, ebd., S. 212 f.

(38) Io. Skyl. 365, 1 ff. ; Io. Zon. 567, 4 ff. ; *Michaelis Glycae annales*, rec. I. Bekkerus, Bonn, 1836 (zit. : Mich. Glyk.), S. 579, 8 f.

*patronus*) eine für den Staat nicht mehr hinnehmbare Dimension erreichte. Die steigenden Ausgaben auf der einen und die jährlich schwindenden Einnahmen auf der anderen Seite, beides chronische Zustände, liessen dem ganz im Sinne des Staates denkenden und handelnden Kaiser keine andere Wahl. Beim *allelengyon* hatte einer der *dynatoi* (und nicht das ganze Kollektiv !) für die Steuer des entflohenen Steuerzahlers aufzukommen. Damit zielte der Basileus auf die Bestrebungen der Grossgrundbesitzer ab, ihren Besitz als autonome fiskalische Einheiten (*idiostata*) einzurichten, d. h. vom kommunalen System des *chorion* zu lösen, welch letzteres durch kollektive Verantwortung für die Steuerentrichtung charakterisiert war. Erst Kaiser Rhomanos III. Argyros (1028-1034) beseitigte diese staatsraisonistische, jedoch gegen den Grundadel gerichtete fiskalische Massnahme für immer ([39]).

Im Zusammenhang mit dem privaten Grundbesitz drängt sich natürlich auch die kaum zu beantwortende Frage nach der Bedeutung des im 10. Jahrhundert überhandnehmenden Grossgrundbesitzes als Faktor auf, der die Kriegsplanungen hemmte. Inwieweit gingen dem Staat in unserem Zeitraum wegen Steuerflucht von Kleinbauern, wegen der Patrociniumsbewegung ([40]) und der Flucht von Stratioten in den Schutz des Grundadels Einnahmen in Geld und Naturalien verloren, mit denen Basileios II. seine Feldzüge, speziell diejenigen gegen die Bulgaren, hätte zusätzlich fördern können ? Inwieweit trat dadurch auch ein personeller Engpass bei der Rekrutierung der Truppen (besonders der *themata*) ein ? Abgesehen davon, dass die Quellen ohnehin keine quantitativen Vorstellungen zulassen, könnte dieses Problem in qualitativer Hinsicht nur dann sinnvoll angegangen werden, wenn das gesamte Staatsgebiet und die Kriegführung an allen Fronten des Reiches integriert untersucht würden. Eine Ahnung davon, wie sehr der Grossgrundbesitz den Staat im 10. Jahrhundert bedrohte und dessen materielle und personelle Ressourcen nicht unberührt gelassen haben dürfte, kann ein kurzer Blick auf einige wirtschafts- und sozialpolitische Massnahmen der Kaiser Leon VI. (886-

(39) Io. Skyl. 375, 54 f. ; Io. Zon. 573, 15 ff. ; Lemerle, ebd., S. 75, 79 ; G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*. Dritte, durchgearbeitete Auflage, München, 1963, S. 254 f., 266 f. ; Svoronos, ebd., S. 376, 386 ; Kaplan, ebd., S. 439.

(40) Mit *patrocinium* ist der vom Kleinbauern aufgesuchte Schutz eines Grossgrundbesitzers (*patronus*) gemeint, der die Steuerlast im Tausche gegen persönliche Abhängigkeit übernahm.

912) bis Ioannes I. Tzimiskes (969-976) wecken. Die gegen Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts gefährlicher gewordene Machtkonzentration der Magnaten förderte Kaiser Leon VI. dadurch, dass er den Beamten erlaubte, Güter anzukaufen sowie Erbschaften und Schenkungen zu empfangen ; dagegen existierte das bisherige Verbot all dessen für die Themenstrategen weiter. Die Klasse der Grossgrundbesitzer und Beamten trat als wirtschaftlich stärkste und sozial angesehenste Kraft der Zentralgewalt entgegen. Dem Adel wurde der Ankauf von Bauerngütern dadurch erleichtert, dass das bisher geltende Vorrecht der Nachbarn des betreffenden Gutes widerrufen wurde. Das Vorkaufsrecht einschränkend, erlaubte Leon VI. den Verkauf von Immobilien an jede beliebige Person. Durch den von seiten der Regierung nur noch begünstigten Prozess des Ankaufs von Landbesitz der Armen (*ptochoi, penetes*) durch die Mächtigen (*dynatoi*) lief der Staat, dessen wirtschaftlich-finanzielle und militärische Kraft seit Kaiser Herakleios auf dem Kleingrundbesitz der Bauern und Stratioten beruhte, Gefahr, in seinen Grundfesten erschüttert zu werden. Gegen diese Entwicklung setzte sich Kaiser Rhomanos I. Lakapenos mit einer Reihe von Gesetzen entschieden, aber mit geteiltem Erfolg zur Wehr. Einerseits stellte er in revidierter Form das Vorkaufsrecht der Nachbarn wieder her (Novelle von 922/928). Andererseits erklärte er in einer Novelle von 934 alle Schenkungen, Erbschaften und ähnlichen Abmachungen erneut für ungültig, forderte die entschädigungslose Rückerstattung der erworbenen Güter und verbot auch inskünftig generell den Erwerb von Bauernland durch die Mächtigen ([41]). Die wegen der drückenden Fiskalpolitik und der Erpressungen von seiten der Steuererheber hervorgerufene Patrociniumsbewegung führte dazu, dass der wirtschaftlich ruinierte Kleinbauer sein Grundstück an einen Mächtigen verkaufte oder verschenkte und dadurch Höriger seines Grundherrn wurde. Das Leben im Patronat brachte ihm eine wesentliche Erleichterung von Pflichten und Lasten ([42]). Andererseits war es aber gerade dieser Kaiser, der mit seiner Agrarpolitik den Kleingrundbesitz erhalten und fördern, das weitere Anwachsen des Grossgrundbesitzes dagegen stoppen wollte ([43]). Mittels einer Novelle von 929 forderte er auch die entschädigungslose Rückerstattung jedes in den letzten 30 Jahren veräusserten Stratiotengutes, sofern dieses wegen seiner Veräusserung unter den für die Ausrüstung des Soldaten erforderlichen

(41) Ostrogorsky, ebd., S. 212 f., 226 ff. ; Toynbee, ebd., S. 146 ff.
(42) Ostrogorsky, ebd., S. 229 f.
(43) Ebd., S. 229, 253.

Wert gesunken war ([44]). Die von Kaiser Rhomanos I. (920-944) verfochtene Agrarpolitik setzte auch Kaiser Konstantinos VII. (913-959) fort. Bereits 947 verfügte ein Gesetz, dass alle Bauerngüter sofort entschädigungslos zurückerstattet werden sollten, welche von Mächtigen nach Beginn der Alleinherrschaft erworben worden waren ([45]). Ausserdem wurde den Bauern bei Veräusserungen von Gütern durch die Mächtigen das Vorkaufsrecht eingeräumt. Für die älteren Käufe galt jedoch noch die Regelung von 934 ([46]). Ein anderes Gesetz betraf die Soldatengüter ([47]), die auch in den sechziger Jahren Gegenstand von Gesetzesbestimmungen waren ([48]). Unter Konstantinos VII. wurde neben einer Verschärfung dieser Rückerstattungspflicht ([49]) gesetzlich auch verfügt, dass diejenigen Güter (mit einem Wert von mindestens vier Pfund Gold) nicht veräussert werden durften, aus denen die Soldaten ihren Unterhalt und die Mittel zur Ausrüstung bezogen ([50]). Von dieser (klein-)bauernfreundlichen Politik wollte im Grunde auch Kaiser Nikephoros II. Phokas nicht wesentlich abrücken, auch wenn er die *dynatoi* begünstigte, wie eine genauere Betrachtung der Novelle von 967 zeigt ([51]). Da die streng geführte städti-

(44) Ebd., S. 228 ; TOYNBEE, ebd., S. 149 ff.

(45) OSTROGORSKY, ebd., S. 234 ; TOYNBEE, ebd., S. 153 ff. Hier und im folgenden s. KAPLAN, ebd., S. 429 ff. Eine unter Rhomanos II. veröffentlichte Novelle bestätigte diese Bestimmung (vgl. OSTROGORSKY, ebd., S. 235).

(46) Ebd., S. 234. Näher dazu s. : D. A. ZAKYTHINOS, *Byzantinische Geschichte 324-1071*, Wien-Köln-Graz, 1979, S. 172 f. ; KAPLAN, ebd., S. 431.

(47) S. : OSTROGORSKY, ebd., S. 234 f. ; ZAKYTHINOS, ebd., S. 173 ; TOYNBEE, ebd., S. 155 ff.

(48) S. OSTROGORSKY, ebd. S. 238 f. Eine Novelle aus der Zeit von Kaiser Rhomanos II. von 962 erläuterte ältere Verordnungen über die veräusserten Soldatengüter und verpflichtete die gutgläubigen Käufer zur unentgeltlichen Rückgabe, die schlechtgläubigen aber sollten darüber hinaus noch bestraft werden (Ebd., S. 235).

(49) OSTROGORSKY, ebd., S. 234 f. : „Der Anspruch auf Rückerstattung des Gutes (bei einer Verjährungsfrist von 40 Jahren) stand nun nicht mehr nur dem ehemaligen Besitzer", sondern entsprechend dem „Vorkaufsrecht auch den Verwandten bis zum sechsten Grad" zu. Danach stand er auch jenen zu, „die mit dem ehemaligen Gutsinhaber gemeinsam für die Dienstpflicht aufzukommen hatten oder den Heeresdienst zusammen leisteten, wie auch den ärmeren Stratioten, welche mit ihm die Steuern gemeinsam bezahlten, und endlich auch den Bauern, die zu derselben Steuergemeinde gehörten".

(50) Ebd., S. 234. Der überschüssige Teil durfte nur dann veräussert werden, wenn er nicht in der Stratiotenrolle eingetragen war.

(51) TOYNBEE, ebd., S. 160-164 ; KAPLAN, 1992, S. 434 ff. ; ZAKYTHINOS, ebd. S. 234 f. ; OSTROGORSKY, ebd. S. 238.

sche Wirtschaft kaum Freiraum für Privatinitiativen gewährte, blieb den Mächtigen die einzige Möglichkeit, mit ihrem Kapital Land-, eben Bauerngüter zu kaufen ([52]). Dieser Expansionsdrang der Grossgrundbesitzer in den sechziger Jahren des 10. Jahrhunderts wirkte sich in zweierlei Hinsicht aus. Indem er einerseits den Kleinbesitz aufsog, unterhöhlte er gleichzeitig das staatliche Sozialgefüge. Andererseits ist nicht zu übersehen, dass durch den Aufkauf von Land von den Reichsfeinden, wie dies besonders von der kleinasiatischen Aristokratie betrieben wurde, die Staatsgrenzen vorgeschoben wurden ([53]). Wie sehr das Problem der Veräusserung der Güter im Laufe des 10. Jahrhunderts staatsbedrohlich zugenommen hatte und bisherige Gegenmassnahmen erfolglos geblieben waren, lassen die verschärften Bestimmungen hinsichtlich der Stratiotengüter dieses Kaisers und seiner beiden Nachfolger erahnen. Im übrigen kam zu den bisherigen Anordnungen hinzu, dass nur Rückforderungen von Gütern, die über das Mindestmass hinaus veräussert wurden, die Erstattung des Kaufpreises erforderten ([54]). Aus der Regierungszeit von Kaiser Ioannes I. Tzimiskes, der den Kampf gegen den Grossgrundbesitz fortsetzte, wissen wir, dass Beamte Grundherrschaften und Klöster nach entlaufenen Stratioten und Staatsbauern durchsuchten und sie zwangsweise zum Staate zurückführten ([55]).

Eine weitere Einnahmequelle für das Reich, um besonders die Kosten für den Unterhalt der Armee und speziell die Kriegführung zu bestreiten, waren neben den ordentlichen und ausserordentlichen (*allelengyon*) fiskalischen Einkünften die *Plünderungen* besiedelter und kultivierter Gebiete sowie die *Kriegsbeute*. Von diesen beiden Aspekten erfolgreicher Kriegführung unter Basileios II. profitierten jeweils alle beteiligten Wehrmänner, wenn auch in unterschiedlichem Masse. Damit war gleichzeitig auch für Motivation gesorgt. Gemäss den kaiserlichen Gesetzen musste der *strategos*, wenn er den Gegner besiegt hatte, die erbeuteten Rüstungen verteilen, wobei stets ein Fünftel für den Staat bestimmt war, während die übrigen vier Fünftel gleichmässig unter den Führern und deren Untergebenen verteilt wurden, entsprechend ihrem Einsatz im Kampf ([56]). Es erfolgten nicht nur Plünderungen als Nebeneffekt von Operationen gegen Truppen und Einrichtungen, sondern es wurden auch eigentliche

(52) Ebd., S. 240.
(53) Ebd.
(54) Ebd., S. 238 f.
(55) Ebd., S. 244.
(56) LT XX 192.

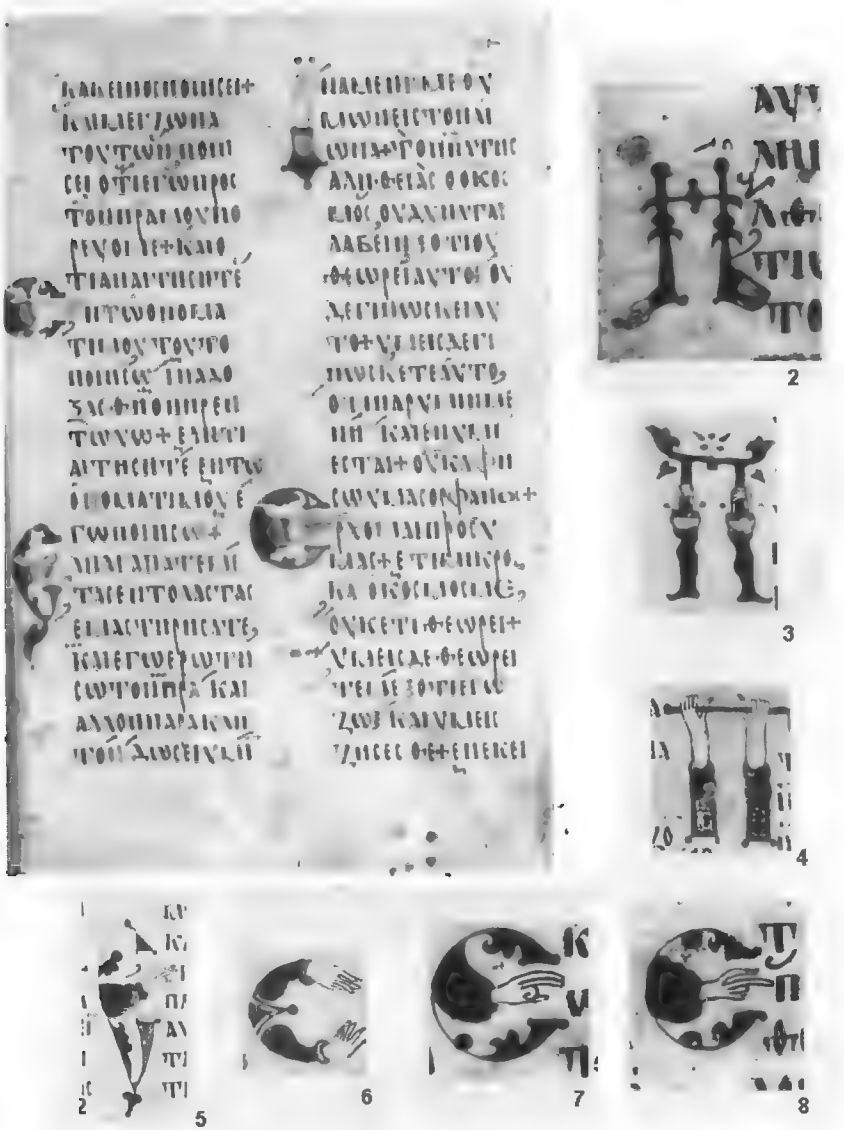

PLATE I — 1 : Ms *Paris, BNF, gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 34 (photo : Bibliothèque Nationale de France) ; 2 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 54v (detail) (photo : Bibliothèque Nationale de France) ; 3 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 20v ; 4 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 9 (from GRABAR, *Les manuscrits grecs*) ; 5 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 25v (photo : Bibliothèque Nationale de France) ; 6 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 49 ; 7 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 54v (photo : Bibliothèque Nationale de France) ; 8 : Ms *Paris, BN., Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 54v (photo : Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

PLATE II

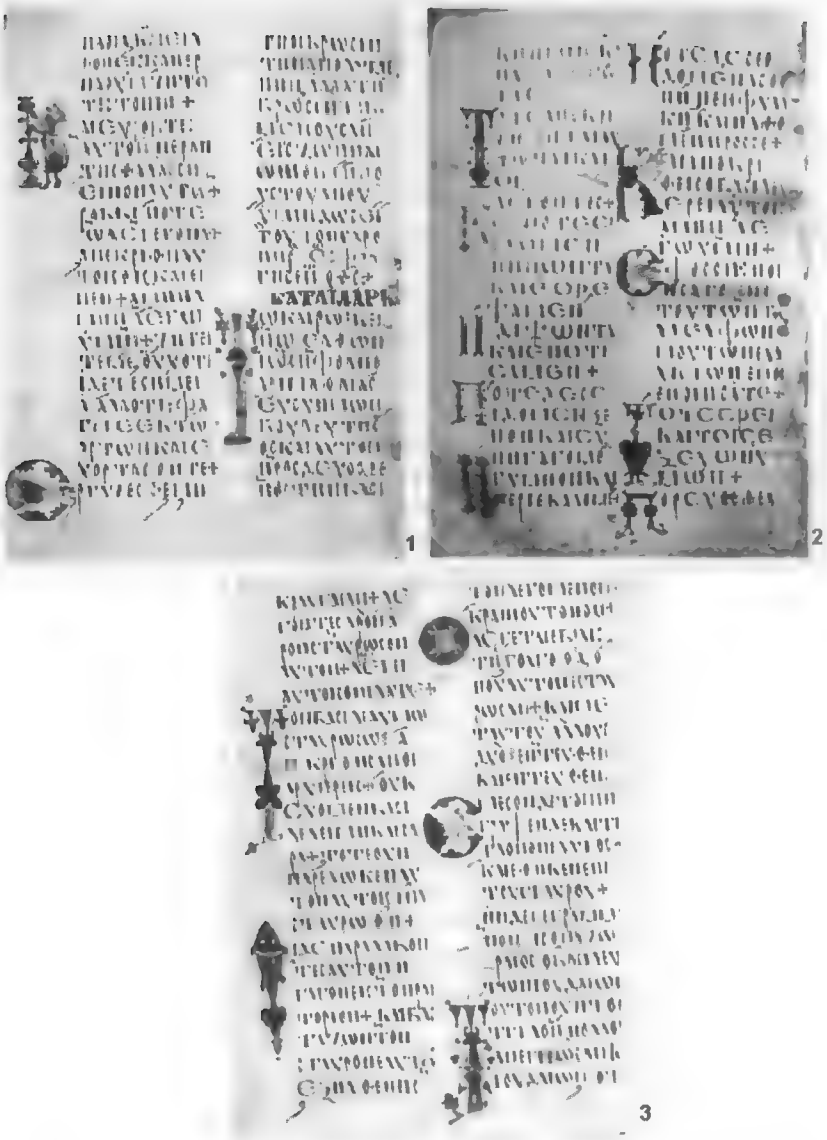

PLATE II. — 1 : Ms *Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, cod.* 70, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 155v ; 2 : Ms *Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, cod.* 70, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 123v ; 3 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 71 (photo : Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

PLATE III . — 1 : Ms *London, British Library, Add.* 39603, Lectionary, 12th c., fol. 1v ; 2 : Ms *Paris BNF, Gr.* 510, Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, 879-882, fol. 104v (from the private collection of A. GRABAR) ; 3 : Ms *Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, cod.* 213, Lectionary, 967, fol. 196v ; 4 : Ms *Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, cod.* 213, Lectionary, 967, fol. 28v ; 5 : Ms *Rome, Vat., Gr.* 2138, Lectionary, 991, fol. 16 (photo : Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana) ; 6 : Ms *Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, cod.* 70, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 33v (Drawing of the author) ; 7 : Ms *Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, cod.* 70, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 45v (Drawing of the author) ; 8 : Ms *Mount Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, cod.* 213, Lectionary, 967, fol 90 (detail) , 9 : Ms *St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek*, 908, *Liber Sacramentorum*, 7th c., p. 167 ; 10 : Ms *Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, cod.* A. III.14, Jerome, Commentary on Isaiah, 8th c., fol. 97 ; 11 : Ms *Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, cod. B* 159 *Sup.*, Gregory, Dialogs, 8th c., fol. 48v ; 12 : Ms *Paris, BNF, lat.* 12048, *Sacramentary of Gellone*, 790-c. 804, fol 164v (photo : Bibliothèque Nationale de France) ; 13 : Ms *Paris, BNF, lat.* 12048, *Sacramentary of Gellone*, 790-c. 804, fol. 164v (photo : Bibliothèque Nationale de France).

PLATE IV

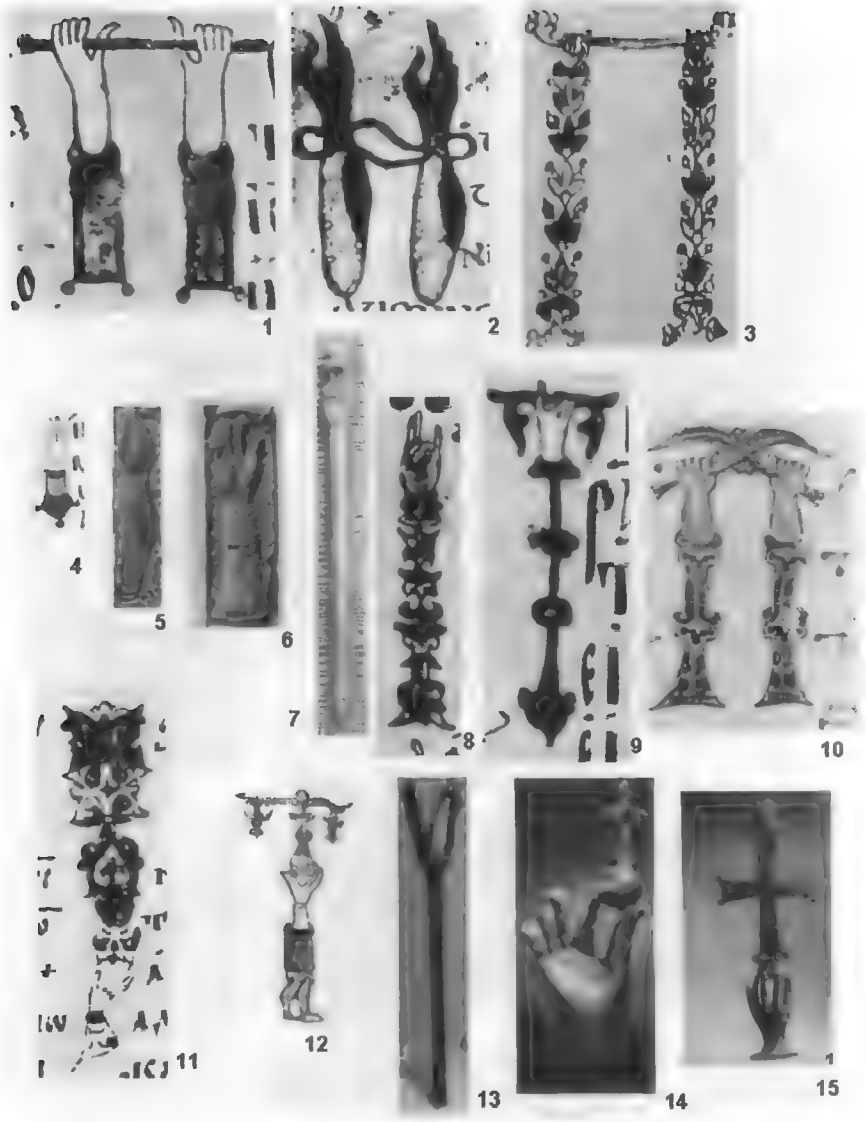

PLATE IV — 1 : Ms *Paris, BNF., Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 9 ; 2 : Ms *Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, cod. B* 159 *Sup.*, Gregory, Dialogs, 8th c., fol. 38v ; 3 : Ms *Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, gr.* 29, Homilies of St. Basil, 10th c., fol. 324v ; 4 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 34 (photo : Bibliothèque Nationale de France) ; 5 : Ms *Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, cod. B* 159 *Sup.*, Gregory, Dialogs, 8th c., fol. 48v (detail) ; 6 : Model, iron, 12 × 4,2 × 1,2 cm, 6th-7th c., unknown provenance, Munich, Prähistorische Staatssammlung, Inv. no. 1975, 734b (detail) ; 7 : Hair pin, ivory, Oxford, Christ Church College Museum, Roman period (photo of the author) ; 8 : Ms *Rome, Vat., Ottob. Gr.* 14, Homilies of Various Authors, 10th c., fol. 217v (photo : Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana) ; 9 : Ms *Athens, National Library, cod.* 59, Lectionary, 10th c., fol. 58v ; 10 : Ms *Athens, National Library, cod.* 2363, Lectionary, late 11th-early 12th c., fol. 130 ; 11 : Ms *Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, cod.* 213, Lectionary, 967, fol. 11v ; 12 : Ms *London, British Library, Arundel* 547, Lectionary, 10th c., fol. 166 (Drawing of the author) ; 13 : Bath object, bronze, Trier, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Roman (photo of the author) ; 14 : Votive object, bronze, h. 15,9 cm, private collection C.S. Inv. no. 322, provenance unknown, 6th-7th c. ; 15 : Votive object, bronze, h. 28,8 cm, Osnabrück, Domschatzkammer and Diözesanmuseum, East Roman (Syria ?), 6th-7th c.

PLATE V. — 1 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr.* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 78v (Drawing of the author) ; 2 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr* 277, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 109 (Drawing of the author) ; 3 : Ms *Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, cod* 70, Lectionary, c. 900, fol. 205v (from KOMINIS, *Patmos*) ; 4 : Ms *Paris, BNF, Gr* 48, Tetraevangelion, 10th c., fol. 231v (Drawing of the author) ; 5 : Ms *London, British Library, Arundel* 547, Lectionary, 10th c., fol. 95 ; 6 : Greek foot ex-voto, Melos, Asclepion, London, BM 809, Roman period ; 7 : Votive cross, bronze, h 16,3 cm, Munich, Collection C.S. Inv. no. 112, Eastern Mediterranean, 5th-7th c ; 8 : Modern Greek *Tama* attached to an icon, in Orthodox Church, Athens, Piraeus, 19th c. (photo of the author).

Plünderungs- und Verwüstungsfeldzüge als Hauptzweck veranstaltet, ohne dass es dabei primär um militärische Ziele ging. Dass neben Geld und anderen Wertgegenständen für bevorstehende Operationen besonders Nahrungsmittel sowie Last- und Reittiere gefragt waren, muss gar nicht näher betont werden. Die im Kampf erbeuteten Ausrüstungsgegenstände und Waffen dienten dem einzelnen Soldaten dazu, entweder sie in Reserve zu halten oder durch sie seine eigenen bisherigen teilweise bis ganz zu ersetzen oder aber die Beute zu verkaufen, um aus dem Erlös die eigene soziale Lage zu verbessern und besonderen persönlichen Bedürfnissen nachzugehen. Ein erfolgreicher Krieg bot Soldaten und Offizieren der *tagmata* beste Möglichkeit, um ihre Ausrüstung und ihren sozialen Status nicht auf Kosten des Reiches zu verbessern.

Was die mit der Kriegführung verbundenen Bevölkerungsdeportationen betrifft, gilt es, neben den militärstrategischen auch die wirtschaftlichen und fiskalischen Beweggründe ins Auge zu fassen. Auch wenn für die betroffenen Gebiete selbst keine konkreten Fakten vorliegen, es aber gerade unter Kaiser Basileios II. Praxis geworden war, *paroikoi* (in den Status eines Abhängigen geratene Bauern) auf Verfall-Land anzusiedeln ([57]), so dürfte vielleicht auch dieser Bewirtschaftungstyp, der für den Fiskus nur förderlich war, neben dem nach wie vor weiter praktizierten Anlegen von Stratiotengütern in Teilen der genannten Gegenden Realität gewesen sein.

Den – wohl etwa übertriebenen ? – Worten des byzantinischen Chronisten Michael Psellos zufolge mussten die Keller der Staatsschatzkammer in Konstantinopel durch unterirdische Stollen erweitert werden, um den erbeuteten *bulgarischen Staatsschatz* sowie die Schätze im Osten unterzubringen ([58]). Der Kaiser verteilte zwei Drittel dieser Beute unter seine Truppen und behielt ein Drittel für sich ([59]). Während der *byzantinische Staatsschatz* am Ende der Herrschaftszeit Basileios' II. nach Michael Psellos und Ioannes Zonaras die Summe von 200'000 *talanta* oder 14'400'000 *nomismata* betragen haben soll, berichtet Yahya von 6'000 qintar, d. h. 43'200'000 Goldsolidi (im Gegensatz zu angeblich vier qintar beim Regierungsantritt). Ausserdem spricht eine der Kleinchroniken des 16. Jahrhunderts für die Jahre 984/85 von 10'000 *talanta*

(57) S. Oikonomides, ebd., S. 168.

(58) *Michel Psellos. Chronographie ou histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976-1077)*, t. I, texte établi et traduit par E. Renauld, Paris, 1926 (zit. : Mich. Psell. Chron.) I, I, XXXI, 6-17 ; Io. Zon. 561, 16 ff. Zur Kritik s. Carelos, ebd., S. 10 f., 16.

(59) Io. Skyl. 355, 22 ff., 358, 14 ff.

(d. h. 720'000 oder 720 Millionen *nomismata*) ([60]). Nach dem russischen Byzantinisten G. G. Litavrin und neulich auch dem Griechen P. Carelos verdienen diese Angaben jedoch schwerlich ernsthafte Aufmerksamkeit. Dennoch darf vermutet werden, dass im Laufe der Regierungszeit Basileios' II. die Geldsumme in der Staatsschatzkammer kaum niedriger war als die vom russischen Byzantinisten geschätzte Bevölkerungszahl des Byzantinischen Reiches von 15 Millionen ([61]). Abgesehen von der Geldsumme im Staatstresor und den nicht bezifferbaren Geldern, die in den labyrinthartigen Gängen unter der Erde gelagert wurden, wird dem Kaiser auch nachgesagt, dass seine Truhen übervoll von kostbaren Perlen waren. Die wenigsten dienten ihm als Schmuck, die meisten lagerten als „unnützer Ballast" in den Schatzkammern ([62]). Vielleicht darf man aus

(60) MICH. PSELL. CHRON. I, I, XXXI, 6 f. ; Io. ZON. 561, 18 f. ; s. LITAVRIN, ebd., S. 201, Anm. 145 (Massangabe) ; ROZEN, V. R., *Imperator Vasilij Bolgarobojca. Izvlečenija iz Letopisi Jaxi Antioxijskago.* With an introduction by Marius Canard, Var. Repr., London, 1972 (zit. : YAHYA [ROZEN]) 249 ; P. SCHREINER, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. 1. Teil : Einleitung und Text* (CFHB XII/1), Wien, 1975 ; *2. Teil : Historischer Kommentar* (CFHB XII/2), Wien, 1977 ; *3. Teil : Teilübersetzungen, Addenda et Corrigenda, Indices* (CFHB XII/3), Wien, 1979 (zit. : SCHREINER KLEINCHRONIKEN), I 51 (3/6), II 138 (Kommentar von P. SCHREINER) ; CARELOS, ebd., S. 9 f., bes. Anm. 43, 11 ff.

(61) LITAVRIN, ebd. S. 201 f. ; CARELOS, ebd. S. 9 ff., bes. 13 ff. Im übrigen verneint P. Carelos in seiner etwas fragwürdigen Schlussfolgerung, dass dem *basileus* sowohl bei der Einnahme von Achris irgendein bedeutender Staatsschatz ausser dem privaten des letzten bulgarischen Herrschers zugefallen als auch am Ende seiner Regierungszeit irgendein Schatz übriggeblieben war (Ebd., S. 15 f.). Er begründet seine Behauptung mit den fast pausenlos geführten Rückeroberungskriegen im Osten wie im Westen seit der Jahrhundertmitte, die einen gewaltigen wirtschaftlichen Aufwand erforderten, was unter Nikephoros II. Phokas und Ioannes I. Tzimiskes zu einer vorübergehenden Geldentwertung führte. Eine ebensolch kurzfristige ist aber auch für die Zeit von 1000 bis 1005 belegt. Basileios' II. Erfolge an allen Fronten hätten die Staatskasse nicht zu füllen vermögen, denn der Unterhalt der Söldnertruppen wie die 6'000 Mann starke warägische *družina* (Palastgarde) erwies sich als kostspielig (Ebd., S. 14 f.). Und schliesslich, etwas voreilig formuliert, hätte nach P. Carelos mit den Bulgarenkriegen die militärische und wirtschaftliche Belastung von Byzanz einen zuvor noch nie dagewesenen Gipfel erreicht (Ebd., S. 15), was u. E. jedoch erst einmal begründet werden müsste (!). Vielmehr soll es sich hier nach Carelos um den literarischen Topos des guten Kaisers handeln, der „einen prall gefüllten Staatsschatz [hinterlässt] und seine unfähigen [...] Nachfolger [diesen] sofort verschwenden" (Ebd., S. 16).

(62) Io. ZON. 562, 4 ff.

heutiger Sicht hinter diesem (etwa für Notzeiten gedachten) „eisernen Vorrat" eine rigide Sparpolitik vermuten, die grösstenteils dazu diente, die jahrzehntelangen Kriege gegen die inneren und äusseren Reichsfeinde zu finanzieren.

Weiter flossen in die Kassen der *themata* resp. des Staates *Geldbeträge*, die als *Strafe* für bestimmte Vergehen zu entrichten waren (z. B. 30 *nomismata* bei Urlaubsentlassung zur Zeit des Krieges) ([63]). Auch dies spricht neben Disziplinierungsmassnahmen für den chronischen Finanzbedarf des Reiches – allerdings schon vor unserem Zeitraum. Zur logistischen Sicherstellung des kaiserlichen Feldzuges wurden der Zentrale in Konstantinopel auch *Naturalien* von *themata* und Privateigentümern (v. a. Klöstern) geschenkt und abgegeben.

Als eine Art indirekte Einnahme in Naturalleistung (10./11. Jh. ; in spätbyzantinischer Zeit jedoch in Geldform) ist die *Fron* (*angareia*) für den – gerade in unserem Zeitraum besonders regen – Festungsbau, die sogen. *kastroktisia*, zu betrachten. Hierfür zuständig war das *logothesion tu stratiotiku* (militärische Finanzverwaltung). Die Beamten (darunter auch Geistliche), die für die Errichtung und Verwaltung sowie den Unterhalt von *kastra* besorgt waren (die sogen. *basilikoi ton Kastron kastrophylakes, kastroktistai*), unterstanden in den *themata* vermutlich dem Strategen als der obersten Zivil- und Militärgewalt. Zu dieser neben den Personen- und Grundsteuern und den Sonderabgaben (*epereiai*) weiteren Leistung an den Staat waren alle Bürger im Rahmen ihrer kollektiven Verantwortlichkeit innerhalb der Gemeinde verpflichtet. Wer sie zu erbringen hatte, musste ausser der eigentlichen Arbeitsleistung auch Arbeitsmittel (Zug- und Arbeitstiere) stellen und seine eigene technische Ausrüstung einsetzen. Von dieser schweren Fronleistung versuchten weltliche wie kirchliche Grossgrundbesitzer immer wieder sich befreien zu lassen, wie Chrysobullen beweisen ([64]).

Als weitere Folge der Kriegführung figurierten auf der Einnahmenseite die *Güter* der ausgesiedelten bulgarischen Aristokratie und der letzten Königsdynastie. Teile davon verschenkte der Kaiser im 11. Jahrhundert als sogen. *basilikata* an ihm ergebene Leute, an Würdenträger und verdiente Mitglieder des byzantinischen Hochadels ([65]).

(63) LT VIII 15 (MS I 7, 11).

(64) TROJANOS, 1969, 43, 45 f., 48, 50-52, 54, 56. Zu objekt- und ortsspezifischen Sondersteuern für den Festungsbau s. Ebd., S. 53 f.

(65) S. ANGELOV, D., *Die bulgarischen Länder und das bulgarische Volk in den Grenzen des byzantinischen Reiches im XI.-XII. Jahrhundert (1018-1185)*

*Ausgaben*seitig wäre, was die Kompensation der soldatischen Dienstleistungen ausser in Land- (*stratiotai*) und Geldform (Söldner) betrifft, neben den allgemeinen *Privilegien* für die Soldaten in erster Linie die *Besoldung* (*misthos* – regulärer Söldnersold, *rhoga* [lat. *roga*] – alle vier Jahre an die Themensoldaten) und damit zusammenhängend supplementierende *Entschädigungen* (*siteresia* – monatliche Rationen, *annonai* – Rationen) und *Gratifikationen* (*doreai* und *euergesiai*) zu untersuchen. Doch liegen diesbezüglich für die Zeit von Basileios II. und speziell im Zusammenhang mit dessen Kriegführung keinerlei Angaben (beispielsweise zu möglichen Soldausfällen, -erhöhungen) vor (66). Bekanntlich war für den Soldaten der Sold im Kriegsfall, anders als in Friedenszeiten,

*(Sozial-ökonomische Verhältnisse)*, in : *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford, 5-10 September 1966, London, Oxford, New York, Toronto, 1967, S. 151-166, hier 154.

(66) Zur Institution der genannten Ausgabenposten für Offiziere und Soldaten speziell in der zweiten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts sei generell auf folgende Spezialwerke verwiesen : AHRWEILER, ebd., S. 6-8 ; J.-C. CHEYNET - E. MALAMUT - C. MORRISSON, *Prix et salaires à Byzance (x^e-xv^e siècle)*, in : *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin, t. II : viii^e-xv^e siècle*, éd. V. KRAVARI, J. LEFORT et C. MORRISSON, Paris, 1991, S. 339-374 (zit. : CHEYNET et alii), hier 366 ff. ; *Le Traité sur la Guérilla (De velitatione) de l'empereur Nicéphore Phocas (963-969)*. Texte établi par G. DAGRON et H. MIHAESCU. Traduction et Commentaire par G. DAGRON. Appendice (Les Phocas) par J.-C. CHEYNET (Le monde byzantin), Paris, 1986, bes. S. 27-135 (Texte et traduction ; zit. : DAGRON/MIHAESCU [1986]), S. 260-269 ; P. LEMERLE, *„Roga" et rente d'Etat aux x^e-xi^e siècles*, in : *REB* 25. *Mélanges Venance Grumel II*, Paris, 1967, S. 77-100. (Nach dieser Originalausgabe zitiert. S. auch Nachdruck in : DERS., *Le monde de Byzance : Histoire et l'Institutions*, Var. Repr., London, 1978, Kap. XVI) ; TOYNBEE, ebd., S. 136 f. ; OIKONOMIDES, ebd., S. 121-136 ; KEKAUMENOS (WASSILIEWSKY/JERNSTEDT) 94 (Kap. 241) ; HALDON, 1999, S. 126 f., 128 (Remuneration in der 1. H. 10. Jh.). Ein aufschlussreiches Bild von der Höhe der einzelnen Saläre (*rhogai*) der verschiedenen militärischen und zivilen Funktions- und Würdenträger vermittelt anhand konkreter Daten für die Zeit des 9. (B. und E.), 10. (B.-M.) und 11. (E.) Jh.s M. F. HENDY (*Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450*, Cambridge, 1985, S. 181-187, 191). Auf die Besoldung wird in dieser Arbeit deshalb nicht näher eingegangen, weil es einerseits grundsätzlich an konkreten Daten für die Zeit von Basileios II. fehlt, andererseits diesem Problem für das 10. Jh. in der Forschung wiederholt Beachtung geschenkt wurde. Drittens können die vorliegenden Salärwerte für die erste Hälfte des 10. Jh.s nicht mit den Erkenntnissen der immobilen und mobilen Organisation der byzantinischen Verteidigung in Verbindung gebracht werden, da es an konkreten Zahlenangaben zu den *tagmata* und *themata* fehlt.

nicht die einzige Einnahmequelle, denn zusätzlich kam er auch in den Genuss von Nahrungsmitteln, Ausrüstungsgegenständen, Kriegsbeute, Gratifikationen u. a. Weiter muss zwischen dem weniger verdienenden (weil mit fiskalischen Vorteilen versehenen) Soldatenbauern eines *thema* und dem besser besoldeten *tagma-* und Marine-Soldaten sowie den Wehrmännern fremder Söldnertruppen unterschieden werden. Die Höhe des Soldes bestimmten zusätzlich die ethnisch-nationale Herkunft sowie bei den höheren Offizieren das *thema* (bei *strategoi*) und die Würdentitel (67). Abgesehen davon hatten die Kommandanten und Soldaten der *tagmata* und die Mächtigeren (*dynatoteroi*) der *banda* an ihre Burschen, Sklaven oder Freie, ganz besonders aber an den Zeitpunkt der *rhoga* (68) zu denken. Laut den Traktaten kam es vor, dass der Sold zum Ärger der Betroffenen nicht immer pünktlich ausgezahlt wurde. Ausserdem waren jene verpflichtet, ihre Burschen und die Waffen aufschreiben und ausfindig machen zu lassen (69). Dadurch mussten diese zur Kriegszeit nicht von ihren Soldaten zum Tross abgestellt werden. Sollten jedoch Wehrmänner nicht in der Lage gewesen sein, Burschen zu unterhalten, schlossen sich drei oder vier solch ärmerer Soldaten zusammen, um einen Burschen gemeinsam zu finanzieren (70). Allgemein traf es zu, dass die finanzielle Situation bei den *tagmata* im Durchschnitt besser war als bei den *themata*. Während es bei den ersteren kaum finanziell arme Soldaten gab, war dies bei den letzteren eher der Fall. Hier gab es sogar wirtschaftlich sehr schwache Soldaten, die über keine Dienstleute verfügten und dementsprechend auch nicht gemahnt zu werden brauchten, einen Teil der *rhoga* zu verteilen.

An weitere Geldausrichtungen wird in den theoretischen Schriften gedacht : Sanitäter hatten theoretisch Anspruch auf ein Nomisma aus der kaiserlichen Schatzkammer als *Lohn* (*misthos*) für jeden geretteten Soldaten (71). Ferner sollten den Kriegern in der Anfeuerungsrede vor einem

(67) Zu ausgewählten Beispielen für das 10. Jh. (besonders im Zusammenhang mit der Kreta-Expedition von 949) s. CHEYNET et alii, 1991, S. 366 ff. Zu weiteren Beispielen aus dem 9. und 10. Jh. s. HENDY (ebd., S. 181 ff.). Diese Angaben können u. E. nicht problemlos mit denjenigen der obgenannten Staatsschätze verglichen werden, da zwischenzeitlich (unter Nikephoros II. Phokas und Ioannes I. Tzimiskes) vorübergehende Geldentwertungen stattfanden.

(68) Hierzu näher s. LEMERLE, ebd., S. 77-100.

(69) LT VI 15 (MS I 2, 62 ff.).

(70) LT VI 16.

(71) Ebd. XII 51 (MS II 9, 10 f.).

Kampf *Vergütungen* (*amoibe*) von seiten des Kaisers und Lohn für ihre Loyalität dem Staat gegenüber als Motivationsspritzen versprochen werden ([72]). Den Verbündeten und Soldaten gegenüber hatte sich der Stratege wie ein gerechter Richter zu verhalten, indem er den ersteren *Geschenke* (*dora*) gab, den letzteren aber die (ideellen ?) *Zuwendungen* (*charismata*) vermehrte ([73]). Das im 10. Jahrhundert im kaiserlichen Gepäck mitgeführte Geld (Säcke von Münzen in [Gold] *kentenaria* und *milaresia*) war für die Kosten des Feldzuges, und zwar als Schenkung an die Kämpfenden sowie für andere Ausgaben, bestimmt. Die hierfür Verantwortlichen waren der *sakellarios* und der *eidikos* ([74]). Ferner befanden sich im Feldzugsgepäck des Kaisers kostbare *Stoffe* (z. B. *skaramangia*) und in kaiserlichen Schneidereien hergestellte *Kleider* als Geschenke für mächtige Fremde und für Flüchtlinge ([75]).

## 4. Rolle und Bedeutung der Finanzen für die Kriegführung

In Byzanz, speziell unter Kaiser Basileios II. war die militärische Strategie von vorsichtiger *Zurückhaltung* vor einer offenen Feldschlacht und von einer ausgesprochenen *Belagerungsmentalität* geprägt. Die auffallend zahlreichen Belagerungen bulgarischer Städte und Festungen durch die byzantinischen Truppen dürften vielleicht nicht nur strategisch, sondern auch logistisch begründet gewesen sein, nämlich um Lebensmittel, Waffen, Truppen, Tiere zur eigenen Versorgung zu beschaffen.

Da realiter vernichtende Entscheidungsschlachten eher gemieden wurden, zogen sich nicht nur die einzelnen Operationen, sondern die Kriege insgesamt in die Länge. Die Byzantiner bevorzugten eine Strategie der Erschöpfung und Verzögerung, um den Gegner zu ermüden und ihn dann anzugreifen. Diese Strategie der allmählichen *Abnützung* und *Zermürbung* erforderte eine entsprechend gut funktionierende Versorgung der Truppen mit Nahrungsmitteln, Ausrüstung, Waffen und anderem Material, basierend auf einem Finanzierungssystem. Möglicherweise eingetretene logistische Schwierigkeiten, speziell was den Nachschub an Lebensmitteln betrifft, sowie eine dadurch bedingte Reduzierung der verfügbaren (v. a. land-) wirtschaftlichen Produktion zur Versorgung der Zivil-

(72) Ebd. XIII 3 (MS VII A 4, 5 f.).
(73) MS VIII 2, 144 ff.
(74) KONST. PORPH. TREATISES C 110, 261 ff., und Kommentar S. 225 ff.
(75) S. ausführlich Ebd. C 108, 224 ff.

bevölkerung wären bei solch intensivem operativem Vorgehen wie gegen die Bulgaren und dies teilweise noch zur Winterzeit nur allzu verständlich gewesen. Gerade in einem agrarisch geprägten Staat wie Byzanz konnte es daher nur feste Regel gewesen sein, kostenintensive Kriege wenn immer möglich zu meiden. Die in über vier Jahrzehnten geführten Feldzüge gegen die Bulgaren waren kostspielig und mussten unweigerlich an der ökonomischen Substanz des Staates gezehrt haben, auch wenn sich die Heere vielleicht mehrheitlich aus der wirtschaftlichen Produktion der (rück-)eroberten Gebiete versorgten und den Rest aus byzantinischem Territorium nachschieben liessen.

Wie bei der Einführung der Themenorganisation, als Steuereinnahmen in Form von Rohstoffen und Geld eingetrieben wurden, um die Armee zu unterstützen und sie auf dem Weg durch die *themata* mit den nötigen Gütern zu versorgen, gingen die Provinzbeamten auch in der Zeit des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts vor. Allerdings gab es eine kleine Änderung. Bis anhin war die Armee aufgelöst worden, wenn sie nicht gebraucht wurde (und dies war für die meiste Zeit des Jahres der Fall), um sich dann in Krisensituationen wieder zu vereinen und gegen den Feind vorzugehen. Dies war insofern von Vorteil, als die Soldaten für die meiste Zeit für sich selber aufkommen mussten und den Steuerzahler nicht zu sehr belasteten. Mit dem Wechsel zu einer Söldnerarmee, die das ganze Jahr in allen Regionen präsent war, verpflegt und untergebracht werden musste, stiegen auch die Kosten. Die ländliche Bevölkerung litt am meisten unter diesen Umständen.

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# BEMERKUNGEN ZUR BYZANTINISCHEN TRADITION DES WACHSTUMS DES FEUERBRANDS ODER DES TROCKENEN STOCKS (*AaTh 756*)

Im Alten Testament wird über den Zwischenfall des Rausches von Lot und seines Treffens mit seinen Tochtern berichtet (*Genesis* XIX, 30-38). Dieser Geschlechtsverkehr, der in Bezug auf die Ethik des Volkes, eine tadelhafteTatsache darstellt, führte in der Entstehung verschiedener volklichen Traditionen, die sich mit der Reue Lots zu tun haben. Lot erzählt Abraham seine tadelhafte Handlung und riet ihm drei Feuerbrande zu pflegen und jeden Tag zu giessen. Er hoffte ein Signal von Gott, d.h. seine Sünde wird vom Gott geschuldigt. Als die Feuerbrände wuchsen, Lot verstand,dass es ein Wunder geschah, ein Zeichen, das er entschuldigt worden ist, und er ruhigte sich (1). Dieses Wachstum war unmöglich mit den Gesetzen der Natur.

Diese Tradition wird in der apokryphen Erzählung enthalten ; nach dieser Erzählung das Kreuz Jesus Christi ist von diesem Holz gekommen, von den die gewachsenen Feuerbrände entstanden. Wir treffen also diese Erzählung in der, «Geschichte des Schlosses», die in dem Kodex *Vindobonensis theol.* 210 (Lamb. 247) gerettet worden ist und von A.Vassiliev (2) herausgegeben worden ist ; sie wird auch in den gedichten Umschreiben der *Genesis* und der *Exodus* enthalten, die von Georgius Houmnos (3) kurz vor 1493 verfasst worden ist. Dieselbe Erzählung besteht auch in einer apokryphen Heiligengeschichte von Lot (4) deren Text von A. Vassiliev publiziert worden ist ; es handelt sich um denselben Inhalt.

(1) G. A. Megas, *Η περί μετανοίας του Λωτ απόκρυφος παράδοσις και αι σχετικαί με αυτήν λαϊκαί διηγήσεις (AaTh 756C),* aus *Λαογραφία*, 28 (1972), S. 337-340.

(2) A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, Mosquae, 1893, S. 218-219.

(3) G. Houmnos, *Η Κοσμογέννησις* (ed. G. A. Megas), Athens, 1975, S. 184.

(4) *PG* 133, col 985.

Es ist bewundernswert, dass diese Erzählung weltweit bekannt geworden ist : Sie wird von Michael Glykas ([5]), Matthäus Kigales ([6]) und Dorotheos von Monembasia ([7]) in ihren Chroniken erwähnt. Diese Erzählung ist weiter dem Volk bekanntgemacht ([8]). Diese Erzählung ist weiter den Slawen bekanntgemacht, besonders den Russen, aber den Bulgaren und Rumänen,durch den entsprechenden Heiligengeschichten der byzantinischen Texte. N. P. Andrejev ist der Meinung, dass es sich um einen Einfluss von Byzane auf die slawische Kultur handelt ([9]). Dieser Einfluss ist durch die Tradition der Südslawen bekanntgemacht.

In Rumänien, und besonders in der Gegend von Transylvanien, die bereuenden Räuber lassen nicht den Feuerbrand, sondern den Stock in die Erde pflanzen ; dieser Stock wächst , wunderlicherweise, und wird ein Apfelbaum entstanden ([10]). Diese Tradition existiert auch in der poetischen, dichterischen Tradition des rumänischen Nationaldichters Vasile Alecsandri ([11]). In ähnlichen rumänischen Traditionen wird das Wachstum eines Stockes durch den Einfluss des Gottes ([12]) erwähnt. In den bulgarischen Traditionen, dagegen, wird das Thema des Wachstums der Feuerbrände ([13]) erwähnt.

Ähnliche Traditionen, die sich mit der Verzeihung einer grossen Sünde zu tun haben, existieren in deutschen, italienischen und griechischen volkstümlichen Traditionen ([14]). Es ist beachtenswert, dass diese Tradition auch in nachbyzantinischen apokryphischen Texten über die Konstruktion und den Ban der Kirche von Solomon in Jerusalem erwähnt wird, wie dies im Codex 3813 der Bibliothek der Rumänischen Akademie

(5) H. Eideneier, *Zur Sprache des Michael Glykas*, aus *BZ*, 61 (1968), S. 5-6.

(6) E. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique au xvii^e siécle*, vol 3, Paris, 1895, S. 313.

(7) D. B. Oikonomidis, *«Χρονογράφου» του Δωροθέου τα λαογραφικά*, aus *Λαογραφία*, 18 (1959), S. 158.

(8) M. Klaar, *Christos und das verschenkte Brot*, Kasel, 1963, S. 233.

(9) N. P. Andrejev, *Die Legende von den zwei Erzsündern*, Helsinki, 1917, S. 89.

(10) N. Cartojan, *Cartile populare*, vol. 1, Bucuresti, 1929, S. 124-125.

(11) *Ibidem*, S. 128-129.

(12) Al. Schott, *Walachische Märchen*, Stuttgart, 1845, S.165 ; D. Fortuna, *Cuvinte scumpe*, Bucuresti, 1914, S. 53

(13) L. Sischmanoff, *Légendes religieuses bulgares*, Paris, 1896, S. 227-230.

(14) N. G. Politis, *Παραδόσεις*, vol. 2, Athens, 1904, S. 923.

gerettet worden ist ([15]). Die Diffusion dieser Erzählung hat beigetragen, dass diese Erzählung in dem internationalen Katalog der Märchen von A. Aarne und St. Thompson ([16]) unter der Nummer *AaTh756* eingereiht worden ist und ebenso im Katalog der Motiven der volkstümlichen Literatur von St. Thompson ([17]) unter der Nummer *Q521. 1.*

Dieses Motiv des Wachstums der Feuerbrände existiert in griechischen ([18]), deutschen ([19]), slowenischen ([20]) und kroatischen ([21]) Volkslieder, wie auch in volkstümlichen Traditionen für den Papst Urban und den Ritter Tannhäuser (*ca* 1200-1268) ([22]), wo auch vom Wachstum eines Stockes die Rede ist. Wie N. P. Andrejev ([23]) bemerkt, handelt es sich in diesen Fällen mit der Bestätigung der Verzeihung eines Sünders von dem Gott, der als Zeichen den Wunder des Wachstums hat.

Es ist hervorzuheben, dass es in volkstümlichen Traditionen das Wachstum der drei Feuerbrände als Zeichen der Verzeihung des Sünders erwähnt wird ([24]), in einigen Fällen werden die Feuerbrände mit Flamme gepflegt ([25]), damit besonders das Wunder betont wird. Diese volkstümlichen Traditionen werden besonders in Sterea Hellas ([26]) begegnet, und

(15) O. Dahnhardt, *Natursagen*, vol. 1, Leipzig-Berlin, 1907, cap. 11 ; D. B. Oikonomidis, *op. cit.*, S. 203-205.

(16) A. Aarne-S. Thompson, *The Types of the Folktale. A classification and bibliography*, Helsinki 1964, S. 259-262.

(17) S. Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk Literature*, vol. 5, Helsinki 1935, S. 185.

(18) S. Imellos, *Λαογραφικά*, vol. 3 : *Ποικίλα*, Athens, 1994, S. 63-79.

(19) K. Horak, *Balladen aus Tirol*, aus *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Volksliewerkes*, 2 (1953), S. 61.

(20) H. Braun, *Zur Melodiegeschichte des Legendenliedes vom Bussfertigen Sünder*, aus *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, 16 (1971), S. 64-72.

(21) R. W. Brednich, *Die Legende vom Elternmörder in Volkserzählungung und Volksballade*, aus *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, 9 (1964), S. 116-143.

(22) L. Schmidt, *Zur österreichischen Form der Tannhäuser-Ballade*, aus *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Volksliedwerkes*, 1 (1952), S. 9-18, und L. Kreztenbacher, *Der Tannhäuser in der Volksdichtung Österreichs*, aus *Volkslied-Volkstanz-Volksmusik*, 48 (1947), S. 2-5.

(23) N. P. Andrejev, *Die Legende vom Räuber Madej*, Helsinki, 1927, S. 205-208.

(24) Kl, ms.1684 Β', S. 62-63 (Εμμ. Ιωαννίδης, Αμοργός, 1958).

(25) Kl, ms. 2301, S. 366-371 (Δ. Σ. Λουκάτος, Βαθύλακκος Καρδίτσης, 1959).

(26) K. Stavropoulos, *Ο κεκρυμμένος θησαυρός των λαϊκών παραδόσεων*, Athens, 1953, S. 90-91.

öfters werden als Hauptthema die Bescheinung eines unvorstellbaren Ereignisses beschrieben, wie die Verzeihung eines Sünders, mit dem Erscheinen eines logisch nicht erklärbaren Ereignisses, wie das Wachstum eines verbrannten Holzes.

Die Erzählung über die Entschuldigung Lots existiert auch in heiligen Texten, wie das Lob des Heiligen Akakios, wo über τρία ... ξύλα ξηρά παντάπασιν ([29]) die Rede ist, die durch in Wunder in der Erde gewaschen worden sind. Eine andere Form dieser Erzählung erscheint auch in anderen heiligen Texten, die zu der Gruppe *Apophthegmata Patrum* gehören, wie die Erzählung des Alten, der Abba Johannes Kolobos befiehl, das Holz zu giessen, das wegen seiner Gehorsamkeit und Geduld wuchs ([30]) und die Erzählung für den Mönchen der angeklagt worden ist wegen Beziehungen mit seiner Dienerin zu haben und als er starb, liess er ein Stock auf seinem Grab pflanzen, das später gewachsen worden ist ([31]). Diese Erzählungen ([32]) stellt eine Art Knoten mit dem zweiten Glied derselben Tradition dar, wie weiter analysiert wird und wurden von den byzantinischen, kirchlichen und klösterlichen Kreisen geformt, wie G. Tsouknidas treffend erwähnt ([33]).

Es ist auch wahrscheinlich, dass diese Traditionen dem Volk durch ihre Erwährung in dichterischen *Προσκυνητάρια* des Heiligen Orten ([34]) bekanntgemacht worden sind, in denen die Erzählung über Lot und die Bescheinigung seiner Entschuldigung beschrieben worden ist ([35]). Die Umformung dieser Erzählung ist von der Orthodoxen Kirche ([36]) gemacht

(27) A. Passov, *Carmina popularia Graeciae recentionis*, Lipsiae, 1860, n. 387.

(28) K. Romeos, *Το αθάνατο νερό*, Athens, 1973, S.100-104 ; Idem, *Κοντά στις ρίζες*, Athens, 1980, S. 33-38, und 275-279.

(29) F. Halkin, *Éloge de moine Acace (BHG 2010)*, aus *BZ*, 79 (1986), S. 288, und G. Tsouknidas, *Περί των δαυλών του Λωτ κ.λπ.*, aus *EEBS*, 48 (1990-1993), S. 26.

(30) *PG* 65, col. 204 A.

(31) *PG* 65, col. 244 B.

(32) G. Tsoyknidas, *Διηγήσεις για αναβλάστηση ξερού ξύλου*, aus *Βυζαντινός Δόμος*, 3 (1989), S. 78.

(33) G. Tsoyknidas, aus *Τετράμηνα*, 49 (1992), S. 3421-3423.

(34) S. N. Kadas, *Προσκυνητάρια των Αγίων Τόπων. Δέκα ελληνικά χειρόγραφα 16ου - 18ου αι.*, Thessaloniki, 1986, S. 85, 93,108.

(35) K. N. Papadopoulos, *Παρατηρήσεις στον βίο του αγίου Ακακίου*, aus *BZ*, 83 (1990), S. 430.

(36) Tsoyknidas, *Διηγήσεις*, S. 79.

worden und die meisten Forscher dieses Themas erkennen einer klösterlichen vorsprung ([37]). In der orthodoxen byzantinischen Hymnendichtung wird öfters das Wunder des Wachstums der Feuerbrände von Lot erwähnt. Von diesem Holz wird erwähnt dass das τρισύνθετον Holz enstand, das zur Konstruktion des Kreuzes Jesus Christi diente. Diese Texte der Hymnendichtung hat besonders N. B. Tomadakis ([38]) studiert und recherchiert ; früher hatte E. A. Pezopoulos anerkannt ([39]), dass diese beiden Traditionen durch die *Προσκυνητάρια* des Heiligen Ortes ([40]) in Verbindung dem griechischen Volk und der volkstümlichen Tradition bekannt gemacht worden sind.

Dieses Phänomen zeigt die Bedeutung der volkstümlichen religiösen Texten zur Umformung der volkstümlichen Traditionen und des volkstümlichen Glaubens. Die griechische volkstümliche Tradition hat analytisch D. B Oikonomides ([41]) studiert. Es ist besonders hervorzuheben, dass diese Tradition auch in anderen balkanischen Völkern existiert ([42]), wie auch in heiligen Texten der Heiligen der römisch-katholischen Kirche ([43]), wobei diese Tradition durch volkstümliche Bücher bekanntgemacht worden ist.

Es gibt auch ein zweites Glied derselben Tradition, das in der Byzantinischen Zeit geformt worden ist, wie es scheint, mit Mittelpunkt große Kloster, in denen heiligen Schriften verfasst worden sind. In bezug auf diesem Glied der Tradition beweis dieses Wunder den göttlichen Willen, mit dem ein Heilige eine Wohltat annahm. Bei Pausanias

(37) D. B. Oikonomidis, *Η περί μετανοίας και των δαυλών του Λωτ παράδοσις*, aus *EEBS*, 44 (1979-1980), S. 34.

(38) N. B. Tomadakis, *Το ξύλον του σταυρού εν τη ορθοδόξω ελληνική υμνογραφία*, aus *Αθηνά*, 78 (1980-1982), S. 9, und Idem, *Προσθήκαι*, aus *Αθηνά*, 78 (1980-1982), S. 326.

(39) E. A. Pezopoulos, *Συμβολαί κριτικαί και γραμματικαί*, aus *EEBS*, 3 (1926), S. 244-245.

(40) Rev. Philotheos, *Μέγα και θαυμάσιον προσκύνημα εις Παλαιστίνην*, Athens, 1925, S. 108.

(41) D. B. Oikonomidis, *Περί του ξύλου του Σταυρού εις την λαϊκήν παράδοσιν (εξ αφορμής ηλειακής παραδόσεως)*, aus *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Ηλειακών Μελετών*, 3 (1984), S. 463-488.

(42) P. Sauve, *Le folklore des Hautes-Vosges*, Paris, 1889, S. 298-299.

(43) F. Liebrecht, *Des Gervasius von Tibbury Otia imperialia*, Hannover, 1856, S.112. Vgl. P. Campers, *Mittelalterliche Sagen vom Paradiese und vom Holze des Kreuzes Christi*, Köln, 1897, S. 11-12.

(II 31,13) kennen wir die alte Erzählung von Keule des Herkules, die in Troizen ἐνέφυ τῇ γῇ καί ἀνεβλάστησεν αὖθις (44). Es wird auch berichtet, dass im „tyrrenishen Schiff (τυρρηνική ναῦς)", das Dionysus transportierte, spross auf dem Mast auf, ein Beweis seiner göttlichen Macht (45).

Im *Alten Testament wird* auch berichtet, dass der Stock von Aaron aufspross, ein Beweis, dass der Stamm von Levi für den Priesterstamm von Israel (*Zahlen* 17,5) gewählt worden ist ; der Prophet Iezekiel (17,24) charakterisiert das göttliche Aufspriessen als ein Zeichen der grossen Macht Gottes : Ἐγώ Κύριος ὁ [...] ξηραίνων ξύλον χλωρόν καὶ ἀναθάλλων ξύλον ξηρόν (46). Im Fall von Aaron berichtet der Gott selbst : καὶ ἔσται ὁ ἄν ἐκλέξωμαι αὐτὸν ἡ ῥάβδος αὐτοῦ ἐκβλαστήσει. Im diesem Fall beweist das Aufspriessen den göttlichen Willen und Wunsch.

Diese Texte des Alten. Testaments führten die byzantinischen Mönche ihre Traditionen zu formen. Im Heiligentext (Συναξάριον) der Mutter Christi, das dem Mönch Epiphanius zugeschriebem worden ist, heisst es : Ζαχαρίας δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, ὁ πατήρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ, ἔλαβε δώδεκα ῥάβδους ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων τῶν συγγενῶν τῆς Παρθένου, καὶ ἔθηκε αὐτὰς περὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον λέγων, Δείξει Κύριος σημεῖον τίνος ἔσται ἡ Παρθένος. Προσευχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν, ἐβλάστησεν ἡ ῥάβδος Ἰωσήφ τοῦ τέκτονος (47). (Der Priester Zacharia, Vater des Johannes Baptist, nahm zwölf Stöcke von den Priestern der Mutter, und ließ sie in der Opferstätte und sagte, Der Herr wird zeigen bis zur welchen Punkt ist die Mutter. Als sie ihr Gebet verrichteten, spross der Stock von Joseph auf.).

Diese Tradition sollte auch in den Heiligen Bücher der Heiligen aufgenommen, die Wunder machten, das Holz aufzuspriessen, ein Beweis, dass sie voll mit der göttlichen Gnade sind. Ein solcher Fall ist der Hl. Charalambos, der sich auf einem Stock stützte, als er sich in einem Haus steckte. Dieser Stock spross auf und machte so viele Zweige, dass das ganze Haus voll war : ἐβλάστησεν (ὦ τοῦ θαύματος) ἐκεῖνος ὁ στῦλος καὶ ἔκαμε τόσους κλάδους, ὁποῦ ὅλον τὸν οἶκον ἐσκέπασεν (48).

(44) Οικονομιδις, *«Χρονογράφου» του Δωροθέου*, S. 203 ; Idem, *Περί του ξύλου του Σταυρού*, S. 483.

(45) Οικονομιδις, *Περί του ξύλου του Σταυρού*, S. 483-484 ; Politis, *Παραδόσεις*, S. 921.

(46) Οικονομιδις, *«Χρονογράφου» του Δωροθέου*, S. 202-203.

(47) *PG* 120, col. 196.

Solche ähnliche Erzählungen findet man in vielen Heiligbüchern so wohl des Ostens ([49]), als auch des Westens ([50]). Diese Erzählungen beweisen die göttliche Gnade und die Macht jedes Heilige. Diese Traditionen reflektierte auch Nikephoros Gregoras, wenn er schrieb : ' Εκ τοῦ θείου ἡ πρόνοια δύναται καὶ τοῖς ξηροῖς διδόναι βλάστην ([51]).

In der Nachbyzantinischen Zeit gab es eine Diffusion solcher Erzählungen. Als Mittelpunkt dienten die Klöster. Es wird berichtet, dass die beiden Mönche Neilos und Dionysius ein Stock des Dionysius in die Erde richteten und boten die Heilige Mutter Maria der Stock aufzuspriessen, wenn Ihr Wunsch wäre. In der Tat, der Stock spross auf und in diesem Ort ([52]) wird das Kloster gegründet : Samos, im Jahre 1585, Kloster der „Grossen Hl. Maria". In dieser Tradition ([53]) gehört auch die Geschichte des Pascha, der ein Spiess in die Erde richtete und sagte, Griechenland werde frei, wenn dieser Spiess aufspriessen wird, und daraus wuchs eine Zypresse in Mistra ([54]).

In den griechischen volkstümlichen Traditionen, die sich mit der byzantinischen klösterlichen Tradition zu Tun haben, scheint Jesus Christus sein Stock in die Erde zu richten und er wird sofort aufspriessen, als Beweis seiner Gottheit ([55]). Ein anderer Fall ist das Aufspriessen des Stocks des Arzts des Altertums Hippokrates von Kos, als Beweis seiner Macht ([56]). Dies ist in jedem Fall eine jüngere Tradition, die nach den älteren, religiösen Traditionen geformt wurde, aber auch Stöcke, die aufspriessen als Beweiss des Willens Gottes ([57]).

(48) J. Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana : Texts, Documents and Bibliographies of George of Trepizond,* Binghamton, N. Y., 1984, S. 157.

(49) H. Günter, *Psychologie der Legende,* Freiburg, 1949, S. 127-128.

(50) Politis, *Παραδόσεις*, S. 922.

(51) H.-V. Beyer, *Nikephoros Gregoras als Theologe und sein erstes Auftreten gegen die Hesychasten*, aus *JÖB*, 20 (1971), S. 171-173.

(52) Ep. Stamatiadis, *Σαμιακά ήτοι ιστορία της νήσου Σάμου από των παναρχαίων χρόνων μέχρι των καθ'ημάς*, vol. 4, Samos, 1886, S. 298.

(53) S. Imellos, *Λαογραφικά*, vol. 1 : *Δημώδεις παραδόσεις*, Athens, 1988, S. 153-154.

(54) Politis, *Παραδόσεις*, S. 327.

(55) Kl, ms. 3023, S. 446 (Δ. Παππάς, Μεγάλο Περιστέρι Ιωαννίνων, 1964-1965).

(56) An. Karanastasis, *Ο Ιπποκράτης σε ανέκδοτες παραδόσεις της Κω*, aus *Δωδεκανησιακόν Αρχείον*, 1 (1955), S. 112.

(57) Kl, ms. 2394, S. 325 (Γ. Κ. Σπυριδάκης, Ίδα Πέλλης, 1961).

Es wird auch das Aufspriessen und die Nachblüte des Holzes erwähnt, als ein Zeichen, dass der Christianismus die einige reale Religion ist ([58]). Ich erinnere nur daran, dass es eine ähnliche deutsche Tradition existiert, bei welcher ein unmöglich menschliches Ereignis tatsächlich besteht, die Nachblüte eines Holzes ([59]). In allen diesen Fällen wird die göttliche Macht und der Willen den Wunder bescheinigt. In diesem Fall handelt es sich nicht um die Verzeihung und Entschuldigung eines Sünders.

Es ist erwähnenswert, dass öfters Formen einiger Baüme nicht logisch erklärt werden können und werden als Wunder erklärt ([60]). Es handelt sich um einige Traditionen, die vom Volk nicht logisch werden können.

Die Literatur hat sich nicht systematisch befasst, wie oben dargestellt worden ist, mit den beiden Gliedern der Tradition, das unser Werk war. Diese Diskriminierung der beiden Gliedern der Tradition dient auch zur Folgerung der Tradition im Laufe der Zeit, so dass möglich ist die Einflüsse und ihre Wechsel in verschiedenen Völkern nachzuschauen.

Die Tradition für die Bescheinung eines unmöglichen oder anerwarteten Ereignisses mit dem Wiederaufsprossen eines Holzes oder verbrannten Feuerbrandes kommt von der alten griechischen und biblischen Literatur. In Homer (*Ilias*, I 234-237) erzählt Achilleus, dass die Achaioi nicht ohne seine Hilfe den Krieg gewinnen werden abgerechnet von dem Fall, dass sein Herrscherstab aufspriessen wird ([61]). In der byzantinischen Zeit stellte dieses Motiv die Basis für die Formung zwei Gruppen von Traditionen dar. Die erste Gruppe der Tradition umfasst das Wiederaufsprossen eines Stockes oder eines Feuerbrands und beweist die Entschuldigung des Sünders von dem Gott. Die zweite Gruppe der Tradition, die einen klösterlichen Hintergrund zu haben scheint, umfasst das Wiederaufsprossen eines holzes, besonders eines Stockes, und beweist den Willen Gottes. Es ist erwähnenswert, dass die Diffusion solcher Erzählungen sehr populär war ; ein Beweis dafür ist der aufgeblühte Stock von Joseph, der in einem Fresco (Mosaik) des Klosters

(58) KL, ms. 2301, S. 350 (Δ. Σ. Λουκάτος, Βαθύλακκος Καρδίτσης, 1959).

(59) BRÜDERN GRIMM, *Deutsche Sagen*, Berlin, 1903, n° 356.

(60) OIKONOMIDIS, *Περί του ξύλου του Σταυρού*, S. 483-484.

(61) N. P. ANDRIOTIS, *Γλωσσική λαογραφία*, aus *Αφιέρωμα εις Κ. Ι. Άμαντον*, Athens, 1940, S. 62-63. Vgl. IMELLOS, *Λαογραφικά*, vol. 1, S. 154.

Chora in Konstantinopel (14tes Jahrh.) gezeichnet wird (62). Als Quelle diente, selbstverständlich, die apokryphe Tradition.

Diese byzantinische Tradition ist in ihren beiden Variationen in slawischen (Russen), Bulgaren (balkanischen, Rumäner), Slowaken, Kroaten und europäischen Völkern (Deutsche, Italiener, Franzesen) durch die patristische Literatur und die hagiologischen Schriften bekanntgemacht worden. Diese Tradition ist bis heute in Traditionen, Märchen, Erzählungen und Volksliedern gerettet worden. Es handelt sich um einen interessanten Fall des Gebrauchs eines alten, byzantinischen Materials, das einen Aspekt des Phänomens darstellt, das N. Jorga „Byzanz nach Byzanz" nannte. In der griechischen Volkskunde überleben viele byzantinische Elemente, die einen volkskundlichen und erzählenden Charakter nachweisen, ein Beweis der Wahrheit der Worten des rumänischen Historikers.

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(62) ILHAN AKSIT, *The Museum of Chora. Mosaics and Frescoes,* Istanbul, 1997, S. 51.

# BYZANTINE VISUAL PROPAGANDA AND THE INVERTED HEART MOTIF (1)

Seemingly unassuming details can occasionally provide insights into much wider historical and cultural problems. The inverted heart motif, a heretofore largely overlooked iconographic element found in middle and late Byzantine enamels, sheds unexpected light on an array of interlocking phenomena : the visual construction of imperial power, the relationship of the earthly court to its heavenly counterpart and the diffusion of these ideas within the Byzantine Commonwealth. Although many aspects of the motif remain obscure, its appearance in specific contexts on a substantial number of enamels over a period of at least three centuries suggests that its function was more than simply decorative. Analysis of its meaning and placement demonstrates the design's important function in the articulation of relationships among key members of the court, both mortal and immortal, as well as the recognition of this symbolism beyond the borders of the Empire.

A typical and particularly beautiful example of the inverted heart motif is found in an enamel icon of St Demetrios (Appendix no. 3). The saint, depicted here in the courtly robes of a martyr, raises his hands in prayer. Atop a blue tunic he wears a dark green *chlamys* decorated with closely-spaced rows of red inverted hearts. This distinctive design is associated only with a narrow range of subjects, among them some of the foremost members of the earthly and heavenly courts. Demetrios, for example, was a celebrated military saint who was believed to protect emperors and their armies in battle. The inverted hearts appear in a number of other enamel icons of him and his saintly comrades-in-arms, as well as on representations of earthly rulers and their divine counterparts, functioning as a means of identifying their status and underlining their relationships across a range of works in a single medium. This subtle visual cue, it will be argued, was used to designate the close ties between middle and late

(1) I am grateful to David Buckton for his helpful comments on a draft of this article.

Byzantine emperors, their earthly predecessors and their saintly patrons in a medium which itself reflected the glory and splendour of the court.

The origin of the inverted heart motif is unknown. Although it, or something very similar, appears in one seventh-century mosaic, there is no other evidence for its existence until several centuries later. It is found most frequently in enamels of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, and in few if any works in other media from that period. Among enamels which can with relative assurance be identified as Byzantine, the design appears sixty times. A further nineteen enamels from Georgia and Rus, areas with close ties to the Empire which borrowed heavily from its artistic traditions, also feature the motif. (A complete list of these items with dates and bibliographic information can be found in the Appendix). Although this group represents a small proportion of the total number of surviving enamels from these cultures, definite patterns in the placement of the hearts and the identity of the figures associated with them are evident. In the Byzantine enamels, royal figures and members of their courts, ranging in period from King David to Constantine and Helen to various middle Byzantine rulers, appear twenty-six times wearing clothing with the design. Various martyrs, most of them affiliated with warfare, are depicted a further twenty times. In seven works, the hearts appear on objects associated with Christ or the Mother of God, and in the remaining seven works they are associated with archangels or St Mark. The non-Byzantine enamels generally follow these conventions, although they include a number of intriguing regional variations which will be discussed below.

Certain rules thus seem to have governed the usage of the inverted hearts, as their placement on enamels is too predictable to be entirely coincidental. No complete catalogue of surviving Byzantine enamels exists, making detailed research on the medium difficult. In all of the published examples available for study, however, the inverted hearts are associated only with the figures mentioned above. By contrast, none of the numerous other categories of figures who appear in Byzantine enamels – including prophets, apostles, church fathers, bishops and most non-military martyrs – can boast garments or accessories decorated with inverted hearts ([2]). Furthermore, the pattern does not appear in any of the

(2) The heart shape is occasionally found in other contexts, but not in the same pattern. Enamel depictions of books, such as those carried by the evangelists, sometimes feature hearts with points that fit into the four corners of the

numerous non-figurative enamels with decorative motifs, but seems to be associated exclusively with a select group of mortal and divine figures. The identities of those associated with the inverted hearts would thus seem to be an important clue regarding the wider significance of the pattern, but this is not the only aspect of the problem. In order to understand why the inverted hearts appeared where and when they did, it is necessary first to investigate the pattern's place within the conventions of Byzantine enamelling, whether it is found in other media and any references to it in written sources. Only through analysis of this wider cultural context can the full significance of the inverted hearts and their exclusive association with certain figures be appreciated.

Within the medium of enamel, the inverted hearts are usually, although not always, found on depictions of articles of clothing. It would therefore seem reasonable to assume that the pattern was simply copied from fabrics. And indeed, most scholars who have noticed the pattern at all have described it in these terms. William Wixom, for example, comments about the icon of St Demetrios described above : 'His richly patterned *chlamys*, with its inverted hearts, probably reflects actual contemporary textile patterns' (3). Thomas Steppan, discussing the examples of the motif on the Innsbruck plate, notes its association with members of the court and concludes, 'Es handelt sich durchwegs um ein höfisches Ornament' (4). There is, however, little evidence among extant examples of Byzantine fabrics to support such claims. Although the heart shape itself was not uncommon in Byzantine fabrics, it usually appeared as a single element of much more elaborate designs. Instead of the simple rows seen in enamels, hearts were typically stacked in complicated roundels and integrated with floral and other motifs. Although the survival and publication of Byzantine fabrics is patchy at best, only two frag-

volume. See, for example, K. WESSEL, *Byzantine Enamels from the 5th to the 13th Century*, translated by I. R. GIBBONS, Shannon, 1969, p. 155, n°. 47c. This arrangement is entirely different from the rows of hearts found on articles of clothing, and the two designs are unlikely to be related.

(3) *The Glory of Byzantium : Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843-1261*, ed. H. C. EVANS and W. D. WIXOM, New York, 1997, p. 160.

(4) T. STEPPAN, *Die Artuqiden-Schale. Email-Kunst im Spannungsfeld byzantinischer und islamischer Kultur*, in *Die Artuqiden-Schale im Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum Innsbruck : mittelalterliche Emailkunst zwischen Orient und Occident*, ed. by T. STEPPAN and A. OHLENSCHLÄGER, Munich, 1995, p. 28.

ments among those surveyed bear any resemblance to the inverted heart pattern seen in enamels (5).

The first, a silk fragment thought to be from seventh-century Syria, features two hunters taking aim at two lions in a complex roundel surrounded by floral details (no. 80). The hunters' outer garments are adorned with right-side-up hearts which are arranged in a manner similar to the inverted hearts in enamels. It is interesting to note that here, as in the enamels, the hearts are shown as a detail of clothing, rather than as the pattern of the fabric itself. The silk clearly did not have an overall pattern of hearts, but, like the enamels, confined it to representations of clothing. Still, the fragment probably predates the appearance of the inverted hearts in enamels by several hundred years, and the difference in the orientation of the hearts makes a direct connection between the two patterns seem unlikely.

Somewhat more promising is a small piece of silk of unknown date preserved in the binding and tongue of a manuscript in the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford (n° 82). It is decorated with regular rows of shapes which are similar to the inverted hearts, but not as well defined. Instead of the crisp, unmistakably heart-like design seen in the enamels, these shapes are much softer, falling somewhere between a heart and a mitten. Even more significantly, they are two-tone, a feature never seen in enamels. The colouring of the shapes alternates between blue with red points and green with red points, although so few rows are visible that it is difficult to be sure if this was the overall pattern. Because of the small size of the silk fragment, moreover, it is also unclear whether the heart-like shapes existed by themselves or as part of a larger design, and whether or not they were inverted. Although the general similarities between these shapes and the inverted hearts found on enamels are noticeable, the divergent details rule out the possibility that they represent the same pattern. Byzantine weavers and enamellers were highly skilled, and could surely have copied each other's work with more accuracy if they had so desired. At most, the two patterns may represent variations on a standard design – one adapted for use on fabrics and one for use on enamels.

(5) For a wide-ranging survey of Byzantine silks, see A. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving : A.D. 400 to A.D. 1200,* Vienna, 1997. Examples of the heart shape within more complicated designs include nos. 96A (M743) and 83A (M24). See also O. VON FALKE, *Decorative Silks,* 3rd ed., London, 1936 and C. G. E. BUNT, *Byzantine Textiles,* Leigh-on-Sea, 1967.

One of the seventh-century mosaics (n° 79) in the Cathedral of St Demetrios in Thessalonika depicts the saint wearing a *chlamys* with a pattern of inverted hearts very similar to that seen in the enamel icon of the saint described above. The hearts in the mosaic are more widely spaced than those in enamels, but are otherwise similar. Although this is the only known depiction of the inverted hearts in a mosaic, it shows that the pattern (or something quite like it) predated its appearance in enamels and may indicate that it originated in actual fabrics. On the other hand, the pattern appears only on the garment of an ancient saint, whose actual clothing during his life on earth could no longer have been known by the time the mosaics were made. The inverted hearts do not appear elsewhere in the mosaic cycle, even in the portraits of a number of individuals – donors and clerics – who were alive at the time of its construction and whose robes could have been depicted with the motif if it had appeared on them (6). It is perhaps not coincidental that the pattern is depicted on the *chlamys* of St Demetrios, who in later centuries was frequently associated with it in the medium of enamel. It is tempting to speculate that the design was originally associated with this saint, and that it gradually spread to others once his cult began to gain popularity outside of his native city of Thessalonika. The evidence is not substantial enough to support such a theory, however, especially since there is no way to establish a precise chronology for most of the enamels featuring Demetrios. The mosaic certainly provides intriguing early evidence for the existence of the motif, but it remains an isolated example in a medium other than enamel, and few conclusions can be made about it with certainty.

Direct evidence for the existence of the inverted hearts on Byzantine fabrics is thus minimal, but so few examples survive that it is probably impossible to demonstrate conclusively that a certain design did not exist. Byzantine written sources provide some further clues in their brief but tantalising references to fabric designs. Some of these sources have been used to claim that the inverted hearts represent ivy leaves (7). As evidence

(6) R. CORMACK, *Writing in Gold : Byzantine Society and its Icons*, London, 1985, pp. 79-94. Another mosaic of uncertain date in the church may show St Theodore wearing robes with a similar design, but the reproduction is not clear enough to distinguish the pattern. See R. CORMACK, *The Church of Saint Demetrios : The Watercolours and Drawings of W. S. George*, in *The Byzantine Eye : Studies in Art and Patronage*, London, 1989, pp. 17-52.

(7) See, for example, M. BÁRÁNY-OBERSCHALL, *The Crown of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos* (*Archaeologia Hungarica*, 23), Budapest, 1937,

for this hypothesis, M. Bárány-Oberschall and O. M. Dalton cite a passage from the *Book of Ceremonies* describing the investiture of an official known as the *proedros*. The *chlamys* of the *proedros* is described as being decorated with a double *tablion* and small ivy leaves ('κισσοφύλα μικρά') (8).

Ivy leaves are a possible explanation for what the hearts may represent. Indeed, one of the illuminations from the celebrated manuscript of the homilies of John Chrysostom (Coislin 79) from about the 1070s features an official identified as the *proedros* and *dekanos* whose outer cloak is decorated with shapes which are similar to the inverted hearts (n° 81). The pattern is not identical to that seen on enamels, as the hearts are shown only in outline and are contained within larger soft triangle shapes (9). It would, however, probably be possible to speculate about the identity of the patterns, were it not for another manuscript illumination, also featuring a *proedros*, which portrays him in quite different robes (10). This donor portrait probably also dates from the second half of the eleventh century, but the robe of the official is decorated with spiral shapes and spades.

This inconsistency casts doubt on the proposed identification of the pattern found in enamels, as spades may well be a closer approximation of ivy leaves than inverted hearts. It is unlikely, moreover, that the hearts are merely a simplified version of the spades designed for use in enamels. Although the two designs are similar, it is clear that Byzantine enamellers distinguished between them and were capable of reproducing both, since spades are also found in enamel depictions of fabric patterns (11). Further complicating the problem is the fact that the *proedros* could no doubt wear more than one type of robe. Fashions may also have changed during the century or so between the composition of the passage from the

pp. 62-64 ; O. M. DALTON, *Byzantine Enamels in Mr. Pierpont Morgan's Collection,* London, 1912, p. 10 ; N. KONDAKOV, *Russkie klady. Issledovanie drevnosti velikokniazheskogo perioda,* St Petersburg, 1896, p. 112.

(8) CONSTANTINE VII, *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ed. J. J. REISKE, Bonn, 1829, pp. 440-441.

(9) A similar pattern appears on the garments of two saints, probably George and Demetrios, in the early fourteenth-century mosaics of the Chora monastery. See P. A. UNDERWOOD, *The Kariye Djami*, London, 1966, 2, p. 304, no. 165.

(10) I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts (Byzantina Neerlandica*, 6), Leiden, 1976, pp. 74-76, ill. 42.

(11) King Solomon, for example, wears a robe decorated with spades in an enamel plaque from the *Pala d'Oro*. WESSEL, *Byzantine Enamels*, p. 136, n° 46e.

*Book of Ceremonies* and the production of the manuscript portraits. The equation of the hearts with ivy leaves is thus far from certain.

Caution must, in general, be exercised when attempting to match fabric patterns seen in artwork with those mentioned in texts. Investigation into such terminology reveals that it is both highly complex and poorly understood. Although the inverted hearts may seem to resemble a recognisable design such as ivy leaves, the identification of such patterns is by no means straightforward. Not only have the meanings of many of the Byzantine terms for fabric patterns been lost, but there is no guarantee that works of art represent faithful renderings of the designs which adorned actual bolts of cloth. A number of examples illustrate the uncertainties which surround this terminology and the difficulties involved in matching the inverted hearts with a specific type of pattern mentioned in written sources.

Byzantine authors used a variety of terms to describe patterns which appeared on cloth and garments. Such references are not extremely numerous, but suffice to demonstrate both that specific terms were used consistently over time, and that many of the nuances associated with this system of nomenclature are now opaque. In some cases, the term has no known definition, leaving both its meaning and the appearance of the pattern in question open to speculation. Such is the case with the word 'φουφούλια' from the *Book of the Eparch*, about which the work's editor can only guess that it may derive from the Arabic word for pepper and refer to a mottled or speckled cloth ([12]). In other cases the literal meaning of the term is known, but its relationship to fabric designs remains less than clear. For example, both the fourteenth-century *Treatise on the Offices* of Pseudo-Kodinos and one of Constantine VII's treatises on military expeditions from the mid-tenth century mention garments decorated with eagles ([13]). Similarly, the eleventh-century *Diataxis* of Michael Attaliates refers to various cloths with designs featuring peacocks, griffins and a two-headed lion-griffin ([14]). Because many examples of

(12) *The Book of the Eparch*, ed. J. NICOLE, London, 1970, p. 29.

(13) PSEUDO-KODINOS, *Traité des offices*, translated and ed. J. VERPEAUX (*Le monde byzantin*, 1), Paris, 1966, pp. 144, 145, 148, 149, 162 ; CONSTANTINE VII, *What Should be Observed When the Great and High Emperor of the Romans Goes on Campaign*, in *Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions*, translated and ed. J. F. HALDON (*CFHB*, 28), Vienna, 1990, p. 110.

(14) MICHAEL ATTALIATES, *La Diataxis de Michel Attaliate*, translated and ed. P. GAUTIER, in *REB*, 39 (1981), p. 97.

Byzantine silk feature real and fantastic animals, it is possible to speculate about the appearance of the fabrics mentioned in these texts, although there is no way to be sure that they were identical to the surviving fragments ([15]).

Other words complicate the picture even further. In the same treatise, for example, Constantine VII also uses the terms βδέλλια, βασιλικά and θάλασσαι to describe patterns on various garments which were to be taken on military expeditions ([16]). The latter word also appears in several other sources, including *The Book of the Eparch*, where it is used in a similar context ([17]). The editor of the treatise on military expeditions translates these words as 'droplets', 'imperial symbols' and 'the sea-pattern', respectively ([18]). These renderings convey the literal sense of the words, but they do not provide any clues about the actual appearance of the patterns. Short of finding an illustrated manuscript there seems to be no way to recover this information. It is perhaps instructive in this context to recall the example of 'hound's-tooth'. Although the name of this pattern has a definite meaning, it would be very difficult to guess how it looks solely on the basis of knowledge of the appearance of a hound's tooth.

The same problem applies to the terms discussed above, any of which, like the ivy leaves, may be candidates for describing the inverted hearts. As with the ivy leaves, however, none seems to be a perfect match. The term βασιλικά, with its overtones of imperial power, is a promising candidate, since the inverted hearts often adorn the clothing of emperors and members of their courts. However, Constantine VII uses both this term and βδέλλια to describe decorations on leggings, whereas the inverted hearts almost always appear on a *chlamys* or other outer garment. Similarly, he describes θάλασσαι as appearing on tunics. All three patterns, moreover, are said to decorate both high- and low-quality cloths ([19]). This designation is inconsistent with the appearance of the inverted hearts in enamels, where they are associated only with figures of the highest ranks.

(15) For examples of Byzantine silks with animal designs see MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, nos 5A (M58), 15A (M48), 34A (M375).

(16) CONSTANTINE VII, *What Should be Observed*, p. 110.

(17) *The Book of the Eparch*, p. 29. For further references see *Three Treatises*, pp. 222-223.

(18) *Idem*, p. 111 and commentary on pp. 221-223, 341- 342.

(19) *Idem*, p. 110.

The evidence which has been considered so far is inconclusive. The Demetrios mosaic provides evidence for the early usage of the inverted heart motif, or something very similar to it, but does not necessarily prove that it appeared on fabrics. The Oxford silk fragment may be related to the inverted hearts, but the differences between the designs are as significant as the similarities. Likewise a number of written sources may refer to the inverted hearts, but they are also problematic in various ways. The difficulties associated with the literary sources mean that there is probably no way to recover the Greek name for the inverted heart motif, or what (if anything) the shapes symbolised. Even the hypothesis that they are stylised ivy leaves seems unlikely, in the light of the inconsistencies noted above. It is entirely possible that the pattern did not have a symbolic meaning at all, but that it was used to designate relationships among certain prominent persons. Although it may have been a variation on a fabric pattern, its chief function seems to have been the demarcation of relationships among mortal and divine figures who played vital roles in the functioning of the state.

Although much information about the symbolic value of the inverted hearts and their relationship to contemporary fabrics may never be known, this does not mean that their significance cannot be studied. Within the medium in which they appear by far most frequently – that is, enamel – the placement of the inverted hearts follows a number of predictable patterns which provide clues about how they were meant to be interpreted. Despite the undeniable mysteries surrounding the pattern, it nevertheless succeeds in conveying information about the visual construction of imperial power in middle and late Byzantium and the spread of this symbolism beyond the borders of the Empire. Enamel, an elite art form which had strong associations with the court and which was coveted outside Byzantium, was an appropriate medium in which to express such ideas. In order to understand them, it is necessary first to review the conventions of Byzantine enamelling and the place of the inverted hearts within it.

Enamel was an art form for which the Byzantines were justifiably famous. Byzantine enamels were prized throughout the medieval world and adorned items as diverse as icons, bridles, dishes, crowns and articles of clothing ([20]). The considerable expense involved in making enamels

(20) For an introduction to the study of Byzantine enamels see WESSEL, *Byzantine Enamels*, pp. 5-36.

meant that only the wealthy could afford them. For the most part, works were commissioned and owned by the court, the nobility and large ecclesiastical establishments (21). Enamel was also an enduring art form, and was produced from late Roman times (although the technology is even older) until at least the fourteenth century. A variety of manufacturing techniques came into and fell out of favour over the course of centuries, and these variations serve as a rough guide to dating individual works. Precise dates are, of course, often impossible to determine, but Byzantine enamels can usually be dated with relative confidence to within about a century thanks to the frequency with which methods changed. The post-Iconoclastic period witnessed the growth of the *cloisonné* technique, in which flat wires perpendicular to the base were used to construct outlines and cells on a background of precious metal (usually gold), which were then filled in with coloured glass (22). During the tenth and eleventh centuries, when the earliest works with the inverted heart motif were made, craftsmen favoured a form of this technique known as *Senkschmelz*, in which enamel medallions or plaques were placed within a field of exposed gold. Starting in about the twelfth century, enamellers returned to the earlier technique of *Vollschmelz*, in which, along with the central portrait or design, the entire gold base was covered with a layer of glass, usually opaque. Finally, in the twelfth or thirteenth century, copper began to replace gold as the metal of the base (23).

These changes in technique help to define a broad chronology for Byzantine enamels in general and the inverted heart motif in particular. They suggest that the motif appeared at about the beginning of the eleventh century and was in more or less continuous use until as late as the fourteenth century, although fewer works from the later period survive. In all likelihood, the design was part of the artistic repertoire of

(21) P. HETHERINGTON, *Enamels in the Byzantine World : Ownership and Distribution*, in *BZ*, 81 (1988), pp. 29-38.

(22) *Dictionary of Enamelling*, ed. E. SPEEL, Aldershot, 1998, pp. 17-18, 30-31. A medieval description of this process can be found in THEOPHILUS, *On Divers Arts*, translated and ed. J. G. HAWTHORNE and C. S. SMITH, Chicago, 1963 ; repr. New York, 1979, pp. 126-127. The treatise was probably written in the early to mid-twelfth century by a Benedictine monk (p. xvi). The author seems to have been familiar with Byzantine methods and mentions them frequently.

(23) This evolution is described in A. CUTLER, *The Industries of Art*, in *The Economic History of Byzantium : From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. E. LAIOU (*DOS*, 39), Washington, D.C., 2002, 2, pp. 26-29.

craftsmen in the imperial workshops, who applied it consistently over several generations. Even if it was originally adapted from a pattern in another medium, it also had a long and independent existence in enamels. The design was, in fact, particularly suited to the *cloisonné* techniques, since each heart was formed from a separate partition, thus helping to anchor the relatively large area of the background colour. Technology itself may thus have had something to do with the appearance of the inverted hearts ([24]). Rather than copying contemporary fabrics, artisans may have created a new pattern or modified an existing one to suit their techniques. On the other hand, the highly predictable placement of the hearts suggests that the pattern had a specific meaning in addition to its practical functions. The identity of the figures associated with the inverted hearts holds clues both about why the pattern appeared when it did and its meaning within the Byzantine court.

But despite the value of evidence from manufacturing techniques, much remains uncertain. Some enamels, such as portraits of emperors, can be dated to within a few years, but many can still only be placed within a century or more. The uncertainty surrounding the dates of the works means that it would be impossible to propose a precise chronology of the motif's appearance and association with various figures. The present study will instead assess the enamels in question as a group of works from about the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries. Given the lack of evidence to the contrary, it will be assumed that the various figures associated with the hearts began to be depicted in this way at about the same time. Questions about the relative ages of the enamels will thus not be addressed. Instead, taken as a group, they will be studied as a reflection of courtly culture spanning the entire period during which they were produced. Having investigated the provenance of the design and the medium in which it appears most frequently, analysis will now turn to the figures with whom the motif was associated, the significance of their mutual affiliations and the means by which the hearts were depicted with them.

Mortal emperors and their entourages feature prominently in enamels with the motif, appearing a total of twenty-three times (n[os] 4-11, 15-17, 20-21, 28-32, 36-37, 43, 47, 49). A number of these works depict the rulers together with members of their courts, most of whom also wear

(24) The technical advantages of the hearts are discussed in BÁRÁNY-OBERSCHALL, *The Crown of the Emperor*, p. 64.

clothing decorated with inverted hearts. The Innsbruck plate (nos 28-32), for example, features Alexander the Great and four musicians and dancers ([25]). In the Esztergom Staurotheke (nos 36-37), Constantine I and Helen gesture together at a fragment of the True Cross, and another plaque depicts Michael VII and his wife crowned by Christ (nos 20-21). The crowns featuring Constantine IX and Michael VII (nos 4-10, 15-19) show them surrounded by a variety of personifications, family members, saints and even a foreign ruler, Géza I of Hungary. The *Pala d'Oro* (nos 43-60) seems originally to have had a similar configuration. In its present state, it includes portraits of the commissioner, Doge Ordelaffo Falier, whose robes feature inverted hearts, and an empress identified as Irene. The Doge held the Byzantine rank of *protosebastos*, and he seems to have appeared in the *Pala* in his capacity as a high-ranking courtier and ally of the emperor ([26]). As David Buckton and John Osborne have observed, the altarpiece must also have included a portrait of Alexios I, in whose reign the work was commissioned. The *Pala* would thus originally have featured the emperor surrounded by members of his court, rather like the Holy Crown of Hungary ([27]). Although the emperor's portrait was later removed, probably during the restoration of 1209, his robes may have been decorated with inverted hearts as well.

Surviving enamels featuring the inverted hearts include portraits of only a small number of middle Byzantine emperors. The fact that the motif was also applied to Alexander the Great and Constantine I suggests, however, that it was thought to be a symbol of rulership which was applicable to a variety of historical and contemporary figures. It is therefore probable that the design was applicable to all Byzantine emperors and courtiers. In any case, the tendency to depict the rulers with members of their families and other attendants places them firmly within the context of the court, demonstrating their place at the head of this institution

(25) The origin of the plate is disputed. Thomas Steppan concludes that it was a product of the imperial workshops. (STEPPAN, *Die Artuqiden-Schale*, pp. 34-35). Less convincing, although not implausible, is the view that it was made in Georgia. See S. REDFORD, *How Islamic is it ? The Innsbruck Plate And Its Setting*, in *Muqarnas*, 7 (1990), p. 127.

(26) It has been demonstrated on technical grounds that the Doge's portrait is original, and that his head did not replace that of an emperor, as many previous studies have argued. See D. BUCKTON and J. OSBORNE, *The Enamel of Doge Ordelaffo Falier on the* Pala d'Oro *in Venice*, in *Gesta*, 39, 1 (2000), pp. 43-49.

(27) *Idem*, pp. 46-47.

as well as the Empire more generally. The design helps to emphasise the close relationships between the emperors and the members of their courts, confirming their shared exalted status by means of a distinctive pattern which was confined to the luxury medium of enamel. Within the logic of these works, the inverted hearts are thus a symbol of inclusion within a select and elevated circle. Only those who were both physically close to the emperor in the work of art and ceremonially close to him in court ritual could be portrayed wearing the motif, which was indicative of imperial majesty and authority.

The motif was not, however, confined to depictions of mortal rulers. The imperial inner circle, as demarcated by the inverted hearts, extended to certain saints and figures from the Old and New Testaments whose patronage was especially coveted by Byzantine emperors. It was probably not accidental that these diverse but prominent sacred figures were associated with the same distinctive pattern, in the same exclusive medium, as that which graced the imperial garments. It seems, indeed, that the inverted hearts were meant to emphasise the connections between Byzantine emperors and King David, a number of saints and Christ, just as they emphasised the emperors' ties to the members of their own courts. Given the consistent appearance of the hearts on the garments of both the emperors themselves and their entourages, it is likely that the pattern was also meant to highlight the imperial relationships with this select group of divine figures.

Although these saints and biblical figures share the inverted hearts with the emperors and their courts, the two groups do not, in general, share the same physical space in artistic compositions. In only one work, the Holy Crown of Hungary (n$^{os}$ 15-19), does the motif appear in association with Christ and St Demetrios as well as members of the imperial family. Overwise, the separation of the figures who wear the motif suggests that they inhabit separate spheres, and the obvious difference between them is the mortality of one group versus the divinity of the other. Yet the fact that the groups share a distinctive pattern on their clothing also implies that there were significant connections between them. Closer examination of the problem reveals that the two groups did in fact inhabit separate spheres, but that these spheres were permeable and could accommodate the expression of the close ties which existed between the inhabitants of both.

The divine figures associated with the inverted hearts were far from a random assortment of saints and biblical personalities, but constituted a

fitting counterpart to the earthly court with which they were drawn into association thanks to the motif. For they were prominent members of another court : the heavenly court ruled by Christ and attended by angels and saints. Byzantine art and rhetoric used a variety of devices to show the interpenetration of the earthly and heavenly courts, as Henry Maguire has shown in his illuminating study of the subject ([28]). Panegyrics to emperors compared their attendants to angels or even described them as angels, while a number of imperial portraits show their subjects flanked by saints and angels. Conversely, emperors were frequently present in descriptions of the heavenly court, in which they occupied a rank equivalent to that of angels. Such comparisons and visualisations are found in a variety of media, including rhetoric, hagiography, ivory carving and manuscript illumination, testifying to their popularity and acceptance ([29]). This method of conceptualising the two courts seems to have been particularly characteristic of the middle and late Byzantine periods, and by the fourteenth century had spread into neighbouring Orthodox territories ([30]).

The heavenly court described in these works was not, of course, limited to those who were associated with the inverted hearts, but encompassed, in theory, all sacred figures. It also seems to have been possible, on the other hand, to subdivide this totality into its constituent groups, demarcating a particular set of saints whose patronage was particularly valued. The inverted hearts were a means of pinpointing a range of figures who held special significance for Byzantine emperors. Their association with the distinctive pattern otherwise found only on courtly costumes emphasised the close connections between the earthly court and these select members of its heavenly counterpart. Each of the categories of figures depicted with the inverted hearts was significant to the emperors for different reasons, serving variously as their models, predecessors or patrons in war. Taken together, as the following analysis will attempt to demonstrate, these groups formed a chain of sacred authority, demarcated by the inverted hearts, which linked the Old Testament with contemporary (that is, middle and late Byzantine) court life and imperial ambitions in an appropriately sumptuous medium. As a tool of visual pro-

(28) H. MAGUIRE, *The Heavenly Court*, in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829-1204*, ed. H. MAGUIRE, Washington, D.C., 1997, pp. 247-258.

(29) For a wide range of examples see *Idem*, pp. 248-252.

(30) *Idem*, pp. 257-258.

paganda, the inverted hearts served to identify the exalted predecessors and saintly patrons of the emperors, while also demonstrating the important place of the mortal rulers among the members of the heavenly court.

The imperial fascination with Old Testament kings, in particular David, is described in many sources. The emperors and kings shared both their royal status and the leadership of God's people at various critical stages in its history. David, the greatest King of Israel, was an obvious archetype of the later Christian emperors. He seems to have been a particularly important model for middle and late Byzantine emperors, who were compared to him with some frequency in rhetorical and literary works ([31]). Nor were these comparisons confined to literature : the Psalter of Basil II contains six miniatures from the life of David in close proximity to its portrait of the emperor, probably inviting a comparison ([32]). An ivory casket from the ninth or early tenth century achieves the same effect with its depiction of scenes from the life of David on the sides and the coronation of an imperial couple by Christ on the top. The identity of the emperor is disputed, one of the reasons for the controversy being that so many emperors were compared with David. In the words of Anthony Cutler and Nicolas Oikonomides, 'Davidic parallels were commonplaces of imperial panegyric' ([33]).

The comparisons with King David circulated in a wide variety of elite media, testifying to their popularity within the court. It is therefore not surprising that enamel, another medium which reflected the interests of the court, expressed the imperial connections with David in its own particular iconographic language. The comparisons are, to be sure, of a somewhat different quality. The works described above liken David to a specific emperor by drawing a direct parallel or depicting the two rulers in close proximity. In enamels, on the other hand, the rulers appear in separate works but are linked by the distinctive pattern on their garments. Rather than singling out a specific emperor for comparison with David, the usage of the inverted hearts calls attention to the relationships be-

(31) A number of examples are described in H. MAGUIRE, *The Art of Comparing in Byzantium*, in *Art Bulletin*, 70, 1 (1988), pp. 91-93.

(32) *The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 188.

(33) Cutler and Oikonomides propose that the emperor is Leo VI, while Maguire argues for Basil I. See MAGUIRE, *The Art of Comparing* and A. CUTLER and N. OIKONOMIDES, *An Imperial Byzantine Casket and Its Fate at a Humanist's Hands*, in *Art Bulletin*, 70, 1 (1988), p. 83.

tween the king and his Byzantine successors generally. The clothing that they share adds another dimension to contemporary ideas about David as a model for the Christian emperors, using a new type of visual cue to show their symbolic connection.

King David wears clothing decorated with inverted hearts only in scenes of the *Anastasis*, in which, accompanied by Solomon, he looks on as Christ breaks down the gates of Hell and liberates Adam and Eve. The kings had become a standard element of this scene in all media by the tenth century, although they began to appear in it as early as the first quarter of the ninth century. According to Anna Kartsonis, their presence was meant to emphasise both Christ's royal lineage and his humanity ([34]). It seems that the inverted hearts were added to David's robes only after this iconography had become established, and added another layer of complexity to its symbolism. In addition to his role as Christ's ancestor, David is shown to be the predecessor and model for the Byzantine emperors, whose distinctive clothing he shares. Yet the inverted hearts also added a new element to the established relationship between David and Christ, emphasising the role of both within the constellation of Byzantine imperial power. As the descendant of David and the most important model for the Christian emperors, it is not surprising that Christ (and in one instance his mother) should also have been associated with the distinctive pattern which was the mark of royal splendour in both its biblical and Byzantine contexts.

Like his ancestor and successors, Christ was considered to have royal dignity, reigning supreme in the heavenly court as King of Kings. As Maguire has observed, however, the earthly and heavenly courts were not mirror images of each other, with the emperor and Christ occupying equivalent positions in each. Rather, each court incorporated each other's members, meaning that the Byzantine emperors were subordinate to Christ, although still high-ranking, within the heavenly court ([35]). Within the heavenly court, imperial costume thus became the mark of courtiers rather than the 'emperor' himself, appearing on mortal rulers as well as angels and certain saints.

Given this convention, it is not surprising that the inverted hearts did not appear on the actual garments of Christ or the Mother of God, but

(34) A. KARTSONIS, *Anastasis : The Making of an Image*, Princeton, 1986, pp. 186-188, 198.

(35) MAGUIRE, *The Heavenly Court*, pp. 256-257.

were associated with them in other ways. The clothing of both, which began to be depicted long before the appearance of the inverted hearts, was invariably of a single colour. The robes of the Mother of God sometimes featured small details such as stars or dots, but these were always sparse against a solid background of blue, brown or purple. Christ's garments did not even have these decorations, but were always plain. The clothing of the Mother of God had, moreover, a special significance, as certain articles were preserved in Constantinople as some of the Empire's most prized relics (36). Clearly it would have been inappropriate, if not heretical, to impose a new pattern on these sacred garments. Rather than interfere with the traditional iconography of their clothing, the enamels portrayed Christ and the Mother of God in close proximity to the inverted hearts : in two enamels they appear on Christ's throne (nos 12, 19), in two they are associated with the Sepulchre (nos 23, 55), in scenes of the Presentation in the Temple and the Last Supper they decorate tables (nos 52-53) and in a scene of the Dormition they decorate Mary's deathbed (no. 46). The ruler of heaven and his mother are thus drawn into association with mortal rulers thanks to the symbolism of the inverted hearts, but the differing ranks of both groups are preserved : Christ and the Mother of God retain their plain garments, differentiating them from the earthly emperors whose imperial costume, decorated with inverted hearts, signifies their lower status in the heavenly court.

The fact that the inverted hearts do not appear exclusively on clothing is a further hint that the motif was not simply copied from contemporary fabrics. Although garments often seem to have been the most obvious place for the hearts, it was also possible to depict them on furniture or even floating in space if placement on fabrics threatened to upset traditional iconography. One enamel also demonstrates that the orientation of the hearts could vary within a single composition. In an icon of the Crucifixion (nos 22-23), the hearts retain their typical vertical alignment on the *chlamys* of Longonios. In the Sepulchre, however, they are rotated to keep their alignment with the body of Christ, rather than the viewer. This small detail suggests that the hearts were more than a simple decoration and that they needed to maintain a particular orientation in relation

(36) These garments are usually identified as Mary's *maphorion* and girdle, but there is disagreement about their precise nature and quantity. See M. JUGIE, *La Mort et l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge : Étude historico-doctrinale* (*ST*, 114), Vatican City, 1944, pp. 688-707.

to the person with whom they were associated. These differences in the placement of the hearts are significant : apparently, it did not matter exactly where they were, as long as they were clearly associated with certain individuals.

The individuals who have been discussed so far are linked by means of the inverted hearts to produce a harmonious triangle : Old Testament authority, New Testament salvation and the past and present leadership of God's people are all shown to be connected thanks to a distinctive pattern which is exclusive both to them and to the elite medium of enamel. The pattern seems to have complemented other types of comparisons in both literature and art, functioning as one of a range of visual and literary cues which connected the members of this group. It is thus not surprising that the appearance of the motif seems to have coincided with an increasing emphasis in both art and literature between Christ and his ancestors on the one hand, and the Byzantine emperors and both groups on the other. New forms of iconography, such as the inclusion of David and Solomon in the *Anastasis*, highlighted the humanity of Christ and his connections with his royal ancestors. Comparisons between emperors and King David seem, meanwhile, to have become particularly popular from about the tenth century onward and were expressed in a variety of media. The inverted hearts were one of a number of techniques used to highlight the sources of the emperor's sacred authority.

On the other hand, there was nothing about the relationships among these figures which was fundamentally new to the middle Byzantine period. The mutual connections among Byzantine emperors, Christ and King David may have been receiving increased attention at that time, but their basic roles had been well established in Byzantine theology and political thought for many centuries before the inverted hearts appeared. The renewed emphasis on these relationships in the medium of enamel makes more sense when they are considered together with the other major category of figures who are associated with the inverted hearts, i.e. the military saints. This group of martyrs, who were believed to protect the emperors and their armies in war, occupied a position of central importance in the middle and late Byzantine court. If one function of the inverted hearts was to highlight the relationships between emperors and their divine predecessors, it is perhaps not surprising that the motif also served to connect them with another particularly important category of saints : the patrons whose intercession they sought on the battlefield. Like the Old and New Testament figures who are associated with the hearts, the

military saints were central to ideas of imperial power. Their cults were, however, new to the middle Byzantine period. Unlike the emperors' relationships with Christ and King David, their connections with these patrons in war were not well established before the tenth century. The inverted hearts seem to have appeared within a few decades of the initial rise to prominence of the military saints, and their depiction with the pattern seems to represent their final integration into the life of the court. Like other literary and artistic media which expressed the imperial fascination with the holy warriors, the inverted hearts were a means by which to make a place for this new group of protectors in war among the established patrons of the court.

The development of the military saints from a number of unrelated early Christian martyrs into a unified corps of patrons in war was a complicated process which can only be summarised briefly in the present study ([37]). The Orthodox Church recognised dozens of saints with military associations, but four – George, Demetrios, Theodore Teron and Theodore Stratelates – enjoyed particular prominence, forming a defined group which appeared together in a variety of media. Longonios, the centurion at the Crucifixion who recognised Christ's divinity, is also associated with the inverted hearts. Although his connection with warfare is clear, Longonios was not included in any of the numerous group portraits of the holy warriors, such as the celebrated ivory carvings of the tenth and eleventh centuries. He appears only in scenes of the Crucifixion, thus bridging the Christological and military categories. It is probably for this reason that his clothing featured the inverted hearts : as a witness of the Crucifixion he was closely tied to Christ, but his military career and subsequent martyrdom gave him important similarities with the military saints ([38]).

Somewhat less clear is the status of the martyrs Mardarios and Eugenios, who appear only once wearing garments with inverted hearts (nos 50-51). They were members of a group of martyrs known as the Holy Five, which also included Ss Eustratios, Auxentios and Orestes. Although there is no indication in surviving hagiography that Ss Mardarios,

(37) It is described in much greater detail in, among others, H. DELEHAYE, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires*, Paris, 1909 ; C. WALTER, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, Aldershot, 2003 ; M. WHITE, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus, 900-1200* (dissertation, U. of Cambridge), Cambridge, 2004.

(38) On Longonios' cult see WALTER, *The Warrior Saints*, p. 226.

Eugenios and Auxentios had military careers, their companions are either described or depicted as soldiers. The entire group seems, by association, to have had some military affiliations ([39]). It was probably for this reason that two of their number were depicted in clothing with inverted hearts, although this portrait type does not seem to have been widespread for them.

The military saints and Longonios were venerated in middle and late Byzantium as martyrs who had had illustrious careers in the Roman army during their earthly lives. Such, however, had not always been the case. Although little if any historical information is known about Ss George, Demetrios and Theodore Teron, it is clear that their veneration went through a number of distinct phases ([40]). The cults of all three were well established prior to Iconoclasm, but during Late Antiquity they did not have any particular ties to each other or the court. They also had different degrees of association with warfare. St Demetrios was not even described as a soldier in the oldest known version of his *passion* ([41]), while archaic accounts of the martyrdom of St George briefly note his service in the Roman army but give no further details of his military activities ([42]). St Theodore Teron, by contrast, was described as defending his native city of Euchaita in the earliest written work connected with his cult, a fourth-century *enkomion* by Gregory of Nyssa ([43]) The military associations of the three saints gradually gained more importance after Iconoclasm, and their powers of intercession in battle became a standard feature of the literary and artistic sources connected with their cults.

But despite the increasing prominence of their military attributes, their cults remained independent. There is no evidence, despite their shared martial qualities, that they were thought to be more closely associated than any other prominent martyrs. It was only in the tenth century that

(39) *Idem*, pp. 219-221.

(40) See *Idem*, pp. 44-66. Theodore Stratelates was not an ancient saint but seems to have been a tenth-century outgrowth of the cult of Theodore Teron.

(41) The date of this work is not known, but it seems to have been used as a source for a collection of miracle stories written in the seventh century. See DELEHAYE, *Les légendes grecques*, pp. 259-263.

(42) K. KRUMBACHER, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung*, in *Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologisch und historische Klasse*, 25, 3 (1911), pp. 3-40.

(43) GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Gregori Nysseni Opera*, ed. W. JAEGER *et al.*, Leiden, 1960, 10, 1, pp. 61-71.

these saints (along with a number of others) began to gain a group identity as the patrons in war of the Macedonian emperors. Various members of this dynasty seem to have made a conscious effort to cultivate saints with military attributes as their protectors, gather them to the capital from their traditional provincial homes and transform them into a defined group of protectors. This process was gradual, and the phalanx of military saints took shape over the course of several generations, with some emperors showing more interest in them than others. By the mid-tenth century, however, a group of formerly unrelated martyrs was firmly established as the imperial military patrons, among whom Ss George, Demetrios and the Theodores had pride of place.

The transformation of these martyrs into a coherent group was apparent in a range of elite media, and the process seems to have been encouraged and supported by successive emperors. Leo VI, for example, transplanted the cult of St Demetrios to Constantinople from Thessalonika, building a new palace church in his honour and composing a number of homilies about him (44). John Tzimiskes was famously accompanied into battle by St Theodore Stratelates (45), while Constantine VII seems to have commissioned one of the earliest ivory carvings depicting the military saints as a group (46). The depiction of Ss George, Demetrios and the Theodores in garments decorated with inverted hearts seems to have been part of an ongoing process of integrating them into the life of the court. Seen in this light, the inverted heart motif appears to have been a means of unifying important patrons of the ruling house by means of an easily-recognised visual cue in an appropriately exclusive medium. The military saints, a new addition to the ranks of imperial protectors, needed to be recognised as such and given their due place in the heavenly entourage. For if the emperor's relationships with Christ, the Mother of God and

(44) P. MAGDOLINO, *Saint Demetrios and Leo VI*, in *Bsl*, 51 (1990), pp. 198-201 ; T. ANTONOPOULOU, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI (The Medieval Mediterranean : Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453*, 14), Leiden, 1997, pp. 132-136.

(45) LEO THE DEACON, *Leonis Diaconi Caloënsis historiae libri decem*, ed. C. B. HASE, Bonn, 1828, p. 154. This story also appeared in the histories of Skylitzes, Kedrenos and Zonaras.

(46) N. OIKONOMIDES, *The Concept of "Holy War" and Two Tenth-century Byzantine Ivories*, in *Peace and War in Byzantium : Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, ed. T. S. MILLER and J. NESBITT, Washington, D.C., 1995, p. 76.

King David were well established before the eleventh century, a new symbol was needed to confirm the inclusion within this chain of authority of his new patrons in war. While literary references and artistic works in other media demonstrated the readiness of the military saints to fight alongside the emperor, the inverted hearts showed that they also had a distinct place within the wider constellation of imperial power stretching back to the Old and New Testaments. Biblical personalities were thus joined by early Christian martyrs in the patronage of Byzantine emperors, uniting some of the most important figures from each stage of sacred history.

The most important members of this inner circle, based on the number of surviving enamels which associate them with the inverted hearts, were royal figures, Christ and military martyrs. In addition, Ss Kosmas, Damian and Tryphon each appear once wearing clothing with the inverted heart motif, and in another enamel it decorates the robes of two archangels (n$^{os}$ 2, 14, 33-34, 48). Ss Kosmas and Damian and the archangels would certainly have been appropriate members of the inner circle of imperial patrons : like the military saints, the doctor-martyrs had a useful specialisation which the emperors no doubt coveted, and archangels, as discussed above, were often depicted as imperial attendants. St Tryphon is more mysterious : although he was a popular martyr, he did not seem have any military or medical affiliations. His rote in this iconographic system is not entirely clear, but his depiction with inverted hearts does not seem to have been widesprtead.

Another variation is found in a group of five enamels from the *Pala d'Oro* which illustrate the life of St Mark and occupy a position parallel to that of the Christological cycle (n$^{os}$ 56-60). In three of the plaques, the inverted hearts decorate objects which are directly associated with St Mark, and in the other two they appear on the footrest of St Peter in scenes which involve both of them. The presence of the pattern in these plaques seems incongruous, since neither St Mark nor any other evangelist or apostle is associated with the motif in any other known enamels. Closer analysis, however, reveals a logic in the placement of the hearts which is not inconsistent with other works. The plaques illustrating the life of the patron saint of Venice must have been made specially for the altarpiece, and it is not surprising that their iconography would seek to elevate his position by any means available. The inverted hearts, as a symbol of imperial and heavenly majesty, would have been an obvious way to do this. The craftsman may well have decided to break with conven-

tion in the interest of conferring the hightest honour on the patron saint of the plaques' commissioners. Indeed, it is likely that St Mark's inverted hearts were intended to echo those of Christ. The Mark cycle paralleled the Christological cycle in its placement on the *Pala*. Most of the scenes from the life of St Mark, moreover, have precedents from the life of Christ on which their iconography is based, such as those depicting a baptism and a presentation. Interestingly, the Mark plaques also follow the convention of depicting St Mark wearing plain garments, like those of Christ, and placing the hearts on nearby objects rather than his robes. Although they are unusual, the Mark plaques are thus not out of keeping with Byzantine conventions for the usage of the inverted hearts. The Byzantine artist, knowing that the recipients of his work were determined to bestow every honour upon their patron, seems consciously to have applied the motif to a new subject, even while retaining important elements of established traditions.

As the above analysis has attempted to demonstrate, Byzantine enamels displayed remarkable consistency over a period of more than three hundred years in their application of the inverted heart motif. Many aspects of the design remain mysterious : its name and symbolic meaning (if any) may never be known. On the other hand, its association with a small group of figures provides a clue to deciphering its importance, demonstrating its function as an identifier of relationships among imperial and sacred figures. By means of the design, the new patrons in war were integrated into the existing structure of imperial protectors. This interpretation of the motif's function is also supported by enamels from surrounding areas of the Byzantine Commonwealth. Remarkably, works produced in Georgia and Rus show close adherence to the conventions outlined above governing the application of the inverted hearts, suggesting that the motif and its meaning were widely known and understood even among non-Byzantine craftsmen. The general adherence of these works to Byzantine practices, despite some degree of regional variation, provides further evidence that the inverted heart motif was applied only according to a defined and widely acknowledged set of rules.

Medieval Georgia had a flourishing school of enamelling which borrowed extensively from Byzantine models (47). Published examples of Georgian enamels with the inverted heart motif include three featuring

(47) See, among others, Sh. AMIRANASHVILI, *Medieval Georgian Enamels of Russia*, New York, [n.d.] ; Sh. AMIRANASHVILI, *Georgian Metalwork from Anti-*

military saints (nos 61-62, 67), two featuring the Mother of God (nos 68-69) and three featuring imperial figures (nos 63-66). The distribution of these enamels among the major groups of figures associated with the motif is thus not dissimilar to that seen among Byzantine works, although among New Testament figures there seems to have been a preference for the Mother of God rather than Christ. On the other hand, the study and publication of Georgian enamels has been even less systematic than that of Byzantine works, and more discoveries may well be made in this area. In the meantime, the fact that Georgian enamels do follow Byzantine conventions in their usage of the inverted hearts is a strong indication that these rules were well known to craftsmen both within the Empire and beyond its borders.

That is not to say that the Georgian enamels show no signs of regional variation. Most strikingly, the rulers in these works are depicted in the company of saintly figures rather than, as in Byzantine enamels, members of their own courts. In three related plaques (nos 63-66), unidentified empresses are depicted with the Mother of God, John the Baptist and an archangel. None of the saintly figures wears garments with inverted hearts, implying a distinction between the mortal and divine personalities which is not characteristic of Byzantine works. It thus seems that Georgian enamellers used the inverted heart motif to express somewhat different ideas about the interrelations of the earthly and heavenly courts, although the small number of published works limit the amount of productive analysis that can be devoted to the problem. In general, however, the close adherence of Georgian enamels to the usage of the motif seen in Byzantine works implies that craftsmen in both cultures applied it in a very similar manner.

A similar blend of tradition and innovation can be seen in enamels from Rus which feature the motif. As a technology which was imported from Byzantium, early Rus enamels, and especially those featuring saints, generally show a high degree of continuity with Byzantine styles and conventions. Probably due to the expense involved in the process, enamelling was not particularly widespread among the East Slavs, and far fewer examples survive from Rus than from Byzantium ([48]). Like their

*quity to the 18th Century*, London, 1971 ; L. Z. KHUSKIVADZE, *Gruzinskie emali*, Tbilisi, 1981.

(48) For a general introduction see T. I. MAKAROVA, *Peregorodchatye emali drevnei Rusi*, Moscow, 1975.

Georgian counterparts, however, Rus enamellers seem to have understood the basic conventions governing the use of the inverted heart motif and added certain local variations to their work. It is particularly noteworthy, given the small number of surviving enamels from Rus, that the inverted hearts are still very much in evidence among these works, although the range of subjects associated with them is restricted.

Specifically, in surviving Rus enamels the inverted heart motif is found only on the garments of young male martyrs. Most of the other subjects which are traditionally associated with the design – Byzantine emperors, King David and Christological scenes – are not represented at all among published enamels from early Rus ([49]). There is thus no way to determine whether such works were not made or simply have not survived. In any case, it seems likely that male martyrs were the primary figures associated with the inverted hearts. Although there are no inscriptions on most of these enamels, analogy with Byzantine works suggests that they represent Ss George and Demetrios, who are traditionally depicted as young beardless men. This idea is supported by the fact that the martyrs have iconographic features which are characteristic of these saints, such as the large ears of St Demetrios (no. 74) and the curly hair of St George (no. 73). It is unsurprising that the hearts are rendered a bit more crudely in these enamels than in Byzantine works. The craftsmen who made them were probably not as familiar with the conventions as their Byzantine counterparts, and the small size of Rus enamel medallions did not allow the motif to be rendered as expansively or neatly as in Byzantine works. Still, the craftsmen seem to have understood that only a certain class of saint could be shown wearing the hearts, and they applied the motif consistently.

Interestingly, they included two native saints, Boris and Gleb, within the ranks of those so honoured (n[os] 75-78). Boris and Gleb were the youngest sons of Prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich of Kiev, who oversaw the official conversion of his country to Christianity in the late tenth century. They were killed by an older brother in a succession struggle after their father's death in 1015, and thereafter venerated as martyrs ([50]). The brothers were especially popular among members of the princely clan, and

(49) A number of Rus enamels feature Christ alone, but without a throne or tomb on which the inverted hearts would feature. At least two depict Alexander the Great, in both cases without inverted hearts. (*Idem*, tab. 5, n° 6 ; tab. 12 ; tab. 14, n[os] 1, 3, 6.)

(50) Recent scholarship on their cult can be found in G. LENHOFF, *The Martyred Princes Boris and Gleb : A Socio-Cultural Study of the Cult and Texts*

were believed to be the protectors in war of later generations of their family. They collaborated in these duties with the Byzantine military saints, who were also widely venerated within the ruling house and whose powers were compared with those of Boris and Gleb in early versions of the brothers' hagiography ([51]). Boris and Gleb's affinities with the military saints were also expressed in various artistic media, in which they frequently appeared carrying the holy warriors' attributes of crosses and swords ([52]). The brothers' depiction with inverted hearts in enamel portraits complements this textual and artistic evidence, serving as a further confirmation of their perceived similarities with the older saints. It is also possible that the inverted hearts served to associate Boris and Gleb with some of the other figures who traditionally wore the motif, since the brothers shared their royal status with the Byzantine emperors and Gleb's baptismal name was David. On the other hand, since no Rus enamels of these figures survive, such associations must remain speculative.

It seems most likely that the inverted hearts were meant to connect Boris and Gleb with the young martyrs who also wore the motif in other enamels from Rus. As Rus saints, Boris and Gleb were not, of course, part of the traditional Byzantine iconographic canon, but Rus artisans felt justified in applying to them the symbol of the heavenly protectors of emperors and princes. As in the St Mark enamels, the inverted hearts were thus applied to new individuals, while still upholding the spirit of the older traditions. This type of usage adds further evidence to the theory that the conventions pertaining to the motif were widely known throughout the Byzantine cultural sphere, and that artisans understood them and adapted them to suit local circumstances.

(*UCLA Slavic Studies*, 19), Columbus, 1989 ; *The Hagiography of Kievan Rus'*, translated and edited by P. HOLLINGSWORTH (*Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature : English Translations*, 2), Cambridge, MA, 1992.

(51) *Zhitiia sviatykh muchenikov Borisa i Gleba i sluzhby im*, ed. D. I. ABRAMOVICH (*Pamiatniki drevne-russkoi literatury*, 2), Petrograd, 1916, pp. 24, 50, 59-60.

(52) These media include princely seals (V. L. IANIN, *Aktovye pechati drevnei Rusi X-XV vv.*, Moscow, 1970, 1, nos. 156, 167, 182, 193, 194, 207, 208, 217, 218-220), the minor arts (T. V. NIKOLAEVA, *Drevnerusskaia melkaia plastika iz kamnia XI-XV vv. (Arkheologiia SSSR, svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov*, E1-60), Moscow, 1983, ill. 1, n° 1 ; ill. 5, n° 1 ; ill. 16, n° 3) and panel icons (*The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 284).

This combination of tradition and innovation demonstrates the vitality and widespread influence of the inverted heart motif. Despite undergoing certain changes at the hands of regional craftsmen, it retained its connotations of imperial power and divine patronage, highlighting the intricate relationships between the earthly court and its heavenly counterpart. Together with the medium of enamel, it reached some of the most far-flung areas of the Byzantine Commonwealth, demonstrating the extent to which seemingly arcane conventions of Byzantine iconography were followed and developed beyond the borders of the empire. Despite the considerable uncertainties which continue to surround the design, it is nevertheless clear that its meaning was recognised by craftsmen and members of the elite in both Byzantium and its neighbours.

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## APPENDIX

Description of and bibliographic information about items with the inverted heart motif and related designs. The dates given below are those proposed in the works cited, although many remain controversial.

### Byzantine Enamels

N° **1** : *Enkolpion*, c. 1000 (WESSEL, *Byzantine Enamels*, pp. 108, 111, n° 36). St Demetrios wears a *chlamys* decorated with inverted hearts.

N° **2** : Medallion, eleventh century (*Il Tesoro di San Marco*, edited by H. R. HAHNLOSER, Florence, 1965, 2, tab. XV, n° 14). St Damian wears a cape decorated with inverted hearts.

N° **3 (ill. 1)** : Icon, first half of the eleventh century (*The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 160, n° 107). St Demetrios wears a *chlamys* decorated with inverted hearts.

N$^{os}$ **4-10** : The Crown of Constantine IX Monomakhos, 1042-50 (*Idem*, pp. 210-12, n° 145). Seven plaques feature portraits of Constantine IX, his wife Zoe, his sister-in-law Theodora, two dancing girls and personifications of Truth and Humility. The three imperial figures wear *divetesia* decorated with inverted hearts, and the four other figures wear either skirts or tunics with the motif. (Note : The authenticity of this work and n° 11 is disputed, and it would be beyond the scope of the present study to address this problem. The works have been included for the sake of completeness, but are not discussed in detail.)

N° **11** : Plaque, contemporary with the Monomakhos crown (WESSEL, *Byzantine Enamels*, pp. 104-108, n° 33). A dancing girl very similar to those on the Monomakhos crown wears a tunic decorated with inverted hearts.

N° **12 (ill. 2)** : Plaque, contemporary with the Monomakhos crown *(Idem,* pp. 105, 108, no. 34). Christ is seated on a throne, the backrest of which is decorated with inverted hearts.

N^os^ **13-14** : Plaques, c. mid-eleventh century (*Il Tesoro*, 2, tab. LXXVII, n^os^ 2, 11). St Demetrios and St Kosmas wear outer garments decorated with inverted hearts.

N^os^ **15-19 (ill. 3)** : The Holy Crown of Hungary, 1074-1077 (WESSEL, *Byzantine Enamels*, pp. 109-115, n^os^ 37a-e). Five plaques feature portraits of Michael VII Dukas, his son Constantine, the Hungarian king Géza I, St Demetrios and Christ. The three rulers and St Demetrios wear outer garments decorated with inverted hearts, and the motif decorates the lower front part of Christ's throne.

N^os^ **20-21** : Plaque, c. 1067-1078 *(Idem,* pp. 114-119, no. 38). Michael VII Dukas and his wife Maria, each wearing a *divetesion* decorated with inverted hearts, are crowned by Christ.

N^os^ **22-23** : Plaques from an icon of the Crucifixion, eleventh-twelfth century (A. V. BANK, *Vizantiiskoe iskusstvo v sobraniiakh Sovetskogo Soiuza*, Leningrad, 1966, pll. 186-187). St Longonios wears a *chlamys* decorated with inverted hearts. Below, Christ in the Sepulchre is surrounded by inverted hearts.

N^os^ **24-25** : *Enkolpion*, late eleventh-early twelfth century (*The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 164, n° 111). Ss Theodore and George wear capes and cuirasses decorated with inverted hearts.

N^os^ **26-27** : Medallions from an icon frame, late eleventh-early twelfth century (*Idem*, pp. 346-347, no. 234 and AMIRANASHVILI, *Georgian Metalwork*, n° 85). Ss Theodore and George wear *chlamydes* decorated with inverted hearts.

N^os^ **28-32** : The Innsbruck plate, c. twelfth century, origin disputed (STEPPAN, *Die Artuqiden-Schale*, pp. 81-81, fig. 1-9). Alexander the Great, a lute player and three dancers and musicians wear garments decorated with inverted hearts.

N^os^ **33-34** : Central compartment of a book cover, c. twelfth century (WESSEL, *Byzantine Enamels*, pp. 168-169, n° 52). Two archangels wear *divetesia* decorated with inverted hearts.

N° **35** : Plaque from an icon frame, *c.* first half of the twelfth century *(Idem,* pp. 170-2, no. 53). St Longonios wears a *chlamys* decorated with inverted hearts.

N^os^ **36-37** : The Esztergom Staurotheke, *c.* 1150-1200 (*The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 81, n° 40). Constantine I and Helen wear *divetesia* decorated with inverted hearts.

N° **38** : Pendant icon, c. late twelfth century *(Idem,* pp. 166-167, n° 115). King David wears a *chlamys* decorated with inverted hearts.

N^os^ **39-40** : Double-sided medallion, twelfth or thirteenth century (*Byzantium : Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections*, ed. D. BUCKTON, London, 1994, p. 186, n° 201 (a)). Ss George and Theodore wear *chlamydes* decorated with inverted hearts.

N° **41** : Icon, thirteenth century (BANK, *Vizantiiskoe iskusstvo*, pl. 190). St Theodore, his *chlamys* decorated with inverted hearts, slays the dragon.

N° **42** : *Enkolpion* reliquary, thirteenth or fourteenth century (*The Glory of Byzantium*, p. 168, n° 117). St Demetrios wears a *chlamys* decorated with inverted hearts.

N^os **43-60** : The *Pala d'Oro*, various dates (*Il Tesoro di San Marco*, 1. Non-cyclical enamels : tab. I, 1 ; XLIV, 81 ; XLV, 82 ; XLVII, 85 ; XLVIII, 84 ; LVI, 141 ; LVII, 148 ; LVIII, 160 ; LVIII, 162. Cyclical enamels : tab. XXIX, 54 ; XXXI, 56 ; XXXI, 58 ; XXXII, 59 ; XXXVII, 69 ; XXXVII, 70 ; XXXIX, 73 ; XXXIX, 74 ; XL, 76). Among the non-cyclical enamels, the inverted hearts are found on the depictions of the Doge, St Longonios in the Crucifixion, King David in the Anastasis, the Mother of God's bed in the Dormition, the 'Light King' in the Pentecost, St Tryphon, an Emperor on horseback, St Mardarios and St Eugenios. Among the enamels in the cycles of the lives of Christ and St Mark, the inverted hearts are found on tables in the Presentation in the Temple and the Last Supper, King David in the Anastasis, the angel's platform in the Women at the Sepulchre, the towels and St Mark's platform in the Baptism of St Aniano by St Mark, St Peter's footrest in the presentation of Ermagora to St Peter by St Mark, St Peter's footrest in his consecration of St Mark as bishop, the table in the arrest of St Mark and St Mark's deathbed in the translation of his relics to Alexandria.

## Georgian Enamels

N^os **61-62** : Medallions from the Tsilkani icon of the Mother of God, late tenth-early eleventh century (AMIRANASHVILI, *Georgian Metalwork*, pp. 63, 65, n^os 37, 38). Ss Theodore Teron and Theodore Stratelates wear *chlamydes* decorated with inverted hearts.

N^os **63-66** : Medallions from the Khakhuli triptych, eleventh century (KHUSKIVADZE, *Gruzinskie emali*, pl. XIV). These medallions feature two unidentified empresses being blessed by the Mother of God, an empress with John the Baptist and an empress with an archangel. Only the empresses wear clothing decorated with inverted hearts.

N° **67** : Icon of the Crucifixion, twelfth century (AMIRANASHVILI, *Medieval Georgian Enamels*, pp. 54-55). St Longonios wears a *chlamys* decorated with inverted hearts.

N° **68** : Plaque, twelfth or thirteenth century (KHUSKIVADZE, *Gruzinskie emali*, pl. XXXIX). The deathbed of the Mother of God is decorated with inverted hearts.

N° **69** : Plaque from the Kortskheli icon, thirteenth century (AMIRANASHVILI, *Georgian Metalwork*, p. 121, n° 77). In the nativity of the Mother of God, St Anna's bed is decorated with inverted hearts.

## Rus Enamels

N^os **70-74** : Medallions, twelfth century (MAKAROVA, *Peregorodchatye emali*, p. 33, tab. 4, n^os 29, 30, 31, 33 ; p. 57, fig. 7, n° 84). Young martyrs wear *chlamydes* decorated with inverted hearts.

**N^os^ 75-78 (ill. 4)** : Medallions, twelfth century *(Idem*, p. 75, tab. 21, n^os^ 11, 13. A. S. GUSHCHIN, *Pamiatniki khudorhestvennogo remesla drevnei Rusi X-XIII vv.*, Leningrad, 1936, tab. IX). Ss Boris and Gleb wear *chlamydes* decorated with inverted hearts.

## Other Media

**N° 79** : Mosaic, seventh century (CORMACK, *Writing in Gold*, p. 92, n° 31). St Demetrios wears a *chlamys* decorated with inverted hearts.

**N° 80** : Silk fragment, c. seventh century (W. F. VOLBACH, *Early Decorative Textiles,* London, 1969, p. 47). Two hunters wear outer garments decorated with right-side-up hearts.

**N° 81** : Manuscript illumination (Coislin 79), c. 1071-81 (*The Glory of Byzantium*, pp. 207-8, n° 143). The second official from the right wears a cloak decorated with inverted hearts in outline within soft triangles.

**N° 82** : Silk fragment in manuscript binding, date unknown (*Bodleian Library, Duke Humphrey's, Bodley* 737). Several rows of two-tone heart-like shapes, alternating between blue with red points and green with red points.

# ON THE ALLEGED REBURIAL OF JULIAN THE APOSTATE IN CONSTANTINOPLE

It is generally accepted at present that the emperor Julian (360-63) was reburied in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople at some unknown date after his initial burial outside Tarsus in Cilicia in 363 (1). This assumption rests on the fact that a series of late Byzantine sources describe the presence of his tomb in this church, from Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-59), who included a catalogue of imperial tombs in his *De Ceremoniis*, to the epitomator Zonaras (c.1118) (2). Most modern commentators have tended to assume that the transfer of the tomb occurred at a relatively early date between the fourth and tenth centuries, probably within the latter half of the fourth century itself (3). It is my argument that Julian's tomb was never removed from Tarsus, but that the

(1) On his initial burial at Tarsus, see e.g. AMM. MARC. 25.10.5 ; GREG. NAZ. *Or.* 5.18 ; PHILOST. *HE* 8.1. Exceptionally, G. DAGRON, *Emperor and Priest : The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, Cambridge, 2003, p. 140, signifies his disbelief of this reburial thesis by using inverted commas about the name of Julian and a question mark when he locates his alleged tomb on his plan of the Church of the Holy Apostles. Unfortunately, he does not discuss this topic within his text.

(2) For the text of the catalogue by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and of two later catalogues also, see G. DOWNEY, *The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 79 (1959) 27-51. ZONAR. *Ann.* 13.13.23-25, does not actually mention the church, but says only that Julian's body was returned to the queen of cities, that is, Constantinople.

(3) E.g. G. KELLY, *The New Rome and the Old : Ammianus Marcellinus' Silences on Constantinople*, in *Classical Quarterly*, 53 (2003), 588-607, at 594, favours dating the reburial c.395, following P. GRIERSON, *The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337-1042)*, in *DOP*, 16 (1962), 1-63, at 40-41, and DOWNEY (n. 2), 47. B. BLECKMANN, *Die Reichskrise des III. Jahrhunderts und der spätantiken Geschichtsschreibung*, Munich, 1992, p. 386, n. 235, favours dating it to the early reign of Valens (364-78). M. DI MAIO, *The Transfer of the Remains of the Emperor Julian from Tarsus to Constantinople*, in *Byz.*, 48 (1978), 43-50, favours a date between the sixth and tenth centuries.

FIG. 1

FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

tomb later identified as his had probably belonged to Crispus instead, the eldest son and Caesar of Constantine I (306-37).

There are several good reasons to doubt the accuracy of the later Byzantine claims that the tomb of Julian stood in the Church of the Holy Apostles. The first reason, of course, is that it is unthinkable that the bishop or people of Constantinople should ever have allowed a man such as Julian to be reburied in this church, whether in a structure within or attached to the main body of the church itself or in some quite separate structure within the wider church grounds (4). Julian had been an apostate, a persecutor of the church whose memory was never rehabilitated. The language of the relevant entry in the catalogue preserved by Constantine Porphyrogenitus speaks volumes of the depth of feeling still, even by the tenth century :

Στοὰ ἡ πρὸς ἄρκτον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ναοῦ.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ στοᾷ τῇ οὔσῃ πρὸς ἄρκτον κεῖται λάρναξ κυλινδροειδὴς, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται τὸ δύστηνον καὶ παμμίαρον σῶμα τοῦ παραβάτου Ἰουλιανοῦ, τὴν χροιὰν πορφυροῦν, ἤτουν Ῥωμαῖον. ἕτερος λάρναξ πορφυροῦς, ἤτουν Ῥωμαῖος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπόκειται τὸ σῶμα Ἰοβιανοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Ἰουλιανὸν βασιλεύσαντος.

The Stoa to the North of the Same Church

In this stoa, which is to the north, lies a cylindrical shaped sarcophagus, in which lies the cursed and wretched body of the apostate Julian, porphyry or Roman in colour. Another sarcophagus, porphyry, or Roman, in which lies the body of Jovian, who ruled after Julian (5).

If there was one thing upon which all the various bishops and emperors could agree throughout the fourth to the tenth centuries, no matter what theological faction they belonged to, it was that Julian's memory deserved to be condemned. The fact that none of his imperial successors were related to or descended from Julian renders it doubly improbable

(4) The sources are unclear as to exact position of the northern stoa which contained the alleged tomb of Julian. DOWNEY (n. 2), 45-46, identifies the northern and southern stoas as two separate buildings independent of the main body of the church, but within the church precincts still. GRIERSON (n. 3), 36-38, argues that the northern stoa was a side-chapel of the church itself, but that the southern stoa was a separate building. This disagreement does not affect the main substance of my argument here.

(5) Text and translation from DOWNEY (n. 2), 31-34.

that any of them should have courted controversy by attempting to rebury him in the Church of the Holy Apostles. Furthermore, while many later emperors wanted to present themselves as the new Constantine, no-one ever wanted to be known as the new Julian (6). In the final analysis, the frequent modern assumption that Julian must have been reburied in the church in the end, tells us far more about the laxity of modern western discipline in such matters than it does about the early or medieval Byzantine practice.

The second reason to doubt the later Byzantine claims in this matter is their late date. In general, the later a source for any event is, the less likely it is to be true. In this case, a long series of surviving historians and chroniclers have preserved some account of Julian's reign – Rufinus (c.402), Philostorgius (c.425), Socrates (c.439), Zosimus (c.518), John Malalas (c.532), the author of the *Chronicon Paschale* (c.630), Theophanes Confessor (c.814), to name but a few – and it is difficult to believe that so many authors, most of them independent of one another, could all have omitted to mention the reburial of this most controversial of emperors in the capital itself had this actually occurred. In the case of the Eunomian historian Philostorgius, for example, it is difficult to believe that he would have missed an opportunity to criticize the orthodox Theodosius I had he really been responsible for the reburial of Julian at Constantinople, as most modern commentators assume, or that his epitomator Photius could then have failed to denounce such an allegation had he made it (7).

The third reason to doubt the claims is that the sources all appear totally ignorant as to circumstances of the alleged transfer of Julian's tomb. No-one explains who performed this transfer, when they did so, or why they felt it necessary. The absence of such corroborating detail must cause severe doubt as to the origin of their claims in a genuine historical tradition, however transmitted. Indeed, such absence suggests that the belief that the tomb of Julian could be seen in the Church of the Holy

(6) See J. HALDON, *Constantine or Justinian ? Crisis and Identity in Imperial Propaganda in the Seventh Century*, in P. MAGDALINO (ed.), *New Constantines : The Rhythm of Imperial Renewal in Byzantium, 4th-13th Centuries*, Aldershot, 1994, pp. 95-107.

(7) In addition to his earlier denials of various claims by Philostorgius (e.g. *HE* 2.17, 8.12, 9.1, 10.5), Photius also reacts violently to his claim that Theodosius' immoderate lifestyle had contributed to his death (*HE* 11.2).

Apostles probably originated in a popular misidentification of one of the tombs within that church, much like one of the bizarre misidentifications of public monuments that can be found in the eighth-century *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (8).

It is important at this point to be clear concerning the relationships between the late Byzantine sources. The similarity of their wording proves that they are related to one another, that they often share a common source at least, if they do not depend directly upon each other. So George Cedrenus (c.1057) depends on Symeon Logothete, a mid-tenth century author whose work is often known by the name of its scribe Leo Grammaticus (c.1013), and Symeon depends if not directly on the catalogue of tombs as preserved by Constantine Porpyrogenitus, then on a common source which it shares with two later anonymous lists of these tombs. All the surviving sources seem to derive ultimately from the same list of the imperial tombs that was in circulation by the mid-tenth century. It is noteworthy, therefore, that it is Symeon Logothete alone (or Leo Grammaticus as he is sometimes mistakenly identified) who declares that Julian was buried together with his wife Helena, the daughter of Constantine I (94.1-2). This is clearly an assumption on his own part based on no more than current burial practice and the knowledge that Julian had been married to Helena. The fact that a contemporary source, Ammianus Marcellinus, reports that Helena was actually buried at Rome reinforces this point (21.1.5). The key point here is that although early Byzantine sources reveal a widespread knowledge that Julian had been married to Helena, none report her place of burial, so that the situation was wide open for someone to make the assumption that Symeon did, and it is only the chance survival of Ammianus Marcellinus that proves him wrong (9).

Let us turn now to the real identity of the owner of the tomb that had come to be identified as that of Julian by the mid-tenth century. What factors contributed to its misidentification as the tomb of Julian ? By the tenth century, the imperial tombs associated with the Church of the Holy Apostles lay in four different structures, the mausoleum of Constantine I, the mausoleum of Justinian I (527-65), a stoa to the south of the church,

(8) See A. CAMERON and J. HERRIN (eds.), *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century : The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai,* Leiden, 1984.

(9) On the marriage of Julian and Helena, see e.g. SOC. *HE* 3.1.25 (some manuscripts) ; *Chron. Pasch.* s.a. 355 ; THEOPH. *Chron.* AM 5849.

and a stoa to the north of the church. Probably the key factor that led to the identification of the so-called tomb of Julian as such was that it was the only occupant, together with the tomb of Jovian, of the northern stoa. People may have expected to find the tombs of successive emperors in close association with one another, so that the presence of Jovian's tomb in the stoa immediately suggested the identification of its companion as an emperor of similar date. A second factor, perhaps, may have been that Julian appeared to be the only obvious candidate for identification as the owner of this tomb. A systematic check of the names of the various emperors since Constantine I who had enjoyed either sole rule or rule of the eastern half of the empire alone, against the names of those whose tombs were already identifiable within the church, would have left Julian as the prime candidate for ownership of this tomb. Hence it is possible that the identification owes a great deal to a rather simplistic calculation.

It is unfortunate that we do not have a firm date for the construction of the northern stoa, but let us assume that no tomb was ever removed from the structure in which it had originally been placed. Certainly, there is no evidence to support such a suggestion. This requires that the northern stoa had either been purpose-built to receive Jovian's tomb or was already in existence by the time that his tomb was set there. At Jovian's death, the mausoleum of Constantine I contained only two burials, that of Constantine I, against the east side and facing the entrance, and that of Constantius II, against the north side. Hence the mausoleum had plenty of room still, particularly on its south side. Given that the mausoleum does not seem to have had a distinctly 'family' feel at this point, as proven by the fact that several members of the Constantinian dynasty had preferred to be buried at Rome instead ([10]), and that previous mausolea in Rome itself had quickly attained imperial rather than purely dynastic status ([11]), thereby providing a model for the burial of unrelated emperors within the same mausoleum, the only reasonable explanation for the fail-

(10) Constantina (d. 354) and Helena (d. 360), daughters of Constantine I, were both buried at a villa on the Via Nomentana just outside Rome, while Helen (d. c.328), the mother of Constantine I, was laid to rest in a mausoleum on the Via Labicana. See J.W. DRIJVERS, *Helena Augusta*, Leiden, 1992, pp. 73-75.

(11) The mausoleum of Augustus (31BC-AD14) seems to have been regarded as an imperial mausoleum by the time it received the ashes of Nerva (96-98), while the mausoleum of Hadrian (117-38) continued in that role until the death of Caracalla (210-17). See S.B. PLATNER, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford, 1926, 332-38.

ure to set Jovian's tomb within the mausoleum of Constantine I, was that the northern stoa was already in existence at that point and in current use as a mausoleum also, so that the new emperors Valentinian I (364-75) and Valens (364-78) had a choice when they came to decide the final location of Jovian's tomb. It seems that they chose to set in it the northern stoa rather in the main mausoleum with an eye to the future, so that one of their tombs could enjoy the prime position against the southern side, so that their dynasties alone should be associated with the prestigious Constantinian dynasty. For these reasons, the tomb of Jovian, an emperor of brief and undistinguished reign, was hidden in the northern stoa.

So whose tomb was it in this stoa already whose presence there provided Valentinian and Valens with this opportunity to hide their unlamented predecessor's tomb out of the main view ? A forgotten name suggests itself, Crispus. Crispus was Constantine I's eldest son, had acted as his Caesar since 317, and played a prominent part in the final civil-war against Licinius in 324. He was disgraced in 326, sent into exile at or near Pola in Histria, and either committed suicide or was killed ([12]). The key point here, however, is that his reputation seems to have been quickly restored in circumstances which resulted in the death of his principal accuser previously, his step-mother Fausta. So what happened to his body ? No source records the location of his tomb, but it hardly seems likely that Constantine should have left him in an obscure grave at Pola. Since Constantine had already chosen Byzantium as the site of his new capital by 8 November 324 when he marked out a new perimeter for his foundation, the obvious suggestion is that he would have wanted to arrange for his reburial there, where he intended to spend much of the rest of his life ([13]). Since his own mausoleum was not quite finished at the time of his death in 337, so that his son Constantius II attempted to claim the credit for its construction, it seems hardly likely that it would have been in a fit state to receive the tomb of Crispus as early as 326 ([14]). My suggestion, therefore, is that Constantine built a small mausoleum for Crispus near the site that he had already marked out for his own mausoleum, and that Constantius II incorporated this into the Church of the Holy Apostles subsequently. Since Constantius II was only a half-broth-

(12) See H. POHLSANDER, *Crispus : Brilliant Career and Tragic End*, in *Historia*, 33 (1984), 79-106.

(13) THEMIST. *Or.* 4.63a ; *Cons. Constant.* s.a. 324.

(14) PHILOST. *HE* 3.2 ; ZONAR. *Ann.* 13.4.28. Cf. EUS. *VC* 4.58-60.

er to Crispus, and probably blamed him for the circumstances that led to the death of his mother Fausta, it is perfectly understandable that he should not have removed this small structure altogether and transferred Crispus' tomb into the main mausoleum.

The final piece of evidence in support of the above reconstruction lies in the full name of Crispus, Flavius Iulius Crispus ([15]). Some brief inscription recording the identity of the deceased at least may be presumed to have accompanied most imperial tombs, whether on the tomb itself or on an associated plaque. The fact that none of the surviving imperial sarcophagi bear such a dedicatory inscription supports the latter possibility ([16]). Furthermore, although it has not survived until the present, it seems probable that the tomb identified as that of Julian in the late Byzantine sources was excavated in 1750, and it does not seem to have borne an inscription ([17]). Two points are important here. The first is that any inscription associated with the tomb of Crispus would have been in Latin at that early date, but that knowledge of Latin was relatively rare by the tenth century. Latin inscriptions would have been unintelligible for the most part except to a tiny minority. The second is that Byzantine historians seldom record the full names of their subjects. Hence the inhabitants of tenth-century Constantinople would have known Crispus by that name alone, if they had heard of him at all. Similarly, they would have known of Julian only by that name, and not as Flavius Claudius Iulianus ([18]). It is my suggestion, therefore, that the misidentification of the tomb of Crispus as that of Julian results primarily from a faulty reading by a Greek-speaker of an inscription recording the name Flavius

(15) As attested by coins and inscriptions. See e.g. P. BRUUN, *Roman Imperial Coinage VII : Constantine and Licinius AD313-337*, London, 1966, passim.

(16) See C. MANGO, *Three Imperial Byzantine Sarcophagi Discovered in 1750*, in *DOP*, 16 (1962), 397-402 ; idem, *A Newly Discovered Byzantine Imperial Sarcophagus*, in *Annual of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul*, 15-16 (1969), 307-09.

(17) Mango, *Three Imperial Byzantine Sarcophagi*, 401. Since Julian's original tomb at Tarsus seems to have borne a metrical epitaph, the fact that the tomb discovered at Constantinople which best fits the late Byzantine description of his 'cylindrical' tomb, does not bear such an inscription, ought in itself to cause us to doubt whether this tomb had in fact been transferred from Tarsus to Constantinople. For the epitaph, see ZOS. *HN* 3.34.3 ; ZONAR. *Ann.* 13.13.24 ; CEDRENUS, 1.539.6-9 ; *Anth. Pal.* 7.747.

(18) For Julian's full name see e.g. J. P. C. KENT, *Roman Imperial Coinage VIII : The Family of Constantine I AD337-364*, London 1981, passim.

Iulius Crispus – probably abbreviated as Fl. Iul. Crispus – as Flavius Iulianus.

In conclusion, there are strong reasons to doubt the late Byzantine tradition that the tomb of Julian the Apostate was preserved in the Church of the Holy Apostles. The explanation for the origin of this tradition probably lies in the popular misidentification of the tomb of Crispus Caesar as that of Julian, due both to its position next to the tomb of Jovian and a misreading of the associated Latin inscription.

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# HOSIOS THÉODOSE LE JEUNE : PERSONNAGE HISTORIQUE OU LÉGENDAIRE ?

## Introduction

Au bord de la plaine de l'Argolide, à une douzaine de kilomètres à l'est de la ville d'Argos, sur une basse colline qui surplombe la plaine, se situe le monastère des femmes d'Hosios Théodose le Jeune (1), dont on fête la mémoire le 7 août (2). Pour y accéder, il faut s'engager sur la route qui,

(1) L'histoire du monastère moderne est rédigée par Ch. DELIGIANNOPOULOS, *Ιερά Μονή Οσίου Θεοδοσίου*, dans IDEM, *Ασματικαί ακολουθίαι εις τον Όσιον Πατέρα ημών Θεοδόσιον τον Νέον, λάμψαντα εν Αργολίδι τον Θ΄αιώνα. Μετά σχετικών βιογραφικών σημειωμάτων περί του Αγίου και ιστορικών τοιούτων περί της Ιεράς Μονής του*, Athènes, 1969, pp. 45-60. Le même signe une notice concernant l'histoire du monastère dans la *Θρησκευτική και Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. VI, Athènes, 1965, pp. 165-166. G. PAPASTAVROU, *Οδοιπορικό στους ιερούς χώρους της Αργολίδας. Εκκλησίες - Μοναστήρια. (Παλαιά και νέα)*, 3ème éd., Patras, 1984, pp. 25-31, donne un résumé des travaux de Ch. Deligiannopoulos. Une courte note est consacrée à Théodose le Jeune dans l'article d'Anna LAMBROPOULOU, I. ANAGNOSTAKIS, Voula KONTI et Aggeliki PANOPOULOU, *Μνήμη και λήθη της λατρείας των αγίων της Πελοποννήσου (9ος-15ος αιώνας)* dans Eleonora KOUNTOURA-GALAKE (éd.), *Οι ήρωες της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας. Οι Νέοι Άγιοι, 8ος-16ος αιώνας (Εθνικό Ίδρυμα Ερευνών. Ινστιτούτο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών. Διεθνή Συμπόσια*, 15), Athènes, 2004, pp. 285-286. En tout cas, le manuel mis à la disposition des pèlerins qui visitent le monastère, rédigé par G. CHORAS, *Η Μονή Αγίου Θεοδοσίου του Νέου Αργολίδος*, Athènes, 1994, constitue le travail le plus complet concernant l'histoire du monastère. Pour des références à l'histoire moderne du monastère cf. encore Ch. DELIGIANNOPOULOS, *Οι Βίοι των εν Αργολίδι αγίων*, Argos, 1958, p. 20 ; D. STRAVOLEMOS, *Ο Θεοφόρος και ιαματικός Θεοδόσιος. Αθηναίων το κλέος και Αργολίδος το καύχημα. Αγιότης και θαύματα*, Athènes, 1974, pp. 99-102.

(2) Cf. le 7 août dans le *Μηναίον Αυγούστου* de l'Église de Grèce ; K. D. MERTZIOS, *Περί του Αθηναίου Οσίου και ιαματικού Θεοδοσίου του Νέου*, dans Ch. DELIGIANNOPOULOS, *Ασματικαί ακολουθίαι*, p. 27, se plaint que la mémoire de Théodose n'ait pas dépassé les limites de l'Argolide.

via les villages de Pyrgella et de Lalouka, conduit à Hagia Triada, appellation actuelle de Merbakas, connu pour son église byzantine du XII[e] s. De là, il faut prendre la bifurcation menant au village de Panariti où même un enfant peut signaler la route confortable qui va jusqu'au monastère.

Le monastère actuel est un complexe de bâtiments construits durant la seconde moitié du XX[e] s. Il a été réhabilité en 1939, mais la presque totalité de son infrastructure actuelle date d'après la seconde guerre mondiale (fig. 1). Déjà en 1833, quand le jeune État grec a procédé à l'enregistrement des biens fonciers des monastères abandonnés, ce monastère, enregistré sous le nom de S. Jean Prodrome, était pratiquement déserté, mais il disposait de propriétés foncières importantes, qui ont été distribuées en 1834 aux paysans démunis de propriété. Cela indique que le monastère avait connu un passé prospère, mais le trou noir en matière d'informations, que constitue pour la Grèce la turcocratie, ne permet pas de savoir beaucoup de détails relatifs à son histoire ([3]). Déjà avant 1833, la tradition voulait que le fondateur du monastère soit un moine anachorète d'origine athénienne, Hosios Théodose le Jeune. Les travaux entrepris depuis la réhabilitation du monastère en 1939 ont malheureusement déformé ou fait disparaître les constructions anciennes ([4]). Ainsi les données archéologiques ont perdu de leur importance pour la reconstitution de l'histoire du site. Cette perte n'est qu'en partie compensée par les sources iconographiques, dont nous parlerons plus loin, et aussi par d'une biographie du fondateur, Théodose le Jeune. Toutefois ce texte pose plusieurs questions auxquelles il faut répondre avant de tirer une conclusion.

## La valeur historique de la *Vita Theodosii*

### 1. *La biographie de Théodose le Jeune*

Vouloir s'informer davantage sur le monastère de S. Théodose et sur son fondateur s'avère un vœu pieux ; la bibliographie y est peu significa-

(3) Pour la partie historique, cf. CHORAS, *Η Μονή Αγίου Θεοδοσίου*, pp. 19-27, qui a réuni et étudié les documents des archives vénitiennes et grecques de la période turque.

(4) Cf. les remarques faites par Ch. BOURAS, *Βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή αρχιτεκτονική στην Ελλάδα*, Athènes, 2001, p. 138, et par G. SOTIRIOU, *Χριστιανική και Βυζαντινή Αρχαιολογία. Α΄ Χριστιανικά κοιμητήρια. Εκκλησιαστική Αρχιτεκτονική*, Athènes, 1942, p. 519.

tive (5). Les chercheurs modernes paraphrasent, même s'ils ne le disent pas, la *Vie et Miracles de Hosios Théodose le Jeune*, édités par Nicodème l'Hagiorite dans son Νέον Εκλόγιον (6). Le rédacteur de ce texte est Nicolas Malaxos, archiprêtre et prédicateur de la métropole de Nauplie au XVI[e] s. (7), dont nous brosserons un portrait un peu plus loin. L'édition n'a rien de critique ; Nicodème reproduit en édition diplomatique le texte contenu dans le manuscrit *Marcianus Gr.* II, 140 (Coll. 1314), un autographe de Nicolas Malaxos (8) ; il y ajoute parfois, et entre parenthèses, de courtes indications qui ne font pas partie du texte de Malaxos, mais qui permettent au lecteur de se retrouver (9). Avant de procéder à une présen-

(5) Cf. Ch. DELIGIANNOPOULOS, *Βίος και θαύματα*, dans IDEM, *Ασματικαί ακολουθίαι*, pp. 9-22 ; IDEM, *Θεοδόσιος*, dans *Θρησκευτική και Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. VI, Athènes, 1965, pp. 164-165 ; IDEM, *Οι Βίοι των εν Αργολίδι αγίων*, pp. 16-20 ; PAPASTAVROU, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-24 ; STRAVOLEMOS, *op. cit.*, *passim* ; G. A. VOUTERIS, *Βίος και Ακολουθία του Οσίου και Θεοφόρου Πατρός ημών Θεοδοσίου του Νέου του Θαυματουργού καί ιαματικού*, Nauplie, 1961, *passim* ; MERTZIOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-40. Une courte notice dans *Μεγάλη Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. XII, p. 501, lemme Θεοδόσιος (άγιοι), n° 6 : ο Νέος. À ce même saint est dédié le calendrier de poche qu'a édité le diocèse d'Argolide pour l'année 1994 (*Ιερά Μητρόπολις Αργολίδος. Ημερολόγιου 1994. Αφιερωμένον εις τον Όσιον και Θεοφόρον Θεοδόσιον τον Νέον και ιαματικόν*), qui donne une biographie sommaire de Théodose.

(6) Le livre en question a paru à Venise en 1803 ; la seconde édition, à Constantinople, date de 1863. Il contenait 36 *Vies de Saints* ayant vécus entre 66 et 1686 après J. Ch. La *Vie de S. Théodose* occupe les pp. 183-192 dans l'édition de Venise et les pp. 164-172 dans l'édition de Constantinople. Nos références se rapportent à l'édition de Constantinople. Pour nous référer à ce texte, nous utilisons l'abréviation : *Vita*.

(7) L'étude la plus complète au sujet de Nicolas Malaxos reste celle de P. P. PETRIS, *Νικόλαος Μαλαξός, Πρωτοπαπάς Ναυπλίου (1500 ci - 1594)*, dans *Πελοποννησιακά*, 3-4 (1958-1959), pp. 348-375, où on trouve d'ailleurs toute la bibliographie plus ancienne et la liste complète des œuvres publiées de Malaxos.

(8) Cf. PETRIS, *op. cit*, p. 368 ; MERTZIOS, *op. cit*, p. 23-25. Signalons que Malaxos est l'auteur d'autres textes en l'honneur de Théodose. Ainsi dans le même *Marcianus Gr.* II, 140 (Coll. 1314), on trouve des hymnes et des poèmes que Malaxos a composés pour Théodose (ff. 171-174) qui sont en partie publiés par Ch. DELIGIANNOPOULOS, *Ασματικαί ακολουθίαι*, pp. 115-136.

(9) Cf. C. N. SATHAS, *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία*, Athènes, 1868, pp. 184-185 ; E. LEGRAND, *Bibliothèque Hellénique*, vol. I, Paris, 1885, pp. 305-307 ; Ph. MEYER, *Die theologische Literatur der griechischen Kirche im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1899, pp. 124-127 ; M. GEDEON, *Φιλίστορος αποσημειώμα-*

tation des éléments contenus dans cette rédaction, signalons que les 4/9èmes de ce texte concernent la biographie de Théodose ; les autres 5/9emes sont consacrés aux miracles du saint ([10]). Le texte s'adresse manifestement aux gens de la région, car dans la partie consacrée aux miracles le rédacteur considère que certaines données topographiques, onomastiques ou prosopographiques sont connues du lecteur. Le texte a aussi un caractère éducatif, mais sans être rhétorique, puisqu'il n'était pas destiné à être prononcé. Il vise les chrétiens d'Argolide du XVIe s. qui vénéraient un saint local sans savoir davantage à son sujet. Selon les éléments narratifs de cet éloge ([11]),

*Théodose est né à Athènes en 862, de parents nobles et pieux. À Athènes il a reçu une formation élémentaire qu'il a complétée en assistant aux offices religieux et en lisant de Vies des saints. Après la mort de ses parents, il a liquidé sa fortune, qu'il a distribuée aux pauvres, avant de quitter sa ville natale pour se soumettre à un vieux moine qui l'a fait entrer dans les ordres monastiques. Après un certain temps il a quitté son maître spirituel pour vivre dans la solitude. Il est passé dans le Péloponnèse pour s'installer sur un lieu désertique aux confins de la province d'Argos. C'était là qu'il eut une vision de S. Jean Prodrome qui lui demanda d'y construire une église. Théodose entama la construction et dédia son église à S. Jean Prodrome* (elle était toujours sur place au moment où Malaxos rédigeait la biographie de Théodose).

*Théodose devint connu dans la région. Ayant le don de la guérison, il attirait vers lui des personnes souffrantes, dont certaines, après avoir été guéries devenaient moines ; d'autres suivaient leur exemple après avoir connu le saint. Ainsi se forma une petite communauté monastique autour de lui.*

*Or, des personnes méchantes, incitées par la jalousie, accusèrent Théodose auprès de l'évêque Pierre* ([12]) *en disant que Théodose était un sorcier et un*

τα, dans *Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια*, 5 (1884-1885), p. 88 ; PETRIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 367-375 ; MERTZIOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-25.

(10) Nous qualifions cette collection d'«ancienne», car il existe des collections «modernes», dont STRAVOLEMOS, pp. 99-110, publie une.

(11) Il faut noter que certains auteurs modernes dépassent le texte de Malaxos en y ajoutant l'un ou l'autre détail. Un cas typique est celui d'un certain *Συναξαριστής Βήριλος του Νοητού Παραδείσου* que réédite VOUTERIS, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-47, et que nous n'avons pas pu localiser autrement. Ce texte est une paraphrase de Malaxos, faite après 1838, puisque Athènes est citée comme «capitale» de Grèce, et qui qualifie les parents de Théodose d'«orthodoxes» ! La manière dont d'autres auteurs modernes considèrent l'histoire est apparente dans PAPASTAVROU, *op. cit.*, p. 28, qui note qu'il n'y a pas de sources parlant de l'histoire du monastère de Théodose, mais «nous pouvons facilement l'imaginer».

(12) Nicodème dans son édition (*Vita*, p. 165) ajoute, entre parenthèses, qu'il

*imposteur. L'évêque, après avoir entendu cela, décida d'éloigner Théodose de sa région. Entre-temps, Pierre reçut des lettres patriarcales lui demandant de venir à Constantinople afin de participer à un synode* (13). *Il reporta alors l'éloignement de Théodose à son retour.*

*Après le synode, Pierre était prêt à regagner sa province, quand Théodose lui apparut dans un rêve et lui expliqua son cas. Pierre s'éveilla inquiet en se demandant ce qu'il devait faire, quand arriva un serviteur du patriarche lui disant de le rejoindre immédiatement au patriarcat. Car au même moment où Pierre avait la vision, Théodose apparut dans un rêve au patriarche et lui expliqua son cas. C'est pourquoi le patriarche en s'éveillant demanda à Pierre de venir au patriarcat. Dès que Pierre se fut rendu auprès du patriarche, ce dernier lui demanda si un moine nommé Théodose ne vivait pas dans son évêché et si une accusation n'était pas formulée contre lui. Pierre lui expliqua l'affaire en détail et ajouta que Théodose lui apparut dans son rêve. C'était alors que le patriarche lui révéla que lui aussi avait eu une vision. Le patriarche pria alors Pierre de se présenter à Théodose et de lui demander pardon, tout en lui demandant de prier aussi pour le patriarche. Le jour où Pierre partait de Constantinople, le patriarche lui rappela sa recommandation.*

*Dès son retour, Pierre programma une visite à Théodose. Le saint avait prévu l'arrivée de Pierre, car il avait le don de la prévision. Il mit alors des braises dans son capuchon, il y ajouta de l'encens et partit à la rencontre de son évêque. Pierre comprit que le moine qui venait vers lui était Théodose ; il se précipita pour l'embrasser, mais le moine s'agenouilla devant l'évêque. Pierre lui demanda pardon et lui transmit les demandes du patriarche. Puis, sans tarder, ordonna Théodose diacre et ensuite prêtre, malgré le refus de Théodose qui se considérait peu digne de la prêtrise.*

*Arrivé à un âge très avancé, Théodose prévit que sa mort viendrait trois jours plus tard. Il convoqua auprès de lui ses disciples pour les consolider dans la foi. Il mourut le sept du mois d'août* (14). *L'évêque Pierre, ayant appris la mort de Théodose, arriva sur place accompagné de son clergé et d'une grande foule ; il enterra le corps de Théodose devant l'église de S. Jean*

s'agissait de Pierre d'Argos, dont la fête est célébrée le 3 mai, mais cela n'est pas dit par Malaxos.

(13) Le texte de Malaxos ne donne ni le nom du patriarche qui a convoqué Pierre, ni l'affaire que le synode devait traiter. Les historiens toutefois proposent d'y voir le Patriarche Nicolas le Mystique. Comme nous le verrons plus loin, cette hypothèse est en réalité peu fiable car elle s'appuie sur la *Vie de S. Théodose.*

(14) Malaxos (*Vita*, p. 167) ne donne pas l'année de la mort de Théodose. Cela est curieux, car il est très précis quant à l'année de la naissance du saint. Nous reviendrons sur ce point plus loin.

*Prodrome. Depuis* (et jusqu'au temps du rédacteur de la Vita), *la tombe de Théodose est devenue un lieu fréquenté par des personnes souffrantes en quête de guérison.*

*Après quelques années, les disciples de Théodose quittèrent ce monde l'un après l'autre, tandis qu'il n'y avait pas de nouveaux engagements, car le lieu était très inhospitalier. À la mort du dernier de ceux-ci, le lieu n'était plus habité. Mais les habitants des villages environnants et surtout les habitants de Nauplie allaient sur place et célébraient la messe.*

Ensuite le texte parle de miracles opérés par Théodose, mais il ne donne aucun élément biographique au sujet du saint. Malaxos ne précise pas à quel moment historique ces miracles ont eu lieu. Le contexte toutefois permet de dater certains parmi eux. C'est notamment le cas des miracles dont le bénéficiaire était Malaxos (ou sa famille), comme d'ailleurs les miracles qui impliquent les événements historiques datés, et dont il est question plus loin.

Le texte de Malaxos est constitué d'un mélange d'éléments, qui à première vue semblent historiques, et de lieux communs. Dès le départ, l'auteur donne une date très précise pour la naissance de Théodose, tandis qu'il paraît ignorer le nom de ses parents. Toute la partie qui concerne la jeunesse de Théodose est un lieu commun. Le choix de l'Argolide comme lieu d'ascèse semble de nouveau être une information historique, mais toutes celles qui suivent sont des lieux communs qu'on trouve dans d'autres biographies de saints. L'auteur respecte d'ailleurs scrupuleusement le schéma hagiographique traditionnel : la sainteté d'une personne provoque l'afflux de gens ; des méchants jaloux accusent le saint auprès d'une autorité ecclésiastique ; l'évêque ignorant se laisse convaincre par les calomniateurs ; la vérité éclate ; l'évêque reconnaît le saint comme une personne ayant la grâce divine et l'ordonne. Ces lieux communs sont mis en rapport avec Pierre d'Argos – un personnage historique –, la petite église de S. Jean Prodrome – une construction visible à l'époque du rédacteur – et une tradition locale ancestrale, vivante jusqu'à nos jours. Pour faire avancer la recherche, nous devons examiner les raisons qui ont poussé l'auteur de ce texte à entreprendre sa rédaction, dépister ses sources et chercher d'autres témoignages au sujet de Théodose. Ensuite nous pourrons envisager la question fondamentale, à savoir, qui était vraiment hosios Théodose.

## 2. *Nicolas Malaxos et ses motifs de rédaction de la Vie de Théodose le Jeune*

L'auteur de la biographie d'hosios Théodose est Nicolas Malaxos. Ce clerc lettré, fils du prêtre Staurakios Malaxos, est né à Nauplie au début du XVI[e] s. Il a fait des études dans sa ville natale et puis à Constantinople. À son retour à Nauplie et après son mariage il est ordonné prêtre avant d'être promu au grade de *protopapas* (archiprêtre) ([15]). Le 25 novembre 1540, la République vénitienne a cédé Nauplie aux Turcs ; les 13.299 habitants de la ville pouvaient choisir entre la retraite sur un territoire contrôlé par Venise ou la soumission à la nouvelle autorité. Nicolas a quitté Nauplie peut-être pour la Crète avant de s'installer à Venise, où il a travaillé comme curé de la paroisse orthodoxe entre 1553 et 1572 ; il y fut le principal acteur de la construction de l'église de St-Georges-des-Grecs. Ensuite il se retira sur l'île de Zakynthos et finalement en Crète où il est mort en 1594.

Nicolas a beaucoup écrit : il a composé des poèmes, des hymnes, des *acolouthies* (avec acrostiches) pour une vingtaine des saint(e)s, et une en l'honneur du patriarche de Constantinople Métrophane, un traité sur la confession, un traité sur le symbolisme des doigts du prêtre quand il bénit les fidèles, etc. L'hagiographie faisait aussi partie de ses préoccupations. Il a rédigé la *Passion de S. Jean le Jeune de Ioannina*, qui fut martyrisé le 18 avril 1526, et la *Vie et les Miracles de S. Théodose le Jeune* ([16]). La date de la première de ces deux rédactions est impossible à préciser ; la rédaction de la *Vie de S. Théodose* a fait l'objet de certaines hypothèses. Malaxos y fait état d'un officier turc, chef militaire de l'Argolide, qui

(15) Le *protopapas* remplaçait l'évêque dans ses fonctions liturgiques, quand ce dernier disait la messe dans un autre lieu de culte. Il s'agit d'un titre qu'on rencontre souvent dans les métropoles qui comptaient plus qu'un grand centre urbain, telle que la métropole d'Argolide. Cf. à ce propos K. RALLIS, *Περί του εκκλησιαστικού αξιώματος του πρωτοπρεσβυτέρου*, dans *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών*, 11 (1936), pp. 98-108.

(16) La seule étude complète au sujet de Nicolas Malaxos reste celle de PETRIS, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Signalons toutefois que cette étude présente beaucoup de lacunes. Certains détails intéressants sur le séjour de Malaxos à Zakynthos et sur son activité littéraire, dans N. KATRAMIS, *Φιλολογικά ανάλεκτα Ζακύνθου*, Zakynthos, 1880, 2[ème] éd. 1997, pp. 116-119. Les notices reprises dans les dictionnaires ou les encyclopédies sont en général sans intérêt scientifique. Pour la production littéraire de Nicolas Malaxos cf. *supra*, note 9.

s'impliqua dans un des miracles attribués à Théodose ([17]). Malaxos a donc rédigé ou au moins parachevé la *Vie de S. Théodose* après 1540, date de la prise de Nauplie par les Turcs. Cette conclusion est confirmée par une note faite par Malaxos dans la partie de sa rédaction consacrée aux miracles de S. Théodose. En parlant d'une icône du saint que Malaxos possédait dans sa maison à Nauplie, il dit *l'icône que nous* ***'avions'*** *dans notre habitation*, car il ne vivait plus à Nauplie quand il composait la biographie de S. Théodose ([18]). Dans ce cas, Malaxos a terminé la rédaction loin de son pays natal. Il est resté toutefois en contact avec l'Argolide, puisqu'il a appris le miracle opéré par Théodose après son départ de la région.

Il est superflu de se demander pourquoi Nicolas a écrit ces textes. Manifestement il s'agissait d'une personne pour laquelle l'écriture était un mode de vie. On peut toutefois se poser la question : pourquoi était-il attiré par ces deux saints précis ? Pour Jean le Jeune la réponse paraît évidente ; Jean a subi le martyr quand Nicolas était jeune et cela l'avait profondément ému et impressionné. En outre, cette rédaction avait une connotation politique très forte. Nauplie était encore une possession chrétienne qui subissait les assauts des Turcs. Les habitants de la ville et la garnison vénitienne avaient repoussé un tel assaut en 1530. Nicolas voulait mettre en garde les chrétiens sur les conséquences de la prise de la ville par les Turcs ; ce qui était arrivé à Ioannina, pouvait arriver aussi à Nauplie.

Pour la *Vie de Théodose*, les motifs ne sont pas les mêmes. L'auteur dans le prologue de sa rédaction ne donne aucune raison, même pas la raison habituelle, c'est-à-dire qu'il faut enregistrer les actes des personnes saintes pour les préserver de l'oubli et pour en tirer un profit spirituel en les prenant comme modèles. Il ne dit pas non plus que quelqu'un lui avait demandé de rédiger cette *Vie*. Nous ne pouvons pas non plus dire que Malaxos avait décidé cette rédaction pour s'opposer à l'islam. Une lecture des miracles attribués à Théodose conduit à la conclusion que l'auteur ne tient pas une position polémique envers les musulmans, puisqu'il fait état des musulmans ayant bénéficié de la grâce miraculeuse de Théodose et qui, de ce fait, le vénéraient tout en restant fidèles à l'islam ([19]). On peut

(17) *Vita*, pp. 170-171.

(18) *Vita*, p. 171.

(19) *Vita*, pp. 170-171. Pour Malaxos cet officier était un Αγαρηνός ; il met donc l'accent sur la religion de la personne en ajoutant que chaque fois qu'il passait près de l'église de Théodose il faisait un signe de respect. L'idée de

toutefois détecter trois raisons qui ont poussé Nicolas à entreprendre cette rédaction. D'abord l'existence des ruines d'un monastère et la présence sur le site des deux petites églises, une de S. Jean Baptiste devant laquelle était situé un tombeau qui selon la tradition locale enfermait les restes, réputés miraculeux, de Théodose et l'autre, dédiée à S. Théodose, quelques pas plus loin. Cette seconde église a été construite, selon Malaxos, peu après la mort de Théodose. Ensuite le pèlerinage qui se tenait le 7 août, auquel participaient les gens de la région et particulièrement les habitants de Nauplie. La décision de Nicolas semble être prise à la suite d'événements personnels, car lui-même et sa famille ont bénéficié de l'action miraculeuse de Théodose ([20]). Après cela, Nicolas se sentait obligé de faire quelque chose pour Théodose, une espèce de compensation. Constatant qu'il n'y avait pas une *Vie de Théodose le Jeune*, il se mit à en écrire une.

### 3. *Les sources de Malaxos*

Malaxos ne dit pas d'où il a tiré les informations pour écrire la partie biographique de sa rédaction. Nous n'avons d'ailleurs pas d'indices permettant de dire qu'une biographie de Théodose existait avant la rédaction de Malaxos. Le saint ne figure pas dans le ménologe de Basile II, raison sans doute pour laquelle il n'est pas enregistré par la *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*. Pour la première fois son nom apparaît dans l'élaboration du ménologe du patriarcat de Constantinople entreprise par Maurice le Diacre au XII[e] s., connue sous le nom de Συναξαριστής ; or, aucune note biographique n'y est attachée ([21]).

STRAVOLEMOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-68, qui pense que le miracle en question a eu lieu en 1715, après la seconde domination vénitienne en Grèce, est au moins surprenante si l'on tient compte que Malaxos, mort en 1594, en parle.

(20) D'abord quand son fils était gravement malade, son épouse a prié devant l'icône du saint, qu'ils avaient dans la maison, et le fils guérit (*Vita*, pp. 171-172). Puis, Nicolas lui-même a pris le bateau pour aller à Venise ; lors du voyage une violente tempête menaçait de les noyer tous ; Nicolas demanda l'aide de Théodose qui sauva le bateau (*Vita*, p. 172). Dans un troisième cas, Théodose a sauvé de la mort Staurakios, le fils aîné de Nicolas, mais l'auteur ne dit ni comment ni de quoi (*Vita*, p. 172). STRAVOLEMOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47, sans aucun appui sur une source, dit que ce dernier miracle a eu lieu en Crète là où s'était réfugiée la famille de Malaxos après 1540.

(21) Cette élaboration est à la base de plusieurs ménologes transmis par un grand nombre des manuscrits. NICODÈME L'HAGIORITE, après avoir consulté plu-

Ce qui frappe dans la rédaction de Malaxos c'est la précision inhabituelle avec laquelle il se réfère à la date de la naissance de Théodose. Une telle précision ne pouvait pas avoir pour origine l'imagination de l'auteur ([22]). Cela devient une certitude quand on constate que, pour la date de la mort de Théodose, Malaxos donne le jour du mois, sans doute en tenant compte du jour de la fête anniversaire du saint, mais ne donne pas l'année. Malaxos a travaillé au siège de la métropole d'Argolide ; il pouvait avoir accès aux archives épiscopales, si des archives concernant le IX^e^ s. existaient encore au XVI^e^ s. Mais même dans ce cas, il n'y avait aucune raison que la date de naissance d'un Athénien figurait sur une pièce d'archives de la métropole d'Argolide. Si Malaxos cite cette date, il doit l'avoir puisée dans une autre source, mais il est impossible de savoir laquelle. Cela permet de dire que Malaxos n'a pas travaillé sans aucun support ; or dans sa source la partie qui couvrait la jeunesse de son héros était très réduite, puisqu'elle ne mentionnait pas les noms de parents de Théodose et ne donnait pas d'informations au sujet de sa jeunesse.

Pour la période argienne de Théodose, le récit de Malaxos se limite essentiellement à la rencontre de Théodose avec Pierre, évêque d'Argos. Dans ce cas aussi plusieurs questions restent sans réponse. D'abord, le texte ne précise pas de quel Pierre il s'agit, car l'Argolide connut plusieurs évêques nommés Pierre ([23]). Nicodème l'Hagiorite dans l'édition du texte de Malaxos signale entre parenthèses que Pierre en question était S. Pierre d'Argos, dont on fête la mémoire le 3 mai. L'hypothèse paraît vraisemblable car la date de naissance de Théodose cadre avec l'épiscopat de S. Pierre d'Argos. Les autres détails donnés par Malaxos au sujet de S. Pierre d'Argos ne sont pas vérifiables. Par exemple Malaxos dit que le patriarche de Constantinople a convoqué Pierre à participer à un syno-

sieurs manuscrits d'Athos, a édité une adaptation en grec moderne (Venise, 1819) du *Συναξαριστής de Maurice le Diacre* en 13 petits volumes, un pour chaque mois de l'année et en plus un volume d'index. Il avait aussi préparé une nouvelle édition en deux volumes, qui a paru après sa mort grâce à Th. Nicolaïdes de Philadelphie qui a retravaillé le texte et l'a publié à Athènes en 1868 ; cf. *infra*, note 26.

(22) MERTZIOS, *op. cit.*, p. 25, est certain que Malaxos avait à sa disposition de données incontestables pour pouvoir placer avec une telle précision la date de la naissance de Théodose.

(23) P. YANNOPOULOS, *Ο επισκοπικός κατάλογος του βυζαντινού Άργους*, dans *Πρακτικά του Ε΄ Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών*, vol. II, Athènes, 1998, pp. 365-366.

de à Constantinople, sans toutefois mentionner le nom du patriarche et sans dire de quel synode il s'agissait. Certains historiens acceptent que le patriarche en question était Nicolas Ier le Mystique et que le synode, dont parle Malaxos, eut lieu à Constantinople en 920 ; ils ajoutent que la mort de Théodose est intervenue en 922, puisqu'elle a eu lieu après le retour de Pierre de Constantinople (24). Or, rien de tout cela n'est vérifiable. Théodore de Nicée, disciple et biographe de Pierre d'Argos, ne fait état d'aucun de ces détails et ne parle point de Théodose, malgré le fait qu'il soit né à Nauplie et qu'il y vivait pendant la même période que Théodose. Donc, Théodore de Nicée n'est pas la source de Malaxos pour la période argienne de Théodose. Peut-on dire que dans ce cas Malaxos puise dans les archives de la métropole d'Argolide ? C'est une hypothèse séduisante, qui reste à prouver. Toutefois Malaxos est à l'origine d'un cercle vicieux. On accepte que Pierre d'Argos a participé au synode de 920, puisque la *Vie de Théodose* le dit, et on place la mort de Théodose en 922, puisqu'elle est arrivée après le retour de Pierre de Constantinople.

Pour le reste, la source de Malaxos semple être la tradition locale. Cette tradition, toujours vivante, perpétue la mémoire d'un saint moine et guérisseur nommé Théodose, qui a fondé le monastère toujours sur place. Certes les traditions ne peuvent être prises comme sources historiques au sens strict du mot. Pourtant elles sont révélatrices des réalités gardées vivantes par la mémoire collective. Prenant comme source la seule tradition locale, nous pouvons dire que Théodose a réellement vécu dans la région de l'Argolide, mais sans pouvoir aller plus loin et ni affirmer qu'il a vécu aux confins du IXe et du Xe s. Si on fait abstraction des éléments provenant de la tradition et si on ne tient pas compte de la rhétorique hagiographique édifiante, il reste un court texte transmettant les principaux faits biographiques, ce qu'on appelle dans le langage hagiographique un synaxaire. C'est sans doute la source de Malaxos, actuellement perdue. Malaxos a complété les lacunes avec des lieux communs, parfois

(24) Cf. A. Bon, *La Morée franque*, Paris, 1969, pp. 67-68 et p. 136, K. Kyriakopoulos, *Αγίου Πέτρου Άργους, Βίος και Λόγοι*, Athènes, 1976, pp. 3-4, et p. 368, Yannopoulos, *Ο επισκοπικός κατάλογος του βυζαντινού Άργους*, *passim*, Idem, *Ο Ναυπλιεύς Θεόδωρος Νικαίας*, dans *Ναυπλιακά Ανάλεκτα*, 4 (2000), p. 123, A. Kazdan, *Peter of Argos*, dans *ODB*, N. York et Oxford, 1991, pp. 1638-1639, C. Crimi, *L'«Epitafio di Atanasio di Metone» (BHG 196) di Pietro vescovo d'Argo*, dans *ΑΛΦΕΙΟΣ. Rapporti storici e letterari fra Sicilia e Grecia*, Caltanissetta, 1998, p. 61.

très banals, et sa propre imagination. Or, l'historicité de Théodose est attestée aussi par d'autres sources écrites antérieures à Malaxos, tandis que l'archéologie et l'iconographie confirment le texte de Malaxos et attestent de manière indirecte du caractère historique de Théodose.

## Autres témoignages au sujet d'hosios Théodose

1. *Les témoignages littéraires antérieurs à Malaxos*

Comme nous l'avons signalé, le Ménologe de Basile II ne mentionne pas Théodose. Cette omission n'est toutefois pas significative, car ce ménologe se limitait aux saints dont l'église constantinopolitaine célébrait la mémoire au x^e^ s. Pour la même raison, Théodose n'est pas mentionné par M. Gedeon, qui a édité une version du Ménologe de Basile ([25]). On peut donc conclure que Théodose le Jeune était inconnu à Constantinople au x^e^ s.

Le *Synaxaire* du diacre Maurice, qui au XII^e^ s. a rédigé le Ménologe du Patriarcat de Constantinople en prenant pour base le Ménologe de Basile II, cite Théodose le Jeune parmi les saints dont la mémoire était célébrée en précisant que la fête anniversaire de Théodose se tenait le 7 août ([26]). Donc, au XII^e^ s. Théodose était reconnu comme un saint faisant partie du calendrier orthodoxe. Il s'agit de la plus ancienne information écrite le concernant dont nous disposons. Malheureusement Maurice n'attache aucune notice biographique à cette citation. Le seul élément utile qu'il donne est une épigramme qui justifie le qualificatif 'le jeune', car il le compare à un ancien, sans dire de quel ancien il pourrait s'agir.

Au moins deux autres sources écrites du XV^e^ s. parlent de S. Théodose. Un rapport introduit par Bartolomeo Minio, chef de la garde vénitienne de Nauplie, en 1480 au sénat de Venise signale que S. Théodose était par-

(25) M. GEDEON, *Βυζαντινόν εορτολόγιον. Μνήμαι των από του Δ΄ μέχρι των μέσων του ΙΕ΄ αιώνος εορταζομένων αγίων εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει*, vol. I-II, Constantinople, 1896-1898.

(26) *Συναξαριστής των δώδεκα μηνών του ενιαυτού. Πάλαι μεν Ελληνιστί συγγραφείς υπό Μαυρικίου, διακόνου της Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας, τω δε 1819 το δεύτερον μεταφρασθείς αμέσως εκ του Ελληνικού χειρογράφου Συναξαριστού και μεθ' όσης πλείστης επιμελείας ανακαθαρθείς, διορθωθείς, πλατυνθείς, αναπληρωθείς, σαφηνισθείς, υποσημειώσεσι διαφόροις καταγλαϊσθείς υπό του εν μακαρία λήξει Νικοδήμου Αγιορείτου, νυν δε το τρίτον επεξεργασθείς εκδίδοται υπό* Θ. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΪΔΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΣ, vol. I-II, Athènes, 1868, II, p. 304.

ticulièrement vénéré par les gens de la région ([27]). Ce témoignage confirme le récit de Malaxos qui, lui aussi, met l'accent sur le respect exceptionnel que témoignaient les gens d'Argolide envers Théodose depuis des siècles. L'autre témoin est Manuel de Corinthe, un officier de l'église constantinopolitaine qui a visité Nauplie en 1524. Il est allé jusqu'au tombeau de S. Théodose pour lui rendre hommage ([28]).

Ces deux sources confirment la sincérité de Malaxos et épaulent la valeur de sa biographie de S. Théodose. Nous pouvons être certains que Malaxos n'invente pas un saint et il dit la vérité quand il parle des pèlerins qui fréquentaient le tombeau de S. Théodose. Les témoignages écrits pour la période après Malaxos sont beaucoup plus nombreux et ils ont pour objet le monastère fondé sur le lieu d'ascèse de Théodose. Ces témoignages ne font toutefois pas partie de notre recherche, car ils ne sont pas en relation avec la question de l'historicité de Théodose ([29]).

2. *Le témoignage archéologique*

Malaxos signale que Théodose a construit une chapelle qu'il a dédiée à S. Jean Prodrome ([30]). Puisque autour de lui s'était formée une petite communauté monastique, nous pouvons en outre supposer l'existence de certains bâtiments rudimentaires. Après la mort de Théodose une nouvelle église fut construite quelques pas plus loin. Malaxos ne précise pas la date de la construction de cette nouvelle église ; il dit simplement qu'après l'enterrement de Théodose par Pierre d'Argos et ses compagnons, «on y a construit une chapelle dédiée à son nom» ([31]). La phrase est ambiguë, car «on» peut ici tenir la place : 1° de Pierre d'Argos et les compagnons de Théodose (dans ce cas la construction doit être datée du vivant de S. Pierre d'Argos), 2° de compagnons de Théodose (dans ce cas la construction doit être datée vers la fin du x[e] s.), 3° de gens pieux de la région (dans ce cas la construction doit être datée avant la rédaction de

(27) CHORAS, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

(28) Il s'agit d'une citation du *Marcianus* cl. III, cod. V = colloc. 1077 (olim *Nanianus*, 229), f. 323v. Cf. aussi CHORAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

(29) CHORAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-37, a réuni ces informations ; elles concernent surtout la seconde domination de Venise dans la région et la période de l'occupation ottomane.

(30) *Vita*, pp. 164-165. L'auteur signale que S. Jean Prodrome apparut lors d'un rêve à Théodose et lui demanda de construire une chapelle en son honneur, chose que le saint a fait.

(31) *Vita*, p. 167.

Malaxos). Cette dernière acceptation nous paraît la plus plausible, puisque Malaxos présente la construction de la chapelle comme un remerciement des malades qui ont obtenu leur guérison. Toutefois, la construction ne date pas de beaucoup après la mort du saint, car le biographe la place dans le contexte de la mort de Théodose. Malaxos signale qu'à son époque les deux chapelles étaient toujours sur place ([32]), mais il ne parle pas de cellules construites par les disciples de Théodose ou par d'autres autour d'elles. D'ailleurs, ni Malaxos ni les sources antérieures à lui ne font état d'un monastère installé sur le site. Un tel monastère, doté de cellules, est incontestablement attesté après le milieu du XVI^e s.

À une date inconnue, une autre chapelle, dédiée à la Transfiguration du Seigneur, a été construite en contact avec le mur nord de l'église dédiée à Théodose. Elle était de dimensions réduites. À un certain moment le mur qui séparait les deux chapelles a été abattu pour créer un espace uni plus large. L'hypothèse de certains historiens qui considèrent cette chapelle comme étant aussi ancienne que celle dédiée à S. Théodose ne repose sur rien ([33]). Cette chapelle est même postérieure au XVI^e s. puisqu'elle n'apparaît pas sur une icône du XVI^e s. qui représente le site ([34]).

À l'heure actuelle, les deux chapelles réunies, celle dédiée à Théodose et celle dédiée à la Transfiguration du Seigneur, sont toujours sur place et servent d'église abbatiale du monastère actuel (fig. 1). Notre recherche

(32) Pour les deux chapelles Malaxos utilise la même formule : la chapelle est là «jusqu'aujourd'hui» ; cf. *Vita*, p. 165 : pour la chapelle de S. Jean et p. 167 : pour la chapelle construite à son nom.

(33) C'est DELIGIANNOPOULOS, *Ιερά Μονή Οσίου Θεοδοσίου*, p. 53, qui formule une telle hypothèse.

(34) Il s'agit d'une icône portative de la seconde moitié du XVI^e s., faisant actuellement partie de la collection du Musée Historique de Moscou. Selon P. VOCOTOPOULOS, *Δύο πιθανά έργα του Μάρκου Μπαθά*, dans Eugenia DRACOPOULOU (éd.), *Ζητήματα Μεταβυζαντινής ζωγραφικής στη Μνήμη του Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη*, Athènes, 2002, pp. 40-43, et IDEM, *À propos de l'icône de saint Théodose du Musée Historique de Moscou*, dans *Zograf*, 26 (1997), pp. 127-132, cette icône est probablement l'œuvre du peintre Marc Bathas ; il est même possible qu'elle soit commandée par Nicolas Malaxos lui-même. Elle est publiée dans l'album *Εικόνες Κρητικής Τέχνης*, Héraclion, 1993 (une reproduction dans CHORAS, *op. cit.*, p. 26). Nous allons revenir souvent à cette icône. Elle est divisée en 9 carrés de mêmes dimensions, dont celui au centre représente S. Théodose et les autres des scènes de la vie et des miracles du saint. L'église dédiée à S. Théodose apparaît sur quatre carrés où il est très clair que la chapelle de la Transfiguration n'y est pas.

FIG. 1. — Vue actuelle du monastère de St-Théodose le Jeune.

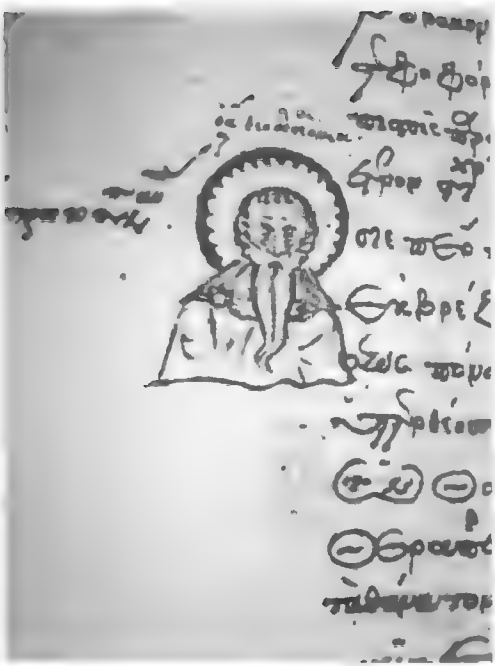

FIG. 2. — Dessin de Nicolas Malaxos dans la marge du *Marcianus Gr.* II, 140, f. 174v.

FIG. 3. — Fresque (Monastère de St-Théodose le Jeune), datée d'avant le XV[e] s.

FIG. 4. — Fresque (Monastère de St-Nicolas Galataki), datée entre 1566 et 1586.

FIG. 5 — Icône de l'école créto-vénetienne (Musée de Moscou) datée du XVI^e s.

FIG. 6. — Icône (Monastère de St-Théodose le Jeune), datée du XVII^e s.

FIG. 7. — Fresque (Église paroissiale de Ste-Kyriaki du village de Lalouka en Argolide), datée de 1906.

FIG. 8. — Icône (Monastère de St-Théodose le Jeune), dernier quart du XX[e] s.

est intéressée par la chapelle dédiée à S. Théodose, car elle renvoie à l'époque de la mort du saint et confirme à sa manière le texte de Malaxos. Le bâtiment est proclamé «monument protégé» le 23 mars 1940 (35). Malgré cette proclamation, il a beaucoup souffert lors des restaurations effectuées après la réaffectation du monastère en 1939. Il est transformé à un tel point que Ch. Bouras le qualifie de «méconnaissable» (36). Il est donc très difficile de tirer une conclusion quant à la date exacte de sa construction. Étant donné son type architectural rare (un espace carré surmonté d'une coupole), sa construction doit être placée avant le XI[e] s., date qui marque la généralisation du plan en croix grecque pour les églises de la région (37). La conclusion qui s'impose c'est que la chapelle constitue un témoignage parallèle qui soutient les informations procurées par Malaxos.

Pour la chapelle dédiée à S. Jean Prodrome, construite par Théodose lui-même, rien n'est clair. Les sœurs ont reconstruit une chapelle à l'emplacement des ruines de l'ancienne. Cette dernière est encore visible sur une photographie du monastère prise à la fin du XIX[e] s. (38), comme aussi sur l'icône de la seconde moitié du XVI[e] s. dont il a été question (39). Les deux documents présentent une construction de dimensions très modestes, à une seule nef et sans coupole. L'évêque de l'Argolide Jean Papa-

(35) Décision 27140/1014 du Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale et des Cultes (parue dans le Journal Officiel grec 89/B/4 avril 1940) en vertu de la loi 5331 de 1932 au sujet des Antiquités. La décision concernait seulement l'église abbatiale. Le motif évoqué : «un type architectural rare, à savoir une église carrée surmontée d'une coupole». Le bâtiment a fait l'objet d'une étude particulière pas E. STIKAS, *Une rare application de trompes dans une église byzantine en Argolide (Grèce)*, dans *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 8 (1953) (= *Atti dello VIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi Bizantini*, II), pp. 260-264.

(36) BOURAS, *op. cit.*, p. 138

(37) Cf. STIKAS, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-264 ; LAMROPOULOU, ANAGNOSTAKIS, KONTI et PANOPOULOU, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-286.

(38) Il s'agit d'une photographie de la collection Lampaki, actuellement conservée au Musée Byzantin d'Athènes. Cf. une reproduction dans CHORAS, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

(39) Cf. *supra*, note 32. La petite chapelle apparaît seule sur les carrés de l'icône qui illustrent la vie de Théodose ainsi que sur la scène de sa mort. Sur les carrés qui illustrent les miracles posthumes de Théodose, la chapelle se trouve à côté de l'église dédiée à Théodose. Ce petit détail iconographique montre que l'artiste avait bien lu la biographie de Théodose par Malaxos avant d'entreprendre la réalisation de l'icône ou qu'il a reçu des instructions très claires de la part de son client.

sarantou, dans la demande qu'il a introduite le 12 juillet 1941 au Synode des évêques de Grèce et au Ministère grec des cultes pour la reconnaissance officielle de la communauté monastique des femmes installée sur le site, signale que «les deux chapelles avaient été proclamées *patrimoine archéologique*». Or, il est impossible de savoir s'il parle de chapelles de S. Théodose et de S. Jean ou de celles de S. Théodose et de la Transfiguration. L'acte de la reconnaissance du monastère, paru le 29 septembre 1942 dans le Journal Officiel, ne dit rien de précis non plus (40). Malgré ces imprécisions, qui sont aussi dues à l'occupation allemande du pays à ce moment, il est certain que la chapelle de S. Jean était là jusqu'au xx[e] s., confirmant ainsi le récit de Malaxos.

3. *Le témoignage de l'iconographie*

Malaxos fait état d'icônes portatives de Théodose, dont une se trouvait dans sa maison (41). Malgré nos recherches, parfois acharnées, nous n'avons trouvé aucune trace de ces icônes portatives. Ce témoignage textuel mis à part, nous disposons de certains spécimens iconographiques anciens.

Sur le f. 174v du code *Marcianus Gr.* II, 140, autographe de Malaxos, qui transmet la *Vie de Théodose*, l'auteur reproduit en noir et blanc un portait du saint (fig. 2). Il s'agit d'un dessin qui présente de face le buste d'un vieux moine ascétique et auréolé portant une longue barbe blanche s'amincissant vers le bas. Le personnage, qui ne porte aucun couvre-chef, est habillé d'une tunique monastique qui enveloppe aussi ses mains ; autour du cou il porte un genre d'écharpe plus foncée. Sans doute Malaxos copiait l'icône portative de Théodose qu'il avait chez lui.

Une fresque sur le mur de la chapelle de S. Théodose est très proche du dessin de Malaxos. Le buste du saint est représenté de face ; le saint est auréolé, sans couvre-chef, sur un fond uni bleu clair ; il porte un habit monastique de couleur brun-marron et autour du cou un genre d'écharpe de couleur bleue. Son visage est ascétique mais noble, avec une longue barbe s'amincissant vers le bas. Pour peindre le visage, l'artiste (d'un talent manifeste) utilise exclusivement des tonalités de brun (fig. 3). Cette

(40) Cf. *supra*, note 35.

(41) *Vita*, p. 171 : Malaxos y dit 'l'icône que nous *avions* dans notre habitation', car il ne vivait plus à Nauplie quand il composait la biographie de S. Théodose.

fresque n'est pas datée, mais elle est manifestement antérieure au XVI[e] s. ; elle illustre le type iconographique de Théodose que connaissait Malaxos (42).

Sur le mur occidental du narthex de l'église abbatiale du monastère de S. Nicolas Galataki en Eubée, peint au XVI[e] s. (43), une fresque représente Théodose en plein corps et en grandeur naturelle sur un fond bleu-ciel (fig. 4). Elle montre un homme d'un âge avancé, aux caractéristiques nobles, dont le visage auréolé ressemble beaucoup aux deux déjà mentionnés plus haut à la différence que sa longue barbe descend vers le bas en vagues. Le saint porte un habit monastique, dont la tunique est de couleur brunâtre et la cape de couleur claire ; autour du cou un genre d'écharpe, qui ici est clairement un capuchon monastique déposé sur les épaules. Avec ses deux mains, le saint tient un rouleau déployé sur lequel on lit : ΜΟΝΑΧΕ ΦΕΥΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΩΖΟΥ. Il s'agit d'une peinture de qualité, avec prédominance de tons pastels, qui perpétue les souvenirs de la peinture byzantine tardive.

Ces témoins transmettent un type iconographique de tradition byzantine et renvoient à une époque plus ancienne que Malaxos. Certes cela ne prouve pas que Théodose a vécu au X[e] s., mais il prouve que Malaxos

(42) La similitude entre le dessin réalisé par Malaxos sur le f. 174v du code *Marcianus Gr.* II, 140 et cette fresque ne laisse pas de doute à ce propos. Cette même représentation figure d'ailleurs sur une des scènes de l'icône portative dont il est question ensuite et qui est faite en Crète suivant les commandes de Malaxos.

(43) Ce monastère est ancien, mais il a subi des dommages en 1204 par les Croisés de Boniface de Montferrat avant d'être détruit par les Turcs en 1470. Il fut reconstruit au XVI[e] s. entre 1547 et 1576 ; et son église abbatiale est repeinte aussi au XVI[e] s. entre 1566 et 1586. Le narthex était ajouté et peint au XVI[e] s. La présence d'une fresque de S. Théodose le Jeune sur le mur de narthex reste un mystère. Au sujet de ce monastère cf. l'ouvrage déjà dépassé et peu complet de D. Alvanakis, *Ιστορία των ιερών Μονών της Ελλάδος. Ιερά μονή Γαλατάκη*, Athènes, 1906, l'article sommaire de Ch. Rigas, *Η ιερά Μονή του Αγίου Νικολάου ή Γαλατάκη*, dans *Ιερός Σύνδεσμος*, 34 (1898), pp. 45-46, et la note de Sotiriou, *Χριστιανική και Βυζαντινή Αρχαιολογία*. Α΄, p. 497. Parmi les études plus récentes, signalons l'article de B. Doukouris, *Οι «αναστηλώσεις» και οι καταστροφές του αγιογραφικού διάκοσμου του καθολικού της Μονής Αγίου Νικολάου Γαλατάκη Βορ. Εύβοιας*, dans *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών*, 33 (1998-2000), pp. 71-82, et les monographies de J. Anastasopoulos, *Ιστορία των Ευβοϊκών Μονών*, Chalcis, 1967 (pp. 22-30 : Monastère de Galataki) et de N. Bellaras, *Το Ελύμνιον*, 3[ème] éd. Athènes, 2000 (pp. 220-221 : Monastère de Galataki).

n'avait pas inventé un saint ; il a simplement rédigé une *Vita* en utilisant le matériel qu'il avait à sa disposition.

Le même type iconographique est repris par l'école crétoise. Une icône portative du XVI[e] s., conservée au Musée Historique de Moscou et dont il a déjà été question, présente au centre le saint entouré de huit scènes tirées de la biographie de Malaxos. L'icône est un spécimen typique de l'école créto-vénitienne, avec une prédominance de couleurs sombres qui s'opposent au doré du fond et des surfaces plates (fig. 5) ([44]). Le visage auréolé du saint est représenté sous les mêmes traits dans le portait du centre et dans les scènes qui l'entourent. En général il dégage un air plus jeune que sur les peintures du type byzantin. Sa longue barbe est brune-noire, mais elle a la même forme que celle du dessin de Malaxos : elle s'amincit vers le bas. Sur le portait central, le saint porte l'habit du prêtre orthodoxe ; il bénit avec sa main droite et tient un rouleau de papier dans sa main gauche. Sur les panneaux périphériques, le saint porte un habit monastique brun quand il est représenté avant son ordination, un habit du prêtre, comme dans le portrait central, quand il est représenté après son ordination et un habit cérémonial dans le panneau représentant notamment son ordination par Pierre d'Argos. Un détail très intéressant est repris dans le panneau du miracle avec l'administrateur turc, dont il a été question. Malaxos dit que le Turc avait enlevé une chandelle qui se trouvait devant l'icône du saint dans l'église qui lui était dédiée. Le peintre a reproduit dans le panneau cette icône dont le type iconographique est celui du dessin de Malaxos ([45]). Ces détails montrent une certaine fixation de l'iconographie de S. Théodose déjà avant le XVI[e] s.

Or, le type iconographique ancien semble être abandonné par les artistes d'Argolide. Une icône conservée dans la chapelle dédiée à S. Théodose, représente le saint sous des traits moins ascétiques, tenant dans sa main droite une croix qui repose sur son épaule droite et dans sa main gauche un bâton. Le saint, présenté de face et en plein corps, porte une barbe longue, mais disposée autrement : elle est aussi touffue près du

(44) Comme nous l'avons signalé, VOCOTOPOULOS, *Δύο πιθανά έργα του Μάρκου Μπαθά*, pp. 40-43 et IDEM, *À propos de l'icône de saint Théodose*, pp. 127-132, attribue cette icône à Marc Bathas.

(45) C'est un détail qui ne renvoie pas à la biographie de Théodose, puisque Malaxos ne décrit pas l'icône en question. Il est alors possible que Malaxos en personne ait commandé l'icône en indiquant au peintre certains détails iconographiques, comme le propose VOCOTOPOULOS, cf. *supra* note 44.

visage que vers le bas. Le visage, aux traits doux, indique un type humain blond. Théodose porte l'habit du prêtre orthodoxe ; sa tête est couverte par le capuchon monastique, détail qui illustre le moine ordonné prêtre (fig. 6). La peinture dégage l'impression de lourdeur et il est facile d'y voir une influence occidentale ; en tout cas cette œuvre est loin du style byzantin (46). Ce type iconographique est repris sur les murs des églises paroissiales de l'Argolide qui datent du XX^e^ s. Souvent le personnage y porte un couvre-chef monastique et est placé dans un paysage où on distingue, à travers les arbres, le bâtiment d'un monastère qui n'est pas celui qui s'y trouve actuellement, mais celui abandonné déjà en 1833 (fig. 7). Ce type iconographique de S. Théodose placé dans un fond unicolore, est adopté par les peintres d'aujourd'hui ; le saint est représenté sous ces traits sur les icônes modernes au monastère actuel de l'Argolide (fig. 8). La question est de savoir quand et pourquoi l'ancien type iconographique a été abandonné. L'icône dont nous avons parlé n'est pas datée ; tenant compte de son style et surtout de son éloignement de la tradition byzantine, nous pouvons la placer à la fin du XVII^e^ s. si non au début du XVIII^e^ s. C'est notamment la période de la seconde domination vénitienne (1686-1704) pendant laquelle Nauplie est devenu capitale de la 'Romania', c'est-à-dire des possessions vénitiennes en Grèce. L'Argolide a connu durant ce quart du siècle une floraison particulière. Le monastère de S. Théodose a aussi connu un essor, tandis que son église abbatiale a été remise en état en 1696 (47). Il est très probable que l'icône qui fait l'objet de notre étude soit créée à ce moment. Les influences vénitiennes et la rupture avec le passé byzantin expliquent sans doute le changement iconographique et stylistique.

(46) Cette icône est actuellement peu visible car elle est couverte d'une feuille d'argent repoussé. Une très mauvaise reproduction dans DELIGIANNOPOULOS, *Οι Βίοι των εν Αργολίδι αγίων*, p. 16, avant le recouvrement de l'icône montre que l'artiste s'inspire peut-être de modèles russes et qu'il est influencé par une esthétique occidentale qui n'a rien en commun avec le style byzantin.

(47) CHORAS, *op. cit.*, p. 24, analyse les données du recensement vénitien fait par le gouverneur de Nauplie Francisco Grimani, selon laquelle le monastère a été donné comme fief au Crétois Athanase Chortatsi le 9 décembre 1688. Ce dernier, dans sa déclaration datée du 20 août 1696, signale que le monastère disposait de 15 cellules qui, étant en mauvais état, furent restaurées par ses soins, chose qu'il a faite aussi pour l'église abbatiale.

4. *Le témoignage des reliques et du culte de S. Théodose*

Malaxos est très clair : Théodose fut enterré devant la petite chapelle de S. Jean, qu'il avait construite ([48]). L'auteur laisse croire que la relique était toujours au même endroit lorsqu'il rédigeait la biographie de son héros. Depuis, rien n'est signalé au sujet de ces reliques. Lors de la réhabilitation du monastère en 1939, aucun tombeau n'a été retrouvé devant les ruines de la chapelle de S. Jean. Selon la tradition locale, les reliques n'ont jamais quitté le site, mais elles étaient déplacées par les Grecs de la région en 1704, pour ne pas être emportées par les Vénitiens qui quittaient la région. Mais personne ne savait dire où exactement ces reliques ont été déposées ([49]).

En 1964, lors de travaux de remplacement du pavement de l'église de la Transfiguration, les ouvriers ont découvert, dans la partie centrale de l'église, un tombeau avec des ossements ([50]). Pour les sœurs il n'y avait aucun doute : il s'agissait des reliques de S. Théodose. Elles ont même divulgué des récits faisant état des miracles opérés par les reliques, ce qui a consolidé la croyance générale à ce sujet ([51]). De telles preuves ont certainement de la valeur pour des personnes disposées à les accepter. Nous signalons ces faits sans leurs accorder une valeur scientifique quelconque et sans en tirer aucune conclusion.

Nos informations au sujet du culte de S. Théodose le Jeune, sont quasi nulles. Aucune église dédiée à S. Théodose le Jeune n'est attestée dans un lieu autre que l'Argolide. Cela ne signifie pas nécessairement que son culte était limité dans cette seule région, mais c'est un indice qui va dans ce sens. Il faut peut-être ajouter que dans cette région, nous n'avons repé-

(48) *Vita*, p. 167. VOUTERIS, *op. cit.*, p. 34, se trompe en disant que Pierre d'Argos a enseveli Théodose dans la chapelle de S. Jean.

(49) Cette tradition n'est pas gratuite. Comme le signale E. STASINOPOULOS, *Ἅγιος Πέτρος επίσκοπος Ἄργους ο θαυματουργός, 855-925 μ. Χ.*, 4ème éd. Athènes, 1991, p. 32, le 21 janvier 1421, l'évêque latin de l'Argolide Secundus Nani (1418-1425) avait enlevé les reliques de S. Pierre d'Argos pour les transporter en Occident. Les populations autochtones qui n'avaient jamais éprouvé de sympathie pour les Vénitiens, soupçonnaient les Occidentaux de vouloir dévaliser les reliques des saints qui à l'époque avaient non seulement une valeur morale, mais aussi une valeur réelle puisqu'elles étaient considérées comme guérisseuses.

(50) Cf. STRAVOLEMOS, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

(51) STRAVOLEMOS, *op. cit.*, p. 100, malgré son allure scientifique, n'hésite pas à accepter sans conditions ces récits pieux.

ré aucun autre lieu de culte en l'honneur de S. Théodose le Jeune hormis l'église abbatiale du monastère.

Si l'on tient compte de la présence ou de l'absence de Théodose le Jeune dans les ménologes, il est clair que la mémoire du saint n'était pas célébrée à Constantinople au XI^e s., puisqu'il n'est pas mentionné dans le Ménologe de Basile II. Sa présence dans le Ménologe de Maurice le Diacre du XII^e s., crée plus de problèmes qu'il n'en résout : Maurice, pour cette élaboration, a tenu compte de plusieurs ménologes locaux, mais rien ne permet de dire que la mémoire des saints ajoutés était vraiment célébrée à Constantinople. La seule conclusion valable c'est qu'au XII^e s. Théodose le Jeune n'est pas inconnu dans le milieu patriarcal de la capitale byzantine, mais son culte ne semble pas avoir vraiment dépassé le cadre de l'Argolide.

L'icône portative crétoise, dont il a été question, n'est pas non plus un témoin d'un culte de S. Théodose en Crète. Si cette icône fut commandée par Malaxos, comme cela a été proposé, rien ne permet de parler d'un culte de S. Théodose sur l'île. À notre avis le passage de Nicolas Malaxos par cette île a fait connaître Théodose aux Crétois, mais cela n'autorise pas de parler d'un culte du saint dans l'île. Puisque Malaxos a vécu plus longtemps à Venise et à Zakynthos, nous pouvons formuler l'hypothèse qu'il a fait connaître S. Théodose dans les milieux orthodoxes de ces deux localités, mais dans ce cas aussi il serait très osé de parler d'un culte du saint.

La fresque sur le mur du monastère de Galataki reste un mystère. On peut l'interpréter de deux manières : soit elle indique un culte du saint dans la région eubéenne, soit elle suggère la présence d'un artiste qui entretenait des relations avec l'Argolide. Pour M. Chatzidakis, Triantaphyllia Kanari et B. Doucouris, qui ont étudié cette peinture, il s'agit d'un travail exécuté par l'atelier des frères Georges et Frangos Kontaris, originaires de Thèbes, qui sont à l'origine d'un renouveau de l'art pictural de la Grèce centrale face à l'école crétoise ([52]). Toutefois, ces peintres n'ont

(52) Cf. M. Chatzidakis, *Ο ζωγράφος Φράγκος Κονταρής*, dans *ΔΧΑΕ*, 4ème période, 5 (1966-1968), pp. 299-302 ; B. Doucouris, *Προσθήκες ιστορικών στοιχείων για τον αγιογραφικό διάκοσμο της Μονής Αγίου Νικολάου Γαλατάκη (1584)*, dans *Ανθρωπολογικά και Αρχαιολογικά Χρονικά. Περιοδική έκδοση της Ευβοϊκής Αρχαιοφίλου Εταιρείας*, 5 (1998-2003), pp. 131-135 ; Triantaphyllia Kanari, *Η επίδραση της Κρητικής τέχνης στη ζωγραφική του νάρθηκα και του παρεκκλησίου του καθολικού της Μονής Γαλατάκη*, dans *Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών*, 32 (1996-1997), pp. 155-174.

jamais eu de relations avec l'Argolide et ses saints locaux. Puisque la présence de cette fresque dans cette région est génératrice de beaucoup d'autres difficultés, nous reviendrons sur la question un peu plus loin.

Malgré ces quelques témoignages, S. Théodose est resté un saint peu connu en dehors de l'Argolide ([53]). Toutefois, nous ne pouvons pas accepter l'hypothèse récente selon laquelle même en Argolide son culte était tombé dans l'oubli et que c'était Malaxos qui l'a fait revivre ([54]). Malaxos signale à plusieurs reprises que Théodose était très vénéré en Argolide déjà avant lui. D'ailleurs l'insertion du saint dans le calendrier constantinopolitain avant le XII[e] s. montre parfaitement que son culte restait vivant dans la région.

## Une synthèse intermédiaire

L'analyse qui précède est suffisamment convaincante : Nicolas Malaxos est un auteur sincère. Il a rédigé la biographie de S. Théodose le Jeune en utilisant honnêtement le matériel dont il disposait. Ce matériel comprenait au moins une source écrite et éventuellement des documents d'archive. En outre, il a largement utilisé les traditions locales qu'il a complétées en utilisant les lieux communs de l'hagiographie. Pour ce qui est des miracles attribués à Théodose, Malaxos a enregistré les récits populaires, il a puisé dans sa propre expérience et au moins dans un cas (celui du gouverneur turc de l'Argolide) il a exploité les informations qui lui sont parvenues. Les témoignages parallèles confirment le récit de Malaxos et ils mettent hors doute l'historicité de S. Théodose le Jeune. Toutefois, la biographie du saint reste très fragmentaire. Nous pouvons la résumer comme suit :

> *Théodose est né à Athènes en 862. Puisqu'il a reçu une éducation élémentaire, nous pouvons supposer que sa famille disposait de quelques moyens, mais elle n'était pas riche. Nous ignorons complètement la composition de cette famille. À un âge non précisé, mais encore jeune, Théodose est devenu moine ; le lieu de son ascèse ainsi que le nom de son maître spirituel restent inconnus. Aussi inconnus restent les motifs qui l'ont poussé à chercher, à une*

Les deux frères ont travaillé durant la seconde moitié du XVI[e] s. Leurs œuvres sont toujours visibles dans plusieurs monastères de la Grèce centrale.

(53) MERTZIOS, *op. cit.*, p. 27, s'étonne que le culte de Théodose reste toujours aussi peu répandu. Il note encore que le saint est rarement mentionné par les dictionnaires et est souvent absent de calendriers édités par les métropoles grecques, tandis qu'il est complètement inconnu dans le monde orthodoxe non hellénique.

*date inconnue, un autre lieu de retraite sur les collines qui bordent la plaine d'Argolide à l'Est* ([55]). *Sur place Théodose s'installa dans une grotte. L'absence de lieu de culte dans les environs l'a poussé à la construction d'une chapelle dédiée à S. Jean Baptiste, le saint patron des anachorètes. Cette chapelle ne servait toutefois pas comme lieu de culte en l'absence d'un prêtre.*

*Avec le temps, Théodose acquit d'une certaine notoriété et attira quelques personnes autour de lui, sans toutefois fonder un monastère* ([56]). *Le renom de Théodose attira finalement l'attention de l'évêque d'Argos Pierre qui a jugé utile d'aller voir ce qui se passait aux limites de son diocèse. Or, une convocation venant de Constantinople l'a obligé de remettre cette inspection à son retour. Théodose, averti de l'arrivée de l'évêque, sortit à sa rencontre. Les explications données ont dissipé les malentendus et Pierre ordonna Théodose diacre et ensuite prêtre, sans doute pour servir ses compagnons devenus nombreux. Peu après Théodose mourut et Pierre assista personnellement aux obsèques, acte indicatif de l'amitié qui liait les deux hommes, mais aussi du respect dont Théodose était l'objet dans la région. Le corps de Théodose fut déposé devant la chapelle qu'il avait construite. Son tombeau est devenu un lieu de pèlerinage régional. Une église plus vaste a dû être construite peu après pour répondre aux besoins de plus en plus grands, vu l'afflux des pèlerins ; elle était dédiée à Théodose.*

*La petite communauté des compagnons de Théodose n'a pas eu d'avenir. L'absence d'un maître spirituel a fait que, après la mort du dernier compagnon, le lieu a été abandonné. Or, la mémoire de Théodose n'a pas été perdue et son culte connaissait un succès de plus en plus grandissant. C'est ainsi qu'il entra dans le calendrier officiel du patriarcat de Constantinople au XII^e^ s., sans toutefois gagner des régions autres que l'Argolide. Très tôt, une iconographie de Théodose était établie dans la région, mais comme son culte, elle aussi a très rarement dépassé les limites de la région.*

## La certitude mise en cause

### 1. *Une première question troublante*

Jusqu'ici les données au sujet de S. Théodose semblent claires et conséquentes. Or, le caractère fragmentaire de nos connaissances concer-

(54) Hypothèse formulée par LAMROPOULOU, ANAGNOSTAKIS, KONTI et PANOPOULOU, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-286.

(55) L'idée de STRAVOLELOS, *op. cit.*, p. 36, selon laquelle Théodose arriva en Argolide vers 880 est vraisemblable, mais non fondée sur une source.

(56) PAPASTAVROU, *op. cit.*, p. 27, pense qu'après l'ordination de Théodose, la communauté s'organisa en monastère, dont Théodose est devenu l'higoumène. Or, rien ne permet une telle lecture. Le fait qu'après la mort de Théodose aucun de ses compagnons ne se mit à la tête d'un petit groupe, prouve qu'aucun monastère n'a été organisé du vivant de Théodose.

nant sa biographie nous oblige d'élargir la recherche. Le calendrier de l'Église orthodoxe grecque, qui perpétue celui de l'Église constantinopolitaine, fait état d'un nombre impressionnant des saints nommés 'Théodose'. S. Eustratiades dans son *Hagiologion de l'Église orthodoxe* enregistre à côte de Théodose le Jeune l'Athénien, qualifié d'όσιος και ιαματικός, un autre Théodose le Jeune qualifié lui aussi d'όσιος, mais encore d'Ηγούμενος Ορόβων, et dont la mémoire est célébrée le 7 et le 8 août. L'auteur ajoute que le ménologe transmis par le codex de *St. Petersbourg* 227 (repris dans l'édition de Venise de 1895 des Ménologes de l'Église Orthodoxe) appelle ce saint 'Théodore', mais il pense qu'il s'agit d'une faute du copiste non seulement parce que tous les autres ménologes l'appellent 'Théodose', mais surtout parce qu'il est appelé ainsi dans le petit *synaxaire* en vers, lu lors de sa fête commémorative. Le ménologe transmis par le *Sinaïticus* 631, celui qui qualifie ce Théodose de 'jeune', place sa fête commémorative le 9 août en ajoutant qu'il a vécu sur le mont Σεμνόν ήγουν εν τοις Ορόβοις ([57]). Le *Ménologe de Basile II* ne mentionne pas ce Théodose, comme il ne mentionne pas d'ailleurs Théodose l'Athénien. Par contre le *Ménologe de Maurice le Diacre* enregistre ce saint comme higoumène d'Orovoi et place au 8 août sa fête anniversaire ([58]). Cela signifie que ce Théodose d'Orovoi devient un saint officiel de l'église constantinopolitaine au même moment et au même titre que Théodose l'Athénien. Le cas nous semble assez suspect à cause des similitudes entre les deux saints et du fait que la mémoire des deux saints est célébrée le 7 août. Nous avons alors orienté notre recherche sur les points qui différencient les deux saints, à savoir le mont Semnon et le monastère d'Orovoi.

Eustratiades passe sous silence le mont Semnon, mais il note que le monastère d'Orovoi n'est connu d'aucune autre source. Nos recherches au sujet du mont Semnon n'ont rien donné. Nous n'avons pas non plus localisé un monastère surnommé «Orovoi». Reste l'étude du toponyme, qui est un casse-tête. La *Chronique de Monemvasie*, en parlant des invasions avaroslaves dans le Péloponnèse, signale que lors de la prise de la

(57) S. Eustratiades, *Αγιολόγιον της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας*, Athènes, éd. de 1960, pp. 175-176

(58) *Συναξαριστής των δώδεκα μηνών του ενιαυτού*, p. 305. Toutefois, la courte notice biographique y est vague sans aucune valeur historique : le mont Semnon n'est pas cité comme lieu de son ascèse ; il est simplement dit que le saint, dès son jeune âge, habitait dans les montagnes, les grottes et les vallées.

ville d'Argos par les envahisseurs en 585, les habitants de la ville s'embarquèrent sur les bateaux et se réfugièrent sur l'île d'Ορόβη ([59]). Les historiens n'ont pas pu identifier cette île, dont l'origine étymologique du nom est contestée ([60]). L'hypothèse d'y voir l'île d'Eubée, comme cela a été proposé, heurte à la réalité historique ([61]). Après avoir étudié la question, nous avons abouti à la conclusion qu'il s'agit de l'îlot de Πόβη l'ancien Ὄροβος, situé au fond du golf d'Argolide ; les objets archéologiques trouvés sur place confirment l'hypothèse ([62]). Or, aucune trace archéologique ne permet de dire qu'un monastère ait jamais existé sur l'île. Il faut alors élargir la recherche vers d'autres horizons.

Les dictionnaires font état d'Ορόβαι, cité antique située au long des côtes nord-ouest de l'île d'Eubée, détruite en 425 avant J. Ch. par un violent tremblement de terre ; la marée provoquée par le séisme a achevé la destruction ([63]). Toute trace de la cité est perdue, mais sa mémoire a survécu grâce au toponyme de Ροβιές, appellation du village actuel situé au même endroit que la cité antique ([64]). Or, le seul monastère proche du

(59) *Cronaca di Monemvasia*, éd. I. Dujčev (*Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici. Testi e Monumenti. Testi*, 12), Palerme, 1976, p. 12.

(60) M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland*, dans *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 12 (1941), p. 127, pense qu'il s'agit d'un toponyme d'origine slave, mais D. Georgakas, *Beiträge zur Deutung als slavisch erklärter Ortsnamen*, dans *BZ*, 41 (1941), p. 372, a prouvé l'origine étymologique grecque du toponyme.

(61) C'est P. Lemerle, *La chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie*, dans *RÉB*, 21 (1963), p. 14, qui a proposé d'y voir l'île d'Eubée. Or, S. Kyriakides, *Βυζαντιναί Μελέται VI. Οι Σλάβοι εν Πελοποννήσω*, Athènes, 1947, p. 53, et J. Zeginis, *Το Άργος δια μέσου των αιώνων*, 2e éd. Athènes, 1968, p. 164, ont prouvé qu'une telle hypothèse s'avère impossible puisque l'île d'Eubée était à ce même moment occupée par les envahisseurs.

(62) P. Yannopoulos, *La pénétration slave en Argolide* dans *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Supplément VI : *Études Argiennes*, Paris, 1980, pp. 349 et 367.

(63) Selon Strabon (Θ, 405 et I, 445) la cité se situait sur la côte ouest de l'Eubée, près des Aegai ; elle était connue grâce à son oracle d'Apollon. Selon Thucydide (Γ, 89), un séisme violent et la marée qui suivit ont complètement détruit la ville. Stephanus Byzantius, appelle cette ville Ορόπη, tandis qu'on trouve des formes Ορυβαί, Ορύβαι, Οροβίαι.

(64) Cf. *Μαγάλη Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 19, p. 100, lemme Ορόβιαι ; *Νέα Μεγάλη Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία Χάρη Πάτση*, vol. 25, p. 523, lemme Ορόβιαι ; *Εγκυκλοπαιδεία Υδρία*, vol. 42, p. 151, lemme Οροβία ; *Εγκυκλοπαιδεία Πάπυρος –Λαρούς – Βριτάννικα*, vol. 47, p. 164, lemme Ορόβιες.

village, connu sous le nom de Hogios David, est fondé vers 1538, ce qui ne cadre pas avec Théodose l'higoumène qui avait vécu avant le XII[e] s. Dans la même région, à une trentaine de kilomètres au sud-est du village, se situe le monastère d'origine byzantine de S. Nicolas Galataki, près de la petite ville de Λίμνη, l'ancienne Ελίμνιον ([65]). Chose étrange, c'est là que se trouve la fresque de S. Théodose l'Athénien. Peut-on proposer que le monastère de Galataki soit celui d'Orovoi où était Théodose l'higoumène ? Il nous semble que le monastère se situe assez loin de la ville d'Ορόβαι pour justifier une telle appellation. D'ailleurs nous ignorons comment s'appelait ce monastère avant le XVI[e] s., quand il reçut l'appellation 'Galataki' à cause de l'origine du donateur, un armateur de Galata, qui a financé les travaux de la réhabilitation du monastère ([66]). Toutefois, la question n'est pas liquidée. Selon Vasmer le toponyme 'orovi' renvoie au vieux slave ороҍ, terme signifiant 'lac'. Λίμνη, appellation de la petite ville proche au monastère de Galataki, signifie 'lac' en grec. Peut-on supposer qu'à un certain moment le toponyme slave avait éclipsé le grec et que le monastère d'Orovoi n'est autre que l'actuel Galataki ? Sans doute une hypothèse séduisante, mais sans aucun appui sur les sources.

Manifestement cette recherche n'a pas donné les résultats espérés. Le doute plane quant à une éventuelle relation entre Théodose l'Athénien et Théodose l'higoumène : s'agit-il de deux personnages historiques réels ou d'une personne doublée à un certain moment historique? Une seule voie reste ouverte pour élucider la question : la comparaison des données connues de deux saints.

## 2. *Concordances et discordances des données relatives aux deux Théodose*

Pour faciliter cette comparaison, nous appelons nos deux saints respectivement 'Théodose d'Argolide' et 'Théodose d'Orovoi'. Les points à tenir en considération sont les suivants :

i) *Les deux saints sont qualifiés de 'jeunes'*. Pour celui d'Argolide le qualificatif est surtout mis en exergue par l'épigramme lue comme synaxaire lors de sa fête. Théodose y est qualifié de jeune par rapport à Théodose l'ancien, du fait d'avoir vécu après ce dernier, car du point de

(65) Cf. ALVANAKIS, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
(66) *Idem*, pp. 19-21.

vue de sainteté il lui était égal (67). En outre, le qualificatif 'jeune' est présent dans la légende des icônes représentant ce saint. On peut dire que ce qualificatif fait partie de la 'carte d'identité' du saint. Par contre, pour Théodose d'Orovoi il n'est pas dit pourquoi il est qualifié de 'jeune' et quel est l'ancien avec lequel il est comparé. D'ailleurs, un seul code l'appelle ainsi et c'est notamment le code qui s'éloigne le plus des autres (68).

ii) *Les deux saints sont qualifiés d''hosioi'*, qualificatif attribué aux personnes qui ont mené une vie ascétique. Cela signifie que les deux saints furent des moines, chose d'ailleurs signalée par leurs biographes.

iii) *La mémoire des deux saints est célébrée le 7 août.* Il ne faut toutefois pas oublier le flou qui règne au sujet de Théodose d'Orovoi, pour qui le 8 et le 9 août sont aussi mentionnés comme jours de sa fête annuelle (69). C'est une situation inhabituelle et indicative d'un état irrégulier. À cela il faut encore ajouter que le codex St. Petersbourg, confond même le nom de ce saint et l'appelle Théodore, signe d'incertitude du copiste.

iv) *Les deux saints font leur apparition dans le calendrier officiel du patriarcat de Constantinople au XII^e s. dans l'élaboration de Maurice le Diacre.* Mais là aussi la notice biographique de Théodose d'Argolide est claire, tandis que celle de Théodose d'Orovoi n'est qu'un lieu commun sans aucun élément personnalisé.

Selon les données présentées Théodose d'Orovoi semble être une réplique de Théodose d'Argolide. Cette impression est mise en cause si l'on tient compte des données qui différencient les deux saints et qui sont les suivantes :

i) Théodose d'Argolide est surnommé 'Athénien' et 'guérisseur', qualificatifs dus à Malaxos qui mentionne l'origine de Théodose et qui lui attribue de nombreuses actions miraculeuses en faveur de personnes souffrantes. Pour Théodose d'Orovoi l'origine reste inconnue et aucune action miraculeuse ne lui est attribuée.

ii) Théodose d'Orovoi est qualifié de supérieur d'un monastère, tandis que pour celui d'Argolide, Malaxos ne dit nulle part qu'il a assumé une telle fonction. Peut-on supposer que Théodose d'Orovoi, après avoir diri-

(67) Cf. l'épigramme reprise dans le *Συναξαριστής*, I, p. 304, qui est à l'origine de cette comparaison.

(68) C'est le ménologe transmis par le *Sinaïticus*, 631.

(69) Le *Sinaïticus*, 631 place la fête du saint le 9 août, tandis que le *Ménologe de Maurice le Diacre* enregistre cette fête le 8 août.

gé le monastère d'Orovoi a quitté la région pour s'installer comme anachorète en Argolide où il a vécu jusqu'à sa mort ? L'hypothèse est invraisemblable. Nous n'avons pas d'exemple de supérieurs qui ont quitté un monastère pour se retirer dans un lieu d'ascèse.

La logique, si une logique existe dans l'Histoire et surtout dans l'Hagiographie, dicte que Théodose d'Argolide et Théodose d'Orovoi ne pouvaient pas faire une seule et même personne. Toutefois si l'historicité de Théodose d'Argolide est hors de doute, rien n'est certain pour Théodose d'Orovoi. S'agit-il d'un vestige obscur d'une personne dont les traces sont perdues et dont la mémoire a été ensuite réadaptée en tenant compte de celle de Théodose d'Argolide, ou faut-il penser à un saint inventé ? Difficile à dire. Toutefois, pour inventer un saint il fallait avoir des raisons majeures (promotion d'un lieu de culte, affirmation du rôle d'une famille puissante, justification des vues d'une institution, etc.). De telles raisons ne sont pas détectables dans le cas de Théodose d'Orovoi, dont personne ne revendique le patronage et dont personne ne semble avoir profité de sa sainteté. Cela nous fait opter pour l'hypothèse d'un saint dont la date de sa fête annuelle est confondue avec celle de Théodose d'Argolide.

Après ces remarques il est temps de faire certaines constatations. Cette recherche avait pour objectif d'élucider deux points obscurs : i) le fait que le calendrier orthodoxe place au 7 août la mémoire de Théodose d'Argolide et celle de Théodose d'Orovoi, ii) la présence d'une fresque de Théodose d'Argolide sur le murs du monastère de St-Nicolas Galataki. Au premier point, nous avons répondu par une hypothèse. Quant au second point, il faut se souvenir que la fresque en question, selon les spécialistes, est l'œuvre des frères Georges et Frangos Kontaris, qui n'avaient rien en commun avec l'Argolide et ses saints locaux (70) ; peindre Théodose d'Argolide à Galataki n'était donc pas leur choix. Le fait qu'ils n'avaient peint, ni avant ni après, Théodose d'Argolide ou un autre saint originaire d'Argolide, confirme parfaitement cette affirmation. La fresque de Théodose à Galataki est donc le résultat d'une commande spécifique, sans doute d'une personne originaire d'Argolide. Puisque la fresque reprend très fidèlement le type iconographique du saint, le commanditaire aurait dû donner aux artistes un modèle, très probablement une icône portative analogue à celle mentionnée par Malaxos dans la biographie de Théodose.

(70) Cf. CHATZIDAKIS, *Η ζωγράφος Φράγκος Κονταρής*, pp. 299-302.

## Conclusions finales

L'analyse des toutes les données qui, d'une manière ou d'une autre, sont en relation avec le S. Théodose l'Athénien ne laisse aucun doute quant à l'historicité de cette personne et la sincérité de son biographe, Nicolas Malaxos. À ce sujet, nos conclusions partielles présentées dans le paragraphe intitulé *Une synthèse intermédiaire* restent entièrement valables et il sera inutile de les répéter.

Dans le dernier paragraphe nous avons abordé une question difficile, à savoir le cas de confusion entre Théodose l'Athénien ou d'Argolide et Théodose higoumène d'Orovoi. Certes, la confrontation des informations connues pour chacun de ces deux saints n'a pas donné les résultats espérés, mais elle n'a pas non plus mis en cause l'historicité de Théodose l'Athénien. Par contre, l'historicité de Théodose d'Orovoi reste très douteuse. La question n'est certainement pas close pour Théodose d'Orovoi, mais cela n'était pas l'objet de cette étude.

Il faut encore noter que la biographie de Théodose par Malaxos, malgré son historicité, n'apporte rien de nouveau à l'histoire de la région d'Argolide au x^e^ s. C'est clair que cette biographie est fondée sur un synaxaire ancien ; Malaxos développe ce matériel de base, auquel, comme un vrai historien, il n'ajoute aucun détail imaginaire. Par contre, le texte est très riche en détails historiques à caractère local dans la partie consacrée aux miracles attribués à S. Théodore du vivant de Malaxos.

La dernière conclusion est en relation avec le rôle de Théodose l'Athénien dans le cadre de la société locale. Certes Malaxos présente son héros comme une personnalité hors du commun. Mais si l'on gratte un peu l'incrustation de la rhétorique hagiographique, il reste peu de choses, même dans le texte de Malaxos. Théodose n'a entrepris aucune action sociale, ne s'est mis à la tête d'aucun mouvement, n'a pas inspiré le peuple. C'était un hosios, mais pas un acteur social. Sa mémoire n'a pas dépassé les limites de l'Argolide où il est resté dans la mémoire collective comme une personne miséricordieuse pleine de bonté. Par contre, il est étonnant que jusqu'à l'heure actuelle, pour les gens de la région, Théodose soit présenté sous les mêmes traits, preuve irréfutable d'un attachement de toute une région à une tradition ancestrale.

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# DOCUMENTS

## TROIS TÉMOINS ATHONITES MAL CONNUS DES *ANASTASIANA ANTIIUDAICA* (ET DU *DIALOGUS TIMOTHEI ET AQUILAE*) : *LAVRA* K 113 ; *VATOPEDI* 555 ; *KARAKALLOU* 60.

### ESSAI SUR LA TRADITION DES *ANASTASIANA ANTIIUDAICA*, NOTAMMENT DU *DIALOGUS PAPISCI ET PHILONIS CUM MONACHO* (1)

Le premier objectif du présent article est, comme nous l'annoncions dans le numéro précédent de *Byzantion*, d'attirer l'attention sur un nouveau manuscrit grec contenant à la fois une version des *Anastasiana antiiudaica* et le *Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae*. Récemment, cependant, la recherche concernant les *Anastasiana antiiudaïca* a grandement profité des travaux d'Immacolata Aulisa et de Claudio Schiano (2) ; il nous a dès

(1) L'article s'inscrit dans le cadre du projet «Enquêtes sur les traditions manuscrites des anciens textes grecs de polémique antijudaïque», généreusement financé par le Fonds national suisse de la recherche scientifique. Il fait suite à l'article paru l'année dernière sous le titre *Un témoin oublié du Dialogue de Timothée et Aquila et des Anastasiana antiiudaica (Sinaiticus gr. 399)*, dans *Byz.*, 75 (2005), pp. 9-24. Nous remercions chaleureusement toutes les personnes qui nous ont aidé dans la préparation de cet article, en particulier Paul Canart, Vincent Déroche, Paul Géhin, Katerina Katsarou et Erich Lamberz. Nous remercions également les responsables de la revue Byzantion d'avoir accueilli ces deux articles.

(2) I. AULISA, *Papisci et Philonis Iudaeorum cum monacho colloquium : note per una ricostruzione del confronto tra giudei e cristiani in epoca altomedieva-*

lors semblé opportun de mieux faire connaître deux autres manuscrits athonites de cet ensemble, antérieurs au XVI[e] siècle, que nous présenterons plus rapidement. Ils nous conduiront enfin à soumettre au lecteur quelques remarques à propos de la tradition des *Anastasiana*, en particulier des «pièces dialogiques souvent» désignées par le titre *Dialogus Papisci et Philonis cum monacho*, que nous proposerons de remplacer, suivant le cas, par «*Dialogus Anastasianus*» ou «*Dialogi Anastasiani*» (3).

## I. Hagion Oros, Lavra K 113 (4)

Reliure byzantine ; couture en 3 chaînettes ; toile visible dans la partie abîmée du dos ; couverture sans fer. – 210 × 140 mm (cf. catalogue).

*le*, dans *Vetera Christianorum*, 40 (2003), pp. 17-41 ; C. SCHIANO, *Dal dialogo al trattato nella polemica antigiudaica. Il Dialogo di Papiscone e Filone e la Disputa contro i giudei di Anastasio abate*, dans *Vetera Christianorum*, 41 (2004), pp. 121-150 ; I. AULISA, C. SCHIANO, *Dialogo di Papisco e Filone giudei con un monaco. Testo, traduzione et commento* (*Quaderni di Vetera Christianorum*, 30), Bari, 2005. Nous remercions cordialement les auteurs de nous avoir fait parvenir en avance une copie de ce dernier ouvrage, dont la lecture, stimulante, nous a été très utile.

(3) Les conventions utilisées ici pour la description des manuscrits s'inspirent largement de P. ANDRIST, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Helveticorum. Règles de catalogage, élaborées sous le patronage du Kuratorium «Katalogisierung der mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Handschriften der Schweiz»*, version 2.0, Bern, 2003 (en cours de révision ; disponible sur Internet : URL http://www.codices.ch/futura/leges.pdf), compte rendu par P. AUGUSTIN, dans *Scriptorium*, 58 (2004), pp. 122-127 ; sur les modifications apportées depuis la publication de ces règles, P. ANDRIST, *La descrizione scientifica dei manoscritti complessi : fra teoria e pratica*, dans *Segno e testo*, 4 (2006), pp. 299-356. – Il faut, en particulier, noter que, dans toutes les transcriptions, nous nous efforçons de conserver l'orthographe du manuscrit (y compris l'accentuation, sauf les trémas ; en cas de lecture difficile sur la microforme, le mot est laissé sans accent) et sa ponctuation (généralement réinterprétée selon les catégories modernes). Toutefois, pour faciliter la lecture, nous ajoutons les majuscules aux noms propres.

(4) Catalogue S. EUSTRATIADES, Spyridon Lauriotes, *Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας (τῆς ἐν Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει)*. (Ἁγιορειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, 2-3), 1 vol., Paris, 1925 ; = *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos, with Notices from other libraries* (*Harvard Theological Studies*, 12), Cambridge, 1925 ; p. 241, n° 1400. – Bibliographie secondaire : H. BERTHOLD, *Makarios / Symeon. Reden und Briefe. Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus graecus 694 (B)* (*GCS*, Makarios/Symeon 1), Berlin,

Notes : sur le contre-plat ant., parmi plusieurs notes, «+ ἐγὼ Σοφρόνιος (μόνα)χος δίδω τὸν κῦρ Ἰωάκήμ (!) ἐτοῦτον τὸ χαρτί, τὸν Θηκαρά να το φέρει εἰς το μοναστήρι. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἔλθω να το πάρω, δόξα τῶ θεῶ. ἡ δὲ να εἶναι τοῦ μοναστηρίου, να ἔχω τὸ μνημοσυνόν μου. μετάνοιαν, εἰς τὴν ἁγιοσύνην σας. ἔρρωσθ(αι)». – Au-dessous, «ὑπαρχούσα, δελτος, ὑπάρχη της ἱεράς καὶ σεβασμήας (!) μωνης μεγῆστης Λαύρας, του οσίου πατρὸς ημων Αθανασιου (biffés καὶ θεὄφόρου (!)) του ἐν τὸ Ἄθο», peut-être suivi d'une signature, difficile à interpréter.
Diverses notes sur le contre-plat post., notamment un petit «tableau» de 3 lignes, surmonté d'une croix, «Ι· Χ· Ν· Κ· / Φ· Χ· Φ· Ν· / Π· Σ:·».

Manuscrit divisible en 5 parties au moins, suivant la présence et la nature des signatures de cahier, et la datation de l'écriture. Description sommaire provisoire.

Pas de gardes ant.

A. (ff. 1-3, s.n., 4-5) absence de signatures de cahier
S. XVI (datation de l'écriture). – Papier. – Cahiers : probablement, III[5]. – Marques de cahiers : pas de marques visibles. – Écriture : main de Sophronios (u.v., cf. note sur le contre-plat ant.). – 1 col., 23-26 l.

**6 petits textes édifiants.**

Notes : (f. 1r) marge inf. : «Арсений», note manuscrite d'Arseny Sukhanov ([4a]).

B. (ff. 6-258) présence de signatures
S. XVI (a.1517) (cf. f. 255r). – Papier. – Cahiers : 8 ff., plusieurs irrégularités ; perte de cahier(s) entre le f. 115 (marque «ιδ'»[f.115r]) et le f. 135 (marque

1973, p. XXXI : mention du ms. à propos du texte de Macaire au f. 361v. – S. EUSTRATIADES, *Συμεὼν Λογοθέτης ὁ μεταφραστής*, dans *EEBS*, 8 (1931), pp. 47-65, 64 : à propos d'un stichère en l'honneur de la Vierge, au f. 270r ; H. KAKOULIDÎ, *Νεοελληνικὰ θρησκευτικὰ ἀλφαβητάρια*, Thessalonique, 1964, p. 31 ; G. PASCHALIDOU-PAPADOPOULOU, *Δύο θρησκευτικὰ ἀλφαβητάρια τῆς Μονῆς Ἰβήρου*, dans *Hellenika*, 28 (1975), pp. 174-178 ; c.-r. dans *Scriptorium*, 31 (1977), p. 181*, n° 972 ; publication d'un hymne acrostiche contenu dans le ms. – Ms. examiné sur microforme (mars 1998, mars 2006) ; les informations matérielles sont données sous réserve d'un examen direct du manuscrit.

(4a) Sur le voyage d'Arseny Sukhanov au Mont Athos en 1654, B. L. FONKITCH, *Еще раз о цели поездки Арсения Суханова на Афон в 1654 г.*, dans *Проблемы историн, русской книжности, культуры и общественого сознания,* Novosibirsk, 2000, pp. 248-250 (voir aussi la bibliographie, p. 250) ; réimpr. dans IDEM, *Греческие рукописи и документы в России в XIV – начале XVIII в.*, Moskva, 2003, n° XIV, pp. 1478-150.

«ιη'»[f 135r]). – Marques de cahier : «α'»[f 15v]-«λα'»[f 243r]. – Écriture : 2 mains principales, dont celle de Sophronios (u.v.) ; plusieurs mains secondaires ; fréquents changements de mains. – 1 col., 19-30 l. ; nombre de lignes variable, souvent suivant les mains ; le plus fréquemment 23 ou 30 l.

Plusieurs césures, notamment après les ff. 62, 130 et 134 ; analyse à compléter sur le ms.

**Florilège patristique ; récits édifiants ; pièces liturgiques ; cf. catalogue.**

Notes : (f. 255r) à la suite du texte, sans changement d'écriture, d'une main présentant des affinités avec celle de Sophronios, «Τέλος σὺν θέῳ (!) τῆς παροῦσης δέλτου. Χρίστω τελειώσαντι δόξα καὶ χάρις, εἰς τους ἀλήκτους πάνμπαν (!) αἰῶνας κύκλους ÷ ἔτους ζκς' (a. 1517) μηνὶ δεκευρίω (!)».

C. (ff. 259-296, s.n., 297-304) autre série de signatures

S. XVI. – Papier. – Cahiers : 8 ff. ; billet entre les ff. 271 et 272. – Marques de cahier : «β' ?»[f 267v]-«ε'»[f 291r]. – Écriture : plusieurs mains. – 1 col., 25 l., rarement 24 ou 26 l.

**Prières ; pièces liturgiques ; diverses petites pièces.**

D. (ff. 305-324, 323<bis>-324<bis>, 325-328, s.n., 329 ; 332 ; 358-368) absence de signatures ; main(s) du s. XVI, u.v.

S. XVI[1/3] (datation de l'écriture). – Papier. – Cahiers : limites difficiles à reconnaître sur microforme ; nombreux folios restaurés ; (f. 332) folio adventice, visiblement à la place d'un ou plusieurs autre(s) folio(s) (restauration ? erreur de reliure ?), cf. ci-dessous et Partie E. – Marques de cahiers : pas de marques visibles. –

Écriture : plusieurs mains ; 1 col., 24-36 l. suivant les mains. – (ff. 305r-328) 1 col., 29-36 l. – (f. 329rv ; 332rv ; 358r-368v) main de Sophronios (u.v.), cf. note sur le contre-plat ant. ; 1 col., 24-26 l.

Possibles césures, notamment après les ff. 316 et <328*> ; impossible à déterminer dans l'état actuel de la documentation.

(ff. 305r-<328*>r sup.) n° 14-20 (5) : **pièces liturgiques ; extraits patristiques** (cf. catalogue).

(f. <328*>r inf.-v sup.) n° 21 : non identifié. – Tit. «'Αθανασίου 'Αλεξανδρείας ἀπόδειξις ὅτι τὰ βρώματα ἡ ψυχὴ ἀναλύσκει (!)» ; inc. «Διαφέρει δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς τροφῆς».

(5) Les numéros des textes correspondent à ceux du catalogue.

(f. <328*>v inf.) vide ; ajout postérieur, 6 lignes sur les mois de l'année.

(f. 329r-v sup.) n° 22 : non identifié. – Tit. «Περὶ διλίας. λόγος κα'» ; inc. «Δειλία ἐστὶ νηπιῶδες ἦθος ἐν γηραλέα κενοδόξω ψυχῇ» ; cf. Ps. Zonaras, *Lexicon*, art. «Δειλία», ed. I. A. H. Tittmann, Leipzig, 1808, réimpr. Amsterdam, 1967, col. 479.

(f. 329v inf.) vide, sans note.

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(ff. 330-331, 333-357) cf. Partie E.

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(f. 332rv) folio adventice, cf. Cahiers. – Pièce non identifiée. – Tit. «<T>οῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ἐδεσινοῦ περι ὑποταγῆς :» ; cf. ci-dessous.

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(ff. 358r-360r sup.) stichères.

(ff. 360r inf.-361r) vide, sans note.

(f. 361v sup.) n° 25 : **Ps.-Macarius/Symeon, *Sermo Γ'*** (*CPG*, 2410), cp. 3. – Ed. H. Berthold, *Makarios/Symeon*, cit. n. 5, p. 32.8-22. – Tit. «τοῦ ἁγίου (!) Μακαρίου.» ; «Δεῖ οὖν ... ἐμπεριπατῆσω ἐν ἡμὶν. δόξα τῇ εὐσπλαγχνία αὐτοῦ... :-».

(ff. 361v inf.-363r sup.) pièce non identifiée. – Sans titre ; «<M>ὴ ἀποποιοῦ μου τὸ κρίμα φησίν ὁ Κύριος τῶ Ἰώβ (cf. Iob 40.8) ... οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ διάβολος μετα πάσης τῆς στρατιὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς μηχανῆς, παραβλάψαι δυνήσεται, τὸν ταύτην κτισάμενον, ἐν Χριστῶ...» (cf. Iohannes Chrysostomos, *Epist. 13 ad Olympiadem* (*CPG*, 4405), cp. 4.61, ed. A. M. Malingrey (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 13*, 1968)).

(ff. 363r inf.-368v) n° 26-28 : **Iohannes Climacus pièces liturgiques** (cf. catalogue).

Notes : (f. 367r) marge inf. «τελος καὶ τὼ θεῶ δὸξα».

E. (ff. 330-331, 333-357) absence de signature ; main plus ancienne
S. xv u.v. (datation de l'écriture). – Papier. – Cahier : limites difficiles à reconnaître sur microforme : d'un folio au moins après le f. 331, cf. Texte et Partie D. (f. 332) cf. Partie D. – Marques de cahiers : pas de marques visibles. – Écriture : une main, non identifiée, antérieure au s. xvi. – 1 col., 29-31 l.

(ff. 330r-331v, 333r-343r) n° 23 : ***Dialogus Anastasianus***. Cf. ci-dessous.

(ff. 343v-357v) n° 24 : ***Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae*** (incomplet et souvent différent). Cf. ci-dessous.

(ff. 358-368) cf. Partie D.

Pas de gardes post.

Remarques :

Dans l'état actuel de notre documentation, il apparaît que Sophronios a constitué un livre à partir d'unités préexistantes et de folios copiés par lui-même. Peut-être y a-t-il eu également des problèmes d'agencement de folios lors d'une éventuelle reliure postérieure.

La Partie E constitue donc une unité codicologique propre, dédiée à la polémique antijudaïque.

(ff. 330r-343r) les *Anastasiana antiiudaica* (6) dans le *Lavra K* 113

*Anastasiana* consistant en une version du *Dialogus Anastasianus* (sur cette expression, cf. ci-dessous, pp. 420-421). Ses différentes parties sont identifiées sur la nouvelle et très utile édition de travail, I. Aulisa, C. Schiano, *Dialogo*, pp. 181-210.

Tit. «Ἐρωτοαπόκρισις ἑβραίου καὶ χριστιανοῦ· ἐρωτῆσαι θέλει πρὸς ἰουδαῖον :·».

– (f. 330r-v.14) «Εἰπὲ μοι διατὶ ἀκούεις ἰουδαῖος ... εἰδώλων καθαίρεσις :·». – Ed. cp. A, pp. 181-183 (voir aussi *PG*, 89, 1204A1) ;

– (ff. 330v.15-331r) «χριστιανὸς· κακομαχούντων τῶν ἰουδαίων... ἀκούσατε τι λέγει ὁ προφήτης ⁞» ; fin abrupte. – Ed. cpp. 19-20.33, pp. 204-208 ;

– lacune (cf. ci-dessus Cahiers) ; 1 f. supposé perdu ; suffisamment de place pour la fin du cp. 20, le cp. 21 et le début du cp. 1 ;

– (ff. 333r-336v, <337*>rv, 338r-343r) début abrupt ; «⁞ ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ σταυρωθέντος ... τὸν νέον νόμον εἰσαγάγων καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπλήρωσεν·». – Ed. cpp. 1.13-18.40, pp. 183-204 ; puis le desinit, «θέλεις δὲ ἐλεχθῶμεν πλέον ὦ ἰουδαῖε. καὶ ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἑκάστος. ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν :». – La première phrase de ce desinit était-elle comprise comme annonçant, aux lecteurs du manuscrit, le *Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae*, qui suit immédiatement ?

(6) Aux références bibliographiques indiquées dans P. Andrist, *Un témoin oublié*, pp. 17-18, nn. 12-13, ajouter les références données ci-dessus (n. 2) et les remarques ci-dessous, pp. 416-421.

La vaste majorité des répliques commencent sur une nouvelle ligne. De même, les longues répliques sont scindées en plusieurs paragraphes, qui ne coïncident généralement pas avec ceux de l'édition 2005.

Un survol du ms. tend à montrer que, jusqu'au cp. 13 environ, il correspond assez bien au texte de l'édition, malgré de nombreuses différences mineures, et quelques divergences plus importantes. Par exemple :

– (f. 333v) cpp. 3.12-4.2, saut du même au même (du copiste, ou dans son modèle), «ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας· ἀλλ'οὐκ ἔχεις» ; d'où une irrégularité dans la succession des répliques ;
– (f. 335v) cpp. 9.6-7, omission de Mal. 1.11 ; cp. 9.13, ajout d'une phrase après «ἐθνῶν» : «ἰδοὺ οὐκ εἶπεν τὸν ἐρχόμενον αὐτὸς προσδοκία τῶν Ἰουδαίων» ;
– plus brièvement : (ff. 336rv) cp. 9.35, 7 lignes supplémentaires dans le ms., après «κατὰ τὴν» ; (f. <337*>) cp. 10.33, après Luc. 21.17, citation du v. 18 ; (f. <337*>), cp. 11.5, 2 lignes supplémentaires au début de la réplique du chrétien ;
– on note également une certaine actualisation du texte ; par exemple : (f. 337r) cp. 10.1-2, dans la liste des peuples, ajout des Slaves et des Turcs ; cp. 10.7-8, ajout des juifs et des Turcs ; par contre, cp. 10.3, indication chronologique identique.

Dès le cp. 14, les divergences semblent plus fréquentes et plus importantes :

– le texte est parfois plus dense, notamment dans le cp. 16 ;
– plus souvent, il est augmenté de phrases supplémentaires, par exemple : (f. 338v) cp. 14.4, 1 ligne après «ὄντως» ; cp. 15.2, 2 lignes après «προσκυνῶ» (ms.) ; (f. 339r) cp. 15.17, 7 lignes après «ἐφύλαξαν» ; (f. 342r) 6 lignes, à la fin du cp. 17.35 ;
– (f. 341rv) cp. 17.13, différence quantitativement plus importante : 25 lignes supplémentaires après «ἐσέβοντο» : «ὡς θεὸν· καὶ διατοῦτο πᾶσα ἄχριστον ὄνομαν (!) καὶ πᾶσα μορον ... καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον τοῦ λόγου ἐπανέλθομεν. ἐρχόμενος μὲν ὁ Μωυσῆς τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσει ἵνα ἐξάγη αὐτους...».

## (ff. 343v-357v) le *Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae* (7) dans le Lavra K 113

Références au texte selon l'édition R. G. Robertson, publiée par W. Varner, *Ancient Jewish-christian Dialogues*, pp. 140-280. Pas de

(7) Aux références bibliographiques indiquées dans P. Andrist, *Un témoin oublié*, pp. 12-15, nn. 8-10, ajouter W. Varner, *Ancient Jewish-christian Dialo-*

division particulière entre les chapitres ou les morceaux, sauf peut-être un trait plus long à la fin du cp. 1.9.

Tit. «ἑτέρα διάλεξις ἰουδαίου καὶ χριστιανοῦ, λεχθεῖσα ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεία, ἐν ἡμέραις τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου Κυρίλλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως· ὁ μὲν χριστιανὸς, ὀνόματι Τιμόθεος, ἰουδαῖος ὀνόματι Ἀκύλας ·:·».

(f. 343v sup.) «Οὑτος οὖν, ὁ Ἀκύλας ἀπηγγελκὸς τὰς θείας γραφὰς ... τοῦτον οὖν τὸν υἱὸν, ὃν καὶ πείθομεν ὅν καὶ θεὸν λέγ(εις) οἴδαμεν πόθεν ἐστίν .: -». – Cp. 1.5-9, ed. p. 140 ;
(ff. 343v inf.-357r.15) «Ὁ ἰουδαῖος λέγει· καὶ ποῖον καὶ πόθεν καὶ ποίων γραφῶν, βούλ(εσαι)... ὡς τὸ πρότερον». – Cpp. 3.1-18.1, ed. pp. 142-180 ; nombreuses différences, cf. ci-dessous ;
(f. 357r.16-v) «Ὁ χριστιανὸς λέγει τῶ ἰουδαίω· εἶπε ἡμῖν ὅτι ἐὰν ἐγεννησεν ... τοῦ φαγεῖν ἄρτον + καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς (!)» : discussion sur la virginité de Marie ; citation d'Is. 7, 14 (cf. cp. 18.10, ed. p. 180) et Ez. 44, 2-3 (cf. cp. 20.6, ed. p. 186 ; dans le ms. la citation englobe davantage du v. 3).

Illustration des nombreuses particularités du ms. avec les ff. 344v sup.-346r sup. :

(f. 344v.26) cp. 3.22, phrase supplémentaire dans le ms. au début de la réplique du chrétien, «θέλης ἀκοῦσαι παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς νέας διαθήκης, τὰ βιβλία ἡμῶν πόσα εἰσὶν καὶ ποῖα ἐστὶν. ἄκουσον·» ;

(f. 345r.3-v.12) après le cp. 3.23, ajout d'un long passage sur les livres des deux Testaments, «Ἰστέον οὖν ὅτι κβ' βίβλοι εἰσὶ αἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ... Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ.». – = Iohannes Damascenus, *Expositio fidei* (*CPG*, 8043), cp. 90, ed. B. KOTTER, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos II* (*Patristische Texte und Studien*, 12), 1973, pp. 210.46-211.76. – Puis le chrétien demande à son interlocuteur s'il veut entendre la liste des apocryphes du Nouveau Testament (question absente de l'édition) ;

*gues : Athanasius and Zacchaeus, Simon and Theophilus, Timothy and Aquila : Introductions, Texts and Translations* (*Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity*, 58), Lewiston (NY), Queenston (Ontario), 2005, pp. 1-15, 135-139 où le lecteur trouvera une introduction à la problématique et un bon résumé de l'état de la question ; cet ouvrage met enfin l'édition de R. G. Robertson à la disposition du public. Ajouter aussi M. L. AGATI, P. CANART, *Le palimpseste du Vaticanus graecus 770 et du Cryptensis A. δ. VI (gr. 389)*, dans *Νέα Ῥώμη*, 3 (2006), en cours de publication, où les auteurs reprennent l'analyse d'un manuscrit du *Dialogus Timothei*.

(f. 345v.16-21) texte du cp. 4.1-5 assez différent :
«Ὁ Ἰουδαῖος λέγει· ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν τοῦτο, ὃν σὺ με ὑπέδειξας (réponse à la question indiquée ci-dessus)· ἐνάρξῃ δὲ τὸν λόγον ποιήσωμεν. (cf. cp. 4.1).
ὁ χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· βούλ(εσαι) πρῶτον εἰπεῖν, ἢ ἀκού(ειν) ; (cf. cp. 4.2).
ὁ Ἰουδαῖος λέγει· ὃς (!) θέλης. (cf. cp. 4.5).
ὁ χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· εἰπὲ σὺ Ἰουδαῖε.
ὁ Ἰουδαῖος λέγει· σὺ λέγ(ε) πρῶτον :».

Par contraste, l'édition lit :
«(4.1) ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν · εἰ βούλει, ἀρχὴν λοιπὸν ποιησώμεθα περὶ τοῦ λόγου.
(4.2) ὁ χριστιανὸς εἶπεν · βούλεσαι πρῶτος εἰπεῖν τι, ἢ ἀκούειν ;
(4.3) ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν · εἰπὲ εἰ θέλεις αὐτός.
(4.4) ὁ χριστιανὸς εἶπεν · βούλομαί σε ἐκ τῆς πρώτης βίβλου κατηχηθέντα οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπανελθεῖν.
(4.5) ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν · εἰπὲ ὡς θέλεις.».

(f. 345v.26) absence des cpp. 4.7-9 ; reprise du texte en 4.10 «καὶ πάντα κόσμον αὐτοῦ ἐπήγαγεν ἐν πέντε ἡμέρες πάντα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς» (l'édition lit, «καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον αὐτῶν, ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς»).
(f. 346r.3-6) absence du cp. 4.13b-14 (début), probable saut du même au même sur «καθ' ὁμοίωσιν» ; reprise, «πρὸς τίνα οὖν ἔλεγε τὸ ποιήσωμεν, αἶ.ν (?) εἶχεν ὁ θεὸς συμβούλους, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν εἶπεν ποιήσωμεν.» ; cp. 4.15 «Ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν · ὁ μὲν κύριος παντοκράτωρ, περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ...» (l'édition lit, «(4.14) ... τίνι ἔλεγεν ; (4.15) ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν · ἐν τῷ μὲν λέγειν αὐτὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ...».

On remarque ailleurs l'absence de plusieurs passages présents dans l'édition, par exemple, les cpp. 10.32-39 (f. 351v), 14.9b-15.10 (entre les ff. 355v et 356r !), 15.18 (fin)-16.1 (f. 356r), 17.5-18 (f. 357r, où la longue généalogie après «Ἰούδαν» est remplacée par, «τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ· καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν καθεξῆς γενεῶν ὧν ἐγενῄθη»).

Ce témoin représente clairement une nouvelle forme du *Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae.* Bien que, par endroit, le texte paraisse évidemment corrompu, seule une analyse plus fine pourra déterminer si, à d'autres endroits, certaines de ses variantes ne doivent pas être considérées comme originelles. Devant la diversité des formes sous lesquelles ce texte circule, il faut se demander si on ne doit pas envisager sa tradition textuelle de façon semblable à celle des *Anastasiana antiiudaica* (cf. ci-dessous, pp. 416-421).

## II. *Hagion Oros, Vatopedi* 555 (*olim* 574) ([8])

Accidents de foliotation : numéros 146-155, 180-189 apparemment non utilisés, par erreur.
Reliure byzantine ; couture en 4 chaînettes. – 270 x 210 mm (cf. catalogue).
Pas de gardes ant.

A. (ff. 1-145, 156-179, 190-219)

S. XI$^{2/2}$ / XII$^{1/2}$ (datation de l'écriture). – Parchemin. – Cahiers : sur la base des signatures, peut-être (IV-1$^{\text{ante f 1 uv}}$)$^{f 7}$ + 6 IV$^{f 55}$ + (IV-4$^{?\text{ inter f 57 et 58, cf textus}}$)$^{f 59}$ + 13 IV$^{ff 8\text{-}145,156\text{-}173, \text{ cf supra}}$ + (IV-4$^{\text{post f 175, cf RHBR 1}}$)$^{f 177}$ + 4 IV$^{ff 178\text{-}179,190\text{-}219}$ ; possible perte d'un cahier avant le f. 32r (cf. Marques ci-après); aussi avant le f. 108, selon RHBR 1, sans affecter les signatures. – Marques plus anciennes : S–ant.–i8–(ας') ; «ιβ'»$^{f 40r}$-«λβ'»$^{f 204r}$ ; peut-être aussi «ζ'»$^{t 8r}$ et «η'»$^{f 16r}$, d'où la perte d'un cahier, probablement après le f. 31. – Marques actuelles : S–post.–i5,6–(ας') ; «α'»$^{f 7v}$-«κς'»$^{f 219v}$. – Écriture : main principale non

(8) Catalogue : S. EUSTRATIADES, *Arcadios Vatopedinos, Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ Μονῇ Βατοπεδίου ἀποκειμένων κωδίκων* (*Ἁγιορειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, 1), Paris, 1924 ; = *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos* (*Harvard Theological Studies*, 11), Cambridge, 1924, p. 112. – Bibliographie secondaire : V. BENEŠEVIČ, *Svědënija o grečeskich rukopisjach kanoničeskago soderžanija v bibliotekach monastyrej Vatopeda i Lavry Sv. Athanasija na Athoně*, dans *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 11.2 (1904), pp. 39-44 = n° 574. – S. N. KADAS, *Τὰ σημειώματα τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μεγίστης Μονῆς Βατοπαιδίου*, Hagion Oros, 2000, pp. 97-99 : transcription de 2 inscriptions, sur les ff. 1r et 241r. – D. R. REINSCH, *Bemerkungen zu epirotischen Handschriften*, dans G. CAVALLO, G. de GREGORIO, M. MANIACI (ed.), *Scritture, Libri e Testi nelle Aree Provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del seminario di Erice (18-25 settembre 1988)* (*Biblioteca del Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici nell'Università di Perugia*, 5), vol. 1, Spoleto, 1991, pp. 81-97, Taff. I-XIV, 92-94 : copié après 1147, peut-être en Italie du Sud. – ID., *Die Macht des Gesetzbuches. Eine Mission des Megas Rhetor Antonios Karmalikes in der Walachei*, dans *Rechtshistorisches Journal*, 4 (1987), pp. 307-323 ; exploitation de la longue inscription du f. 241r – RHBR 1 : L. BURGMANN (et al.), *Repertorium der Handschriften des byzantinischen Rechts. Teil I Die Handschriften des weltlichen Rechts (Nr 1-327)* (*Forschung zur byzantinischen Rechtgeschichte*, 20), Frankfurt, 1995, pp. 27-29, n° 21. – C. E. ZACHARIAE von LINGENTHAL, *Ἀνέκδοτα*, Leipzig, 1843, réimpr. Aalen, 1969, pp. xx-xxi, n° 1. – Ms. examiné sur microforme (juillet 1998, mars 2006) ; les informations matérielles sont données sous réserve d'un examen direct du manuscrit.

identifiée ; (ff. 218r inf.-219v) main secondaire, peut-être plus récente. – 1 col., 28-34 l., le plus souvent 29-32 l.

**Recueil canonique** (description dans RHBR 1).

(ff. 32r sup.-58r sup.) Athanasius Alexandrinus, ***Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*** (*CPG*, 2257 ; = *QAD*).

(f. 57v inf.-58r sup.) lacune entre les deux folios : (f. 57v inf.) *QAD* 134, coupure abrupte vers la fin de la question, «πᾶσα καὶ τὰ l», *PG*, 28, 681C3. – (f. 58r sup.) ***QAD* 137** (*CPG*, 7795) ; début perdu, fin précipitée : «l λεύσεται ὕδωρ ζῶν ... Κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν :-» (*PG*, 28, 696D8-697B10).

Suivie de 2 lignes vides.

(ff. 58r inf.-64v sup.) *Dialogi* ***Anastasiani*** (en 5 pièces). – Cf. ci-dessous.

(ff. 64v inf.-65r inf.) **Theodoretus, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*** (*CPG*, 6200), in Genesin, Quaest. 8-10, 15. – Ed. N. Fernandez Marcos, A. Saenz-Badil (*Textos y Estudios «Cardenal Cisneros»*, 17), Madrid, 1979, pp. 12-13, 17-18. – Pièce numérotée «ΜΓ'».

B. (ff. 220-239)

S. xii (post a.1153) (cf. D. R. Reinsch, *Bemerkungen*). – Parchemin. – Cahiers : sur la base des marques de cahier, peut-être 2 IV$^{f.235}$ + 4 ff.$^{f.239}$ ; bon ordre des folios, f. 235, 237, 236, 238 (cf. RHBR 1) ; probable perte de folios vers la fin. – Marques plus anciennes : comme dans l'Unité A ; «λδ'»$^{f.220r}$-«λε'»$^{f.235r}$. – Marques actuelles : comme dans l'Unité A ; «κζ'»$^{f.227v}$-«κη'»$^{f.235v}$ ; également «κθ'»$^{f.236r}$, apparemment ajouté plus tard. – Écriture : main principale non identifiée, travaillant peut-être en Italie du sud (cf. D. R. Reinsch, *Die Macht*, p. 308 ; cf. Notes). – 1 col., 32 l.

**Textes canoniques** (description dans RHBR 1).

Notes : (f. 222) à la suite du texte, à la fin d'une histoire des synodes : référence du copiste à une révolte qui eut lieu en Italie du sud en 1152/3 ; cf. D. R. Reinsch, *Bemerkungen*.

(ff. 240-241) gardes postérieures, ou éléments adventices ?

S. xvi (ante a.1543). – Papier attesté en Hongrie en 1528-9 ; cf. D. R. Reinsch, *Die Macht*, p. 309 n. 6. – Main d'Antonios Karmalikes († ante 1543) ; cf. *Ibidem*, p. 310.

(f. 241r) longue note nous apprenant : que le ms. a appartenu à Manuel Karmalikes puis à Antonios Karmalikes ; qu'en 1534, le ms.

était à CP et qu'il fut emporté par Antonios Karmalikes pendant une mission en Valachie, au cours de laquelle il fut utilisé ; note reproduite et expliquée par D. R. Reinsch, *Die Macht* ; également reproduite par S. N. Kadas, *Τά σημειώματα*.

Remarques :

Concernant l'histoire de la constitution du manuscrit, on distingue au moins trois phases :

– la phase actuelle, avec 2 unités codicologiques et la perte de plusieurs cahiers au début ;
– une phase au cours de laquelle les deux unités actuelles étaient précédées de plusieurs cahiers supplémentaires (apparemment 5, cf. signatures anciennes et numérotation des pièces, signalées dans RHBR 1) ;
– une phase où la première unité circulait seule, avec le début aujourd'hui perdu (cf. différence entre les écritures) ; à ce propos, bien que l'on puisse hésiter sur la date de la première main, celle-ci est clairement plus ancienne que la seconde, de sorte que les deux unités ont très probablement été produites à des moments différents. La suite normale du texte entre les deux unités implique que l'Unité B a été copiée pour faire suite à l'Unité A.

(ff. 58r-64v sup.) les *Anastasiana antiiudaica* dans le *Vatopedi* 555

a. (f. 58r sup.) *QAD* 137, se rattachant clairement aux QAD qui la précèdent, malgré la faible séparation du texte suivant (cf. ci-après). – Probablement non numérotée dans le ms. (cf. RBHR 1, numérotation des pièces ; début perdu).

b. *Dialogi Anastasiani* (sur cette expression, cf. ci-dessous, pp. 420-421). En 5 pièces, identifiées sur la nouvelle édition de travail, I. Aulisa, C. Schiano, *Dialogo*, pp. 181-210 :

1. (ff. 58r inf.-58v sup.) tit. «+ ἐρώτησις σύντομος πρὸς Ἰουδαίον. δεικνύον αὐτὸν ... (1 ou 2 mots difficiles à lire, peut-être ..δα μονὸν) ὁ χριστιανὸς. προπάντων τοῦτο ἐρωτήσαι θέλει τὸν Ἰουδαῖον :- » ; «Εἰπέ μοι διατί ... εἰδόλων καθαίρεσις. αὐτῶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν :». – Ed. cp. A, pp. 181-183 (voir aussi *PG*, 89, 1204A1). – Pièce numérotée «M'» dans la marge ; début du titre sur la même ligne que le desinit de la pièce précédente ; au début du texte, lettrine marginale occupant 1,5 l en hauteur.

2. (ff. 58v inf.-59r sup.) tit. «+ διάλέξις κακομαχουντων ἰουδαίων καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι εἰς ἀνθρώπον κατάδικον ἐλπίζωμεν οἱ χριστιανοί, ἀπεκρισαν αυτοῖς :-» ; «Τί ἐστι τιμιώτερον... καὶ χρήματα Χριστὸν ἐκτήσαντο ὕπαρξιν. αὐτῶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας :-». – Ed. cpp. 19-21, pp. 204-210. – Pièce numérotée «MA'» dans la marge ; début du titre sur la même ligne que le desinit de la pièce précédente ; au début du texte, lettrine marginale occupant 1 l.

3. (ff. 59r inf.-63v sup.) tit. «+ ἀντιλογία χριστιανῶν καὶ ἰουδαίων περὶ νόμου καὶ πίστεως καὶ χάρι<τος> κριστιανῶν κροτηθήσα ἐπιδῆμου (!) χριστιανῶν ἀράβων τε καὶ ἰουδαίων :» ; «ὁ ἰουδαῖος ἐρώτησεν τὸν χριστιανὸν· διὰ τὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παραγγείλαντος ... καὶ αὐτῶ δουλεύομεν· καὶ αὐτῶ λατρεύομεν· ἅμα τῶ πατρὶ συν τῶ ἁγίω πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰων(ας) τῶν αἰω(νων) :-». – Ed. cpp. 1-16, pp. 183-199 ; pour le titre, voir la fin du titre du Paris gr. 1111, f. 29r (9). – Pièce numérotée «MB'» dans la marge ; séparée de la pièce précédente par une ligne décorative (ligne ondulée et petits points) ; début du texte sur la fin de la seconde ligne du titre, sans lettrine.

4. (ff. 63v inf.-64r sup.) sans tit. ; «+ Ἠρώτησαν οἱ ἰουδαῖοι διατί τρώγεται (!) τὸν χοῖρον ... καὶ ἰδου καλὰ λίαν :-». – Ed. cp. 17, pp. 199-201. – Pièce non numérotée ; début du titre sur une nouvelle ligne (environ 1/3 de ligne vide à la fin de la pièce précédente) ; au début du texte, lettrine marginale occupant 1 l.

5. (ff. 64r sup.-v sup.) tit. «Ἐκ τῆς τετάρτης διαλέξεως, ἠρώτησεν ὁ χριστιανός :» «εἶπατέ μοι τὸν εἰλημμενον ... καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἐπλήρωσεν :- Πρὸς ταῦτα μὴ ἰσχύσαντες ἀντιστῆναι οἱ ἰουδαῖοι ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ ὧδε κατεπαύθη ἡ δ' διάλεξις :-». – Ed. cp. 18, pp. 202-204. – Pièce non numérotée ; au début du titre, lettrine marginale occupant 1 l.

(9) Le titre du *Parisinus* fut utilisé dans l'ancienne édition A. C. McGiffert, *Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew*, Marburg, 1889, p. 51 et également repris dans l'édition 2005.

### III. *Hagion Oros, Karakallou* 60 ([10])

Reliure difficile à observer. Apparemment occidentale, couture sur 5 nerfs ; renfort du dos.

Pas de gardes ant.

A. (ff. 1-90)

S. XV (cf. catalogue). – Papier. – Cahiers : 8 ff., irrégularités. – Marques : S ant.–i5–(ας) ; « δ'»$^{f\ 14r}$-«ιγ'»$^{f\ 84r}$. – Écriture : main non identifiée. – 1 col., 25 l.

(ff. 1r-71r) n° 1 ([11]) : **Synaxaire, Triodion et Pentecostarion** (cf. catalogue).

(ff. 72r-90v sup.) n° 2 : Epiphanius Constantiensis, ***In sepulcrum domini et in sabbatum magnum*** (*CPG*, 3768). – *PG*, 43, 440-464, apparemment complet.

Élément adventice : (f. 90v inf.) pièce ajoutée, sur 12 l. : histoire d'un arménien, qui reçoit le baptême orthodoxe, puis redevient arménien avec sa femme et ses deux enfants. – Sans tit. ; inc. «ἔνας χριστανὼς (!) ἐβαπτίστη».

B. (ff. 91-227)

S. XV (cf. catalogue). – Papier. – Cahiers : 8 ff. – Marques : S ant.–i5–(ας) ; «δ'»$^{f\ 96r}$-«ις'»$^{f\ 214r}$. – Écriture : même écriture que dans l'Unité A, mais main peut-être différente : différences de forme pour quelques signes, différence de fréquence de certaines formes, et plus grande variabilité. – 1 col., 25 l.

(ff. 91r -145r sup.) n° 3 : ***Disputatio Anastasii*** (*CPG*, 7772). – Cf. ci-dessous.

(ff. 145r inf.-227v) n° 4 : **Ricoldo da Montecroce, *Contra legem saracenorum*, trad. Demetrius Cydones**. – *PG*, 154, 1032-1052. – Fin abrupte dans le dernier chapitre, non identifiée précisément.

(10) Catalogue : S. P. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts on Mount Athos*, = *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων*, t. 1, Cambridge, 1895, p. 134, n° 1573. – Bibliographie secondaire : W. A. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 233 n. 82. – S. N. Sakkos, *Περὶ Ἀναστασίων Σιναϊτῶν*, Thessalonique, 1964, p. 252 ; critique par G. Weiss, dans *BZ*, 60 (1967), pp. 342-346. – C. Schiano, *Dal dialogo*, p. 127 n. 28. – Ms. examiné sur microforme (juin 1998, mars 2006) ; les informations matérielles sont données sous réserve d'un examen direct du manuscrit.

(11) Les numéros correspondent à ceux du catalogue.

Notes : (f 102r, 104v etc.) dans les marges, fréquents dessins et / ou monocondyles.

Pas de gardes post.

(ff. 91r -145r sup.) les *Anastasiana antijudaica* dans le *Karakallou* 60

*Disputatio Anastasii*. En 6 pièces, correspondant aux cinq dialogues édités sous le nom d'Anastase en *PG*, *89*, 1204-1281B.

1. (ff. 91r-105r sup.) *Disputatio 1 adversus iudaeos*. – *PG*, 89, 1204-1225. – Tit. «ἑτέρα διάλεξις κατὰ ἰουδαῖον τοῦ ἁββᾶ Ἀναστασίου ·:·». – Complet.

2. (ff. 105r inf.-114r sup.) *Secunda interrogatio*. – *PG*, 89, 1228-1237. – Tit. «δευτέρα ἐρώτησις· τοῦ αὐτοῦ ·:·». – Complet.

3. (ff. 114r inf.-138r sup.) *Tertia interrogatio*. – *PG*, 89, 1240-1272C. – Tit. «τρίτη ἐρώτησις· τοῦ αὐτοῦ». – Complet.

4. (ff. 138r inf.-139v sup.) *Dialogus paruus*. – *PG*, 89, 1272D-1273D. – Tit. «διάλογος μικρός πρὸς ἰοὐδαίους (!) ·:·». – Complet.

5. (ff. 139v inf.-140v sup.) *Alia interrogatio*. – Texte plus court, *PG*, 89, 1273A-1275C7. – Tit. «<ἑ>τέρα ἐρώτησις» ; des. «ἔκρυπτε τὴν θεότητα + ».

6. (ff. 140v inf.-145r sup.) *Alius dialogus*. – *PG*, 89, 1275C8-1281B. – Tit. «κατὰ ἰουδαίων λόγος ἕτερος» (!) ; inc. «Ὁ ὁ (!) θεὸς προεἰδὼς».

## IV Essai sur la tradition des *Anastasiana antiiudaica*

Soumettons maintenant aux lecteurs quelques remarques sur la tradition textuelle des *Anastasiana*, notamment du *Dialogus Papisci et Philonis cum monacho*, telles que l'étude des manuscrits et la lecture du récent ouvrage italien nous les ont inspirées.

Dans les grandes lignes, nous adhérons au modèle littéraire présenté par les auteurs du récent ouvrage. Sur le plan général, ils envisagent que «in una determinata area geografica, ... circolassero testi di polemica antigiudaica per lo più a carattere manualistico : essi furono sviluppati, in modo indipendente, da un lato dall'autore dei *Trofei*, ... dall'altro andarono incontro ad un processo, nello stesso tempo, di ristrutturazione concettuale e di semplificazione che portò ad un testo – il *Dialogo*,

appunto ... si può supporre che le unità di cui il Dialogo si compone siano estratti, sottoposti in momenti diversi a rielaborazioni e adattamenti, di una o più fonti antigiudaiche. Possiamo tentare di immaginare la natura di tali fonti. Si sarà trattato, a loro volta, di scritti dalla struttura flessibile, che potevano essere sottoposti agevolmente a rimaneggiamento, forse circolanti adespoti e privi di un inquadramento narrativo.» ([12]).

Sur le plan plus restreint du texte qu'ils éditent, ils expliquent qu'il est «dunque necessario supporre che il *Dialogo* sia in realtà un agglomerato di testi fra loro autonomi, gradualmente raccoltisi intorno ad un nucleo più antico, lungo un arco di cronologico che supponiamo estendersi dal VII al X secolo.» ([13]). De façon très suggestive, pour illustrer ce phénomène, ils divisent le texte en 9 unités textuelles, qui, comme dans un jeu de legos, se regroupent de façon diverse dans les manuscrits ([14]).

Tentons de préciser certains aspects de ce modèle, en procédant par étapes.

1. Les trois manuscrits présentés ci-dessus nous mettent en présence de trois sortes d'ensemble :

– une série de 6 pièces clairement séparées par des titres, correspondant à la *Disputatio Anastasii* éditée dans la Patrologie (*Karakallou* 60) ;
– un texte suivi, correspondant au texte de l'édition 2005, avec un ordre des morceaux légèrement différent de celle-ci (*Lavra K* 113) ; nous l'appelons provisoirement la «version unitaire» ;
– un texte qui correspond lui aussi à l'édition 2005, avec le même ordre des morceaux textuels que dans le *Lavra K* 113 ([15]), mais divisé en 5 pièces clairement séparées par des titres et, parfois, par un numéro marginal ou par une décoration (*Vatopedi* 555) ; nous l'appelons provisoirement «version modulaire».

(12) I. Aulisa, C. Schiano, *Dialogo*, p. 339. Le modèle d'un grand «panier», non seulement d'écrits, mais aussi de phrases, d'expressions ou d'arguments, réutilisés librement par une série d'auteurs-compilateurs évoluant dans des milieux proches, convient également à d'autres ensembles littéraires anciens, cf. P. Andrist, *Les protagonistes égyptiens du débat apollinariste, Le Dialogue d'Athanase et Zachée, les dialogues pseudoathanasiens et la polémique religieuse en Égypte vers la fin du IV^ème siècle*, dans *Rech. Aug.*, 34 (2005), pp. 63-141, «Essai sur l'intertextualité dans les débats religieux à Alexandrie...», pp. 121-126, 123. Il correspond, en substance, à ce que nous exprimions il y a 6 ans (Id., *Pour un répertoire des manuscrits de polémique antijudaïque*, dans *Byz.*, 70 (2000), p. 288).

(13) I. Aulisa, C. Schiano, *Dialogo*, p. 300, voir aussi pp. 95-97.

(14) *Idem*, pp. 301-310.

Or, de façon peu originale, nous sommes frappé par les constatations suivantes :

– la «version unitaire» contient, à la fin du paragraphe 16, une doxologie (également présente dans le *Lavra K* 113), qui est mieux à sa place dans la version en 5 pièces ;
– il existe plusieurs sortes de «versions modulaires» ([16]), comme en témoignent les manuscrits qui ne présentent pas de «version unitaire», par exemple les *Coislin* 193, *Milan B 39 sup.* (*Gr.* 89), *Paris Gr.* 1111, *Sinaï* 399 ([17]), *Vatopedi* 555, *Vatican Gr.* 1753, ([18]) etc. ;
– le titre de la cinquième pièce du *Vatopedi* 555, correspondant au cp. 18 de l'édition, la présente comme un extrait de la «quatrième dispute» (cf. ci-dessus, pp. 414-415) ; or, dans cette brève pièce, il est question des chronologies de Daniel, comme dans la quatrième dispute des *Trophaea Damasci* ([19]). Dans la version unitaire, nous n'avons pas trouvé de référence explicite à cette quatrième dispute ([20]).

Cette dernière constatation est importante : à moins d'imaginer un fin connaisseur de la littérature polémique plus ancienne, on ne voit pas comment un adaptateur, qui aurait divisé la version unitaire en pièces plus petites, aurait introduit ce détail dans le titre de l'une d'elles. Par contre, ce détail a pu facilement disparaître lorsqu'un adaptateur a fondu les pièces dans un texte suivi.

Il en résulte que les «versions «modulaires» apparaissent littérairement plus anciennes que la (ou les) version(s) «unitaire(s)». Cette conclusion

(15) En supposant que le cp. 21 se trouvait autrefois dans la lacune du *Lavra K* 113, cf. ci-dessus, pp. 407-408.

(16) Cf. *Idem*, p. 307.

(17) Les *Anastasiana* contenus dans ce manuscrit peuvent être précisés par rapport à l'édition 2005 : la première pièce correspond au cp. A ; la seconde correspond aux cpp. 19-21.

(18) Manuscrits examinés par nous au moins une fois au cours des 10 dernières années sauf les Sinaïticus et Vatopedinus, connus par microformes.

(19) *Trophaea Damasci. Dialogus contra iudaeos* (*CPG*, 7797), ed. G. Bardy, pp. 189-284 dans *Les Trophées de Damas. Controverse judéo-chrétienne du VII^e siècle* (*PO*, 15), 1920, pp. 172-292. Pour une discussion sur les relations entre ce texte et les pièces mentionnées ici, I. Aulisa, C. Schiano, *Dialogo*, pp. 92-93, 328-336 (avec bibliographie) ; les auteurs entrevoient plutôt l'utilisation de source(s) commune(s) que des liens directs.

(20) Dans l'édition 2005, la mention de cette quatrième dispute, également présente dans l'Escorial ψ.II.20, est signalée dans l'apparat, à côté d'autres titres.

correspond du reste bien à la perception d'une agrégation progressive des unités, comme le proposent I. Aulisa et C. Schiano (cf. ci-dessus).

2. Parmi les témoins des versions modulaires, au moins deux manuscrits du XII[e] siècle, les *Sinaï* 399 et *Paris Gr.* 1111, appellent «Dialogue de Papiscus et Philon» non pas l'ensemble des pièces qu'ils contiennent, mais seulement l'une d'entre elles. Ils divergent cependant quant au périmètre du matériel recouvert par cette appellation. Il faut donc se demander si, à l'origine de son usage, ce titre ne désignait pas seulement l'une de ces pièces et si ce n'est pas par extension qu'il en est venu à désigner, dans une deuxième phase, la version unitaire. On peut même se demander jusqu'où, dans la chaîne des sources, il faut remonter pour retrouver l'origine de ce titre.

Si donc ce titre désignait des textes différents, parfois même de façon contemporaine, l'utiliser sans autre forme de procès pour désigner la version unitaire, ou l'une des versions modulaires, offre, nous semble-t-il, une image très déformante des différentes réalités littéraires qu'il recouvre.

**De ces deux premières constatations nous concluons que la priorité de la recherche doit impérativement consister à définir très précisément quels sont les objets littéraires dont elle s'occupe, et leur trouver des appellations adéquates.**

3. Sur la question terminologique, depuis plusieurs années, et dans le présent article encore, nous privilégions l'expression *Anastasiana antiiudaica* pour désigner l'ensemble des textes qui utilisent de façon étroite les «legos» littéraires évoqués ci-dessus ([21]) ; de leur côté, I. Aulisa et C. Schiano regroupent sous le titre *Dialogus Papisci Philonis* l'ensemble des versions modulaires et unitaire(s) et les comparent aux autres textes, comme la *Disputatio Anastasii* (qui recouvre les textes publiés dans la Patrologie) ou les *Trophaea Damasci*. Les deux pratiques, qui ne sont pas incompatibles entre elles, ont leurs avantages et leurs inconvénients.

Pour la première, il faut remarquer que, dans les manuscrits, l'attribution des ensembles à Anastase, toute réelle qu'elle soit, n'est de loin pas systématique ; en outre, cette expression ne désigne pas précisé-

(21) Pour être précis, dans notre article de 2000, nous réservions le titre *Dialogus Papisci et Philonis* au sous-ensemble qui comporte explicitement, dans le titre, le nom des deux protagonistes juifs et qui commence comme l'édition McGiffert.

ment les textes et les pièces qui composent cette mouvance. Par contre, elle englobe, de façon très ouverte, et sans préjugés, l'ensemble des formes dans lesquelles ils circulent, même les plus marginales ou curieuses.

La seconde pratique souligne la différence textuelle entre les pièces publiées dans la Patrologie (qui constituent bien un «être littéraire») et la nébuleuse des pièces récemment republiées. Par contre, comme nous l'avons dit, la présentation de cette mouvance comme un seul être littéraire, et l'utilisation du titre «Dialogue de Papiscus et Philon» pour la désigner, sont problématiques.

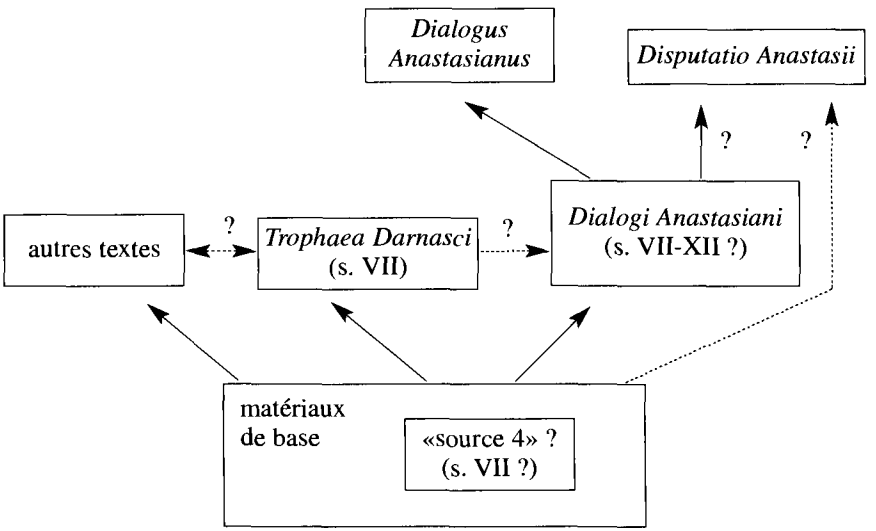
C'est pourquoi, **de façon à éviter cet écueil jusqu'à ce que le périmètre littéraire du *Dialogus Papisci et Philonis cum monacho* ait été défini de manière plus précise, nous proposons de ne plus utiliser ce titre pour désigner le contenu des manuscrits, et de le remplacer par les expressions *Dialogus Anastasianus* ou *Dialogi Anastasiani***, suivant qu'elles font référence à la «version unitaire» ou à la «version modulaire». Cette proposition, nous semble-t-il, présente l'avantage de désigner clairement l'ensemble des pièces et des morceaux concernés, en référence à la mouvance plus large des *Anastasiana antiiudaica*, sans pour autant détruire l'opposition entre Dialogue(s) et Dispute, ni préjuger du périmètre ou de l'histoire du *Dialogus Papisci*.

4. Si la coïncidence entre le titre de la dernière pièce du Vatopedi 555 et les *Trophaea* est pertinente, et s'il est vrai qu'il n'y a pas de lien direct entre les *Dialogi Anastasiani* et les *Trophaea* (cf. ci-dessus, pp. 416-418) il faut supposer une source commune déjà divisée, au moins, en 4 dialogues, que nous surnommons provisoirement («source 4»). Nécessairement, cette source est plus ancienne que les *Trophaea*, et ne peut donc pas descendre au-delà du VII^e^ siècle (incidemment, nous remarquons qu'elle pourrait être contemporaine d'Anastase le Sinaïtique et d'Anastase Abbas). Il faut cependant rester prudent, dans la mesure où l'absence de lien direct entre les *Trophaea* et les *Dialogi Anastasiani* n'est pas encore démontrée. Il est probable que seule une analyse fine, mettant en œuvre les différentes variantes textuelles pertinentes, permettra de préciser ces relations.

5. La «théorie des legos» s'étend également à la *Disputatio Anastasii*, comme l'a bien montré C. Schiano dans son article. Or, nous constatons que les unités utilisées dans ce texte correspondent souvent aux différents «legos» évoqués ci-dessus. Il suffit de penser au «morceau» sur les étymologies, qui se trouve tel quel au début de la première *Disputatio*, qui

constitue aussi la première pièce du *Vatopedi* 555 et du *Sinaï* 399, et qui est publié comme chapitre A de l'édition 2005. Or, en suivant l'hypothèse selon laquelle la *Dispute* dépend directement des *Dialogues*, il est «logique» de postuler, à l'origine de la *Disputatio*, plutôt qu'une version unitaire, une version modulaire ; en d'autres termes, la *Disputatio* dépendrait des *Dialogi Anastasiani*. Cependant, on ne doit pas non plus exclure trop rapidement la possibilité que le responsable de la *Disputatio* ait eu lui aussi accès aux sources des *Dialogi Anastasiani* et y ait directement puisé ses matériaux.

Nous pouvons résumer ces remarques par le schéma suivant, qui ne prétend pas épuiser la complexité de la «nébuleuse» anastasienne :




Dans ce contexte, la seconde priorité de la recherche, nous semble-t-il, est de reprendre la question des liens entre les différents être littéraires de cette mouvance, notamment avec une analyse plus fine des variantes textuelles. Lorsque la quête des manuscrits et ces deux travaux d'analyse seront achevés, il sera enfin possible d'envisager une édition critique synoptique des *Dialogi Anastasiani*, des éventuelles différentes versions du *Dialogi Anastasiani*, des éventuelles différentes versions du *Dialogus*, et, parmi les autres *Anastasiana*, des parties contenant les unités textuelles correspondantes.

## V. Conclusions

L'exploration systématique des bibliothèques réserve parfois d'heureuses surprises. Les manuscrits présentés ici en font certainement partie. Ils devraient, nous l'espérons, enrichir les recherches sur l'origine et la tradition des *Anastasiana antiiudaica* et du *Dialogus Timothei et Aquilae*.

De façon tout aussi importante pour notre enquête, le Lavra K 113 et le Vatopedi 555 sont également deux témoins de la production de manuscrits de polémique antijudaïque dans l'Empire byzantin et à la Renaissance.

Dans le premier manuscrit, comme dans le Sinaï 399, les *Anastasiana* et le *Dialogus Timothei* sont contigus ; cependant, ils se présentent dans un ordre différent et avec une tradition textuelle différente, de sorte qu'on ne peut pas envisager, sur cette base, l'existence de liens particuliers entre ces deux manuscrits. Par contre, il est intéressant de relever que le Lavra K 113 est le quatrième manuscrit connu dans lequel le *Dialogus Timothei* ne circule pas indépendamment d'autres textes de polémique antijudaïque ([22]). À trois reprises, il accompagne des *Anastasiana* (mss. a, b, c) ; à trois reprises aussi il forme, avec un texte beaucoup moins étendu que lui, une paire déséquilibrée (mss. a, b, d).

Quant au Vatopedi 555, nous remarquons la succession *Quaestio ad Antiochum ducem*, *Quaestio* 137 (attendue à la fin des *QAD*), et *Dialogi Anastasiani*. La personne responsable de cette petite série (le copiste ou le commanditaire du manuscrit, ou de l'un de ses ancêtres), prise par l'élan des *Quaestiones*, voulait-elle seulement compléter la dernière pièce de cette série ? Ou avait-elle une intention et un intérêt polémiques plus profonds ?

Nous espérons que l'étude en cours de la production livresque ancienne de polémique antijudaïque permettra de répondre plus sûrement à ce genre de questions.

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(22) Outre a) le *Sinaï* 399 et b) le *Lavra K* 113, ce texte se trouve aussi dans c) le *Paris Coisl.* 299 (s. XI, entre la *Doctrina Iacobi nuper baptizati* et les *Trophaea Damasci*) et d) dans le *Vatican Reg. Pii II gr.*, 47 (s. XII, avant les *Testimonia graphica*).

# A SEAL OF PATRIARCH NICHOLAS II

If one were to open Nicolas Oikonomides' *Dated Byzantine Lead Seals* and consult the pages covering the period 975 to 1025, one would find that these years are represented by seven specimens. Of these, five belonged to civil officials ; only two originate with church officials (1). Both ecclesiastical seals were struck in the names of patriarchs, specifically Patriarch Sergios II (1001-1019) and Patriarch Eustathios (1019-1025) (2). Until recently no patriarchal seal has surfaced which dates between 975 and 1000 (3). The change in situation is due to the appearance at auction of the patriarchal seal of Nicholas II Chrysoberges (980-991) and its purchase by a private collector who, understanding the importance of the specimen, has graciously consented to its publication in a scholarly journal (4).

(1) N. Oikonomides, *Dated Byzantine Lead Seals*, Washington, DC, 1986, nos. 69-75. The first five seals derive, respectively, from the *boulloteria* of : Basil the *parakoimomenos* (963-976) ; Michael, *katepano* of Italy (May 975) ; Theodore Kladon (September 975) ; Nicholas, judge of Strymon and Drougoubiteia (995) ; and Gregory Trachaneiotes, *katepano* of Italy (February 1000). Gregory's seal is republished in I. Leontiades, *Die Tarchaneiotai. Eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie*, Thessalonike, 1998, n° 1.

(2) Oikonomides, *Dated Seals*, nos 74 and 75. N° 74 (= Dumbarton Oaks Collection 58.106.2207) has been published several times, most recently by G. Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, II, Berne, 1984, n° 12. Eustathios' seal is preserved in the Hermitage Collection (M 528) and is published in the same volume of Zacos ; see n° 13. As Zacos observes, the omission on the latter specimen of the phrase "New Rome" leads one to suspect that it was used in private correspondence.

(3) The period is bracketed by two seals : on one side is the seal of Patriarch Basil I (970-974 ; see Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, II, n° 11 and V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, V/3, Paris, 1972, n° 1629) and on the other side the seal of Patriarch Sergios II.

(4) See Gorny Sale 138 (7 March 2005), n° 2674.

The object in question (pl. 1) measures 44 mm in diameter. On the obverse we find a representation of the Virgin standing on a dais and holding Christ on her left arm. She wears a chiton and maphorion ; her right leg is bent at the knee. At left and right appear the usual sigla : Μή(τη)ϱ-Θ(εο)ῦ. Along the circumference runs an inscription reading : Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ. On the reverse appears an inscription of five lines preceded and followed by decoration. The inscription reads : Νικολάῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νέας Ῥώμης. In the tenth and eleventh centuries three patriarchs had the name Nicholas. The earliest is Nicholas I Mystikos who reigned from March 901 to February 907 and again from May 912 to May 925. In Laurent's catalogue of ecclesiastical seals two examples of Nicholas I's seals are illustrated ([5]). One is in the Vatican Collection (no. 153) ([6]) and the other in the Athens Museum Collection (no. 17) ([7]). The Vatican specimen (pl. 2), which is better preserved, is decorated on the obverse with a representation of the Virgin standing on a dais wearing a chiton and maphorion. She holds Christ on left arm. She is not flanked by any sigla, but is identified by a circular inscription reading : Ὑπερ[αγία Θ]εο[τ]όκε βοήθει. The reverse bears an inscription of five lines preceded and followed by decoration. The inscription reads : Νικολάῳ ἐπισκόπ(ῳ) Κωνστατ[ινου]πόλεως Νέα[ς]Ῥώμης+. A combination of epigraphic considerations place the attribution of this specimen to Nicholas I beyond doubt. At the end of line 2 on the reverse appears a suspension mark which one would normally associate with the decades before 950. Then again there is the invocative formula "Most holy Mother of God help" inscribed on the obverse. We note that this formula is used on seals of the ninth-century patriarch Photios ; it is also employed on a seal of Constantine VII and Zoe, an imperial specimen which can be assigned to the period February 914-

(5) V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, V/1, Paris, 1963, nos 11 and 12.

(6) Laurent first published it in his *Les sceaux byzantins du médaillier Vatican*, Vatican City, 1962, n° 153.

(7) A better photo of the Athens specimen, accompanied by citations to prior bibliography and full discussion of problems of attribution and iconographic detail, will be found in the excellent article of I. Koltsida-Makre, *Overstruck Byzantine Lead Seals : an Approach to the Problem with Three Examples* in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, 2, ed. N. Oikonomides, Washington, DC, 1990, p. 55-57.

919 ([8]). Another dating clue is the absence of sigla. Before the 930s it was fairly common for the Virgin to appear, as here, unaccompanied by the label M(ήτη)Ρ-Θ(εο)ῦ ([9]).

A particular feature of the Athens specimen (pl. 3) is an overstrike. On the obverse of the second strike one encounters a bust of the Virgin holding Christ before her. Above and to the right are remains of a circular inscription reading : βοήθ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ῳ). The figure does not seem to be flanked by sigla. On the reverse of the second strike one encounters a legend of four lines reading : Ἰουλιαν(ῶ) μητροπολ(ίτῃ) Σελευκείας. The obverse of the initial strike features a representation of the Virgin enthroned holding Christ on her left arm. Along the circumference can be seen the initial letters of a circular inscription : Ὑπ[ε]ϱαγία Θε[οτόκε]. In addition to the circular inscription the Virgin is further identified by sigla ; for one can distinctly see at left the word Μή(τη)Ρ in abbreviation. On the reverse one finds an inscription of five lines reading : Νικολάῳ ἀρχιε[π]ισκόπῳ [Κωνσταν]τιν[ουπόλεως] Νέα[ς Ῥώμης], ἀμήν.

Several authors have expressed opinions about the Athens specimen's date and iconography. In Laurent's view, the seal is to be attributed to Nicholas I Mystikos ([10]).

We agree with his dating, but not with his interpretation of the Virgin's representation. In Laurent's view she is standing ([11]). She is in fact en-

(8) For illustrations of Photios' seal, see OIKONOMIDES, *Dated Seals*, n[os] 53 and 54 ; LAURENT, *Corpus*, V/1, n[os] 7-9 ; and ZACOS, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, II, n° 7.

(9) See J. W. NESBITT, *A Question of Labels : Identifying Inscriptions on Byzantine Lead Seals, ca. 850-ca. 950* in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography*, 4, ed. N. Oikonomides, Washington, DC, 1995, p. 57.

(10) LAURENT, *Corpus*, V/1, p. 12. Laurent counters Konstantopoulos' attribution to Patriarch Nicholas Grammatikos (1084-1111) on the basis that the patriarch's title does not contain the title "oecumenical patriarch" and hence must date before the reign of Michael Keroularios (1043-1058). See K. KONSTANTOPOULOS, *Βυζαντινὰ μολυβδόβουλλα τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐθνικοῦ Νομισματικοῦ Μουσείου*, Athens, 1917, n° 17. G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine*, Paris, 1895, p. 218-219, expressed the opinion that the seal belonged either to Nicholas I or Nicholas II. He was unsure if the Virgin was standing.

(11) This is also the opinion expressed in G. GALAVARIS, *The Representation of the Virgin and Child on a 'Thokos' on Seals of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchs* in *ΔΧΑΕ*, Ser. 4, 2, 1960-61, p. 154, note 4.

(12) ZACOS, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, II, p. 12 and 13. Zacos believed that the

throned, as Zacos and Dr. Koltsida-Makre have pointed out ([12]). At lower left one can discern quite clearly the leg of a thokos.

The case for a seated Virgin is supported by a similar seal in the Hermitage Collection (M-8237 ; pl. 4) ([13]). On the observe one encounters the Virgin seated on a (seemingly) backless throne holding Christ on the left arm. At left and right are imprinted the usual sigla : Μή(τηρ)-Θ(εο)ῦ. She is further identified by a circular inscription reading (Ὑπ]ε-ραγ[ία Θεοτ]όκε βο[ήθει]. On the reverse appears an inscription of five lines followed by decoration : Νικολάῳ [ἀ]ρχιεπισκόπῳ [Κ]ωνσταντι-νου[π]όλεως Νέας Ῥώ[μ]ης , ἀμήν. The Athens specimen may be confidently assigned to the reign of Nicholas I on the basis that the epigraphy of the overstrike dates from the first half of the tenth century. Since the Hermitage seal is in all respects the same, one may reasonably assign it to the same patriarch.

On the specimen that we attribute to Nicholas II Chrysoberges the Virgin is standing, holding Christ on her left arm. Although the same repesentation appears on the Vatican seal, there are nonetheless major differences. On the Vatican seal the Virgin's help is beseeched using the formula preferred in the Photian era : Ὑπ]εραγία Θεοτόκε βοήθει. On our seal the Virgin's help is invoked in the formula Θεοτόκε βοήθει. On the Vatican seal no sigla are present ; on our seal they are. On the Hermitage seal the inscription on the reverse is followed by a decoration consisting of a star (seemingly flanked by crosses). The star/cross decoration also appears on the reverse of the Vatican seal. But on our seal the decoration preceding and following the inscription on the reverse is comprised of a cross flanked on either side by a horizontal apostrophe, the same decorative scheme that appears on the reverse of the miliaresia of Emperor Basil II (pl. 5) ([14]). In sum, the differences between our seal and those of Nicholas I lead us to conclude that it dates from the reign of Nicholas II.

seated type belonged to Nicholas I's second reign (912-925). The "specimen c" to which Zacos refers is undoubtedly Hermitage M-8237. Cf. KOLTSIDA-MAKRE, *Overstruck Byzantine Lead Seals*, p. 56.

(13) N. P. LIKHACHEV, *Molivdovuly Grecheskogo Vostoka*, ed. V. Shandrovskaia, *Nauchnoe Nasledstvo* 19, Moscow, 1991, n° LXI.6.

(14) See for example P. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, 3.2, Washington, DC, 1973, pl. XLVI, nos 17a.1-5. Grierson dates these silver coins to the period 977-989.

(15) Brief entries are provided by *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαι-*

Because of the absence of the phrase "oecumenical patriarch" it cannot derive from the time of Patriarch Nicholas III.

Not many details concerning the life of Nicholas II are known ([15]). Before ascending the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, he had spent some time on Mount Athos as a disciple of the monastic leader, Athanasios the Athonite ([16]). Later, he founded the monastery named Smilakia (Σμιλάκια) on Olympos in Bithynia ([17]). In April/May of 980 Nicholas was elected patriarch and occupied the throne until his death twelve and one half years later in 992 ([18]). The actual day of his death is commem-

δεία, IX, col. 523 and M. GEDEON, *Πατριαρχικοὶ Πίνακες*, Constantinople, 1890 (2nd ed. Athens, 1996), n° 96, p. 220-221.

(16) *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, ed. J. NORET, Turnhout, 1982, p. 75 and p. 177.

(17) R. JANIN, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*, Paris, 1975, p. 181. The only known reference to this monastery is that found in K. SATHAS, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, VII, Venice and Paris, 1894 (repr. Athens, 1972), p. 158, lines 26 and 27 : Οὗτος [Νικόλαος] κτίζει ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ μοναστήριον, ὃ καλεῖται Σμιλάκια. Nicholas' association with Mt. Olympos is mirrored in a short notice in *Atheniensis* 1429 regarding the length of his reign : "Nicholas monk, Chrysoberges, of Olympos : 12 years, 8 months (Νικόλαος μοναχὸς ὁ Χρυσοβέργης ὁ Ὀλυμπίτης)." See J. DARROUZÈS, *Sur la chronologie du Patriarche Antoine III Stoudite*, in *REB*, 46 (1988), p. 56.

(18) In the *Regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I : 2, Paris, 1936 (rep. Paris, 1989), p. 230, V. GRUMEL had postulated that Nicholas II's reign began in April of 979, but subsequently he decided to change the date to May of 980. See V. GRUMEL, *Chronologie patriarcale au X^e siècle*, in *REB*, 22 (1964), p. 70. In the view of J. DARROUZÈS, *Sur la chronologie du Patriarche Antoine III Stoudite*, p. 60, Nicholas' predecessor, Antony III, reigned from December of 973 to June of 978. There followed his resignation of office and a vacancy lasting for two years. DARROUZÈS agreed with Grumel that Nicholas II held office from April/May 980 until December 16 of 992. See also *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, I :2 and 3, ed. V. GRUMEL and J. DARROUZÈS, Paris, 1989, n° 800 ; and *Jean Skylitzès. Empereurs de Constantinople*, trans. B. FLUSIN and annot. J.-C. CHEYNET (*Réalités byzantines* 8), Paris, 2003, p. 275, note 62. The year 979 is maintained in the list of Constantinopolitan patriarchs found in *ODB*, I, p. 522. GEDEON, *Πατριαρχικοὶ Πίνακες*, p. 220-221, placed the year of Nicholas' election in 984. This later date was subsequently adopted by others such as C. COBHAM, *The Patriarchs of Constantinople*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 94 and p. 103 (repr. Chicago, 1974 as an appendix with J. BURY, *A History of the Later Roman Empire : A Supplement Containing the Emperors from Basil II to Isaac Komnenos [A. D. 976-1057] and Other Essays on Byzantine History*) ; H. GRÉGOIRE and P. ORGELS, *La chronologie des patriarches de Constantinople et la "question romaine", à la fin du X^e siècle*, in *Byz.*, 24 (1954), p. 157-172 ; the

orated in the tenth-century *Synaxarion* of Constantinople as December 16th ([19]). Nicholas' patriarchal tenure is noted for various events. In 980, the year of his election, he appointed Symeon the new Theologian as abbot of the monastery of Saint Mamas in Constantinople ([20]). Sometime during his latter years in office, he appointed the first metropolitan to Kiev ([21]). As patriarch, Nicholas continued to be involved with monastic concerns. In April of 987, he oversaw and confirmed agreements concerning land disputes between the monastery of the Theotokos of Lamponios in Latros and the Lavra of the Theotokos (St. Paul), also of Latros ([22]). In circa 988, the Patriarch attempted, unsuccessfully, to appropriate as patriarchal holdings the long established private monastery of

entry for this patriarch in *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, col. 523 ; and V. Stavrides, *Ἅγιοι Ἀρχιεπίσκοποι καὶ Πατριάρχαι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τὸ Προσκύνημα τῶν Ὀφφικιάλων*, Athens, 2000, p. 118 and p. 121. For the relevant references in the historical sources, see *Ioannis Scylitzae synopsis historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn, Berlin, 1973, p. 328, where the editor maintains the date of 979 ; *Ioannes Zonaras Epitome historiarum*, IV, ed. L. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1871, p. 110 ; and *Nicephori Callisti Xanthopuli Enarratio de episcopis byzantii*, *PG*, 147, col. 461.

(19) *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae : Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris*, ed. H. Delehaye, Brussels, 1902, col. 314.

(20) See *Les regestes*, 1989, n° 800, where the literature concerning the dating of this decree is cited. The text has not survived but the patriarch's role in the election is described in *Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologian*, ed. I. Hausherr and G. Horn, Rome, 1928, p. 40. See also H. Turner, *St. Symeon the New Theologian and Spiritual Fatherhood*, Leiden, 1990, p. 31 and H. Alfeyev, *St. Symeon the New Theologian and Orthodox Tradition,* Oxford, 2000, p. 29, n. 87 and p. 36. For discussion of the monastery, see R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin, I : Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique, 3 : Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1969, p. 314-319.

(21) Discussion of the Greek and Russian sources regarding the chronology of events and the identity of the first metropolitan can be found in V. Laurent, *Aux origines de l'église russe : L'établissement de la hiérarchie byzantine*, in *EO*, 38 (1938), p. 279-295 ; E. Honigmann, *Studies in Slavic Church History*, in *Byz.*, 17 (1944/45), p. 128-162 ; P. Devos, *Chronique d'hagiographie slave*, in *AB*, 73 (1955), p. 214-236 ; and V. Pheidas, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς Ρωσσίας* (988-1988), 3rd ed., Athens, 1988, p. 93-105.

(22) See *Les regestes*, 1989, nos 800a and 801. The texts of these two documents can be found in *MM*, IV, p. 308-315. For more detailed discussion of the texts and the sequence of the dispute's events, see Janin, *Les grands centres*, p. 443-445. For the history of the two monastic communities of Lamponios and of the Lavra, see *Idem*, p. 226 and p. 233-239, respectively.

(23) Eustathios Rhomaios, *Peira*, in *JG*, IV, p. 49-50. See also *Les regestes*,

Piperatos, dedicated to the Theotokos and sited along the Asiatic side of the Bosphoros, but the emperor, Basil II, intervened and rejected the patriarch's claim since the foundation had never been part of any official ecclesiastical domains ([23]).

On the other hand, Nicholas was known to encourage the establishment of private monastic foundations within the jurisdictions of other local hierarchs. At some point during his years as patriarch, through both a surviving *sigillion* and reference to an earlier non-extant letter, it is known that Nicholas supported John, a *kouvoukleisios*, in creating a private monastic house on the island of Skyros despite the protestations of the local bishop of Skopelos ([24]). In 989, Athanasios of Athos was able to obtain approval from Nicholas to have the dilapidated monastery of the Theotokos of Gomatou (τοῦ Γομάτου), also called Orphanou (τοῦ Ὀρφάνου), near Hierissos in the theme of Thessalonike, become a dependency of the Great Lavra of Athos ([25]).

Since the names of the emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII appear in the appendix to the confirmation of the Tome of Union, which specifies that 90 years had passed since the origin of the Tetragamy dispute concerning the emperor Leo VI, and Nicholas is acclaimed as the living patriarch in one of the following lists of acclamations ([26]), Grumel considered Nicholas II to be the patriarch who presided at this solemnization ([27]) Subsequent study, however, of the manuscript tradition by

1989, nos 803c. For discussion of this episode, see *Byzantine Foundation Documents : A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, I, ed. J. THOMAS and A. CONSTANTINIDES HERO, Washington, DC, 2000, p. 201-202. For the monastery of Piperatos, see JANIN, *Les grands centres*, p. 28.

(24) John's widow, Glykeria, eventually made a donation of all her properties on Skyros to the Great Lavra on Athos. For the text of her donation, with the reference to the patriarch's *sigillion* and earlier letter to the local bishop, see *Actes de Lavra*, I, ed. P. LEMERLE, Paris, 1970, n° 20, p. 159. See also *Les regestes*, 1989, nos 803a-c, p. 316.

(25) For the text and an analysis, see *Actes de Lavra*, I, n° 8, p. 115-118. See also *Les regestes*, 1989, n° 802, and *Byzantine Foundation Documents*, p. 209.

(26) For the critical edition of the text of the Tome of Union, its Appendix and Acclamations, see L. WESTERINK. *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople : Miscellaneous Writings*, Washington, DC, 1981, p. 56-85, especially p. 68-69 and 72-73. For discussion and literature regarding the Tome of Union and the Tetragamy, see *ODB*, III, p. 2093 and p. 2027, respectively.

(27) GRUMEL, *Chronologie patriarcale au Xe siècle*, p. 67-70.

(28) WESTERINK. *Nicholas I*, p. xiv-xviii and p. 148-149. His conclusions are

Westerink ([28]) has shown that most probably the confirmation occurred during the beginning of the reign of Nicholas' successor, Sisinnios II (996-998).

We conclude with observations about our seal's decoration. The seal of Patriarch Nicholas II bears an image of the Virgin and Child, which in some variant iconographic type becomes the standard post-Iconoclastic patriarchal sphragistic image beginning with Methodios I in 843 and continues until the end of the empire — and even into the post-Byzantine period ([29]). Our example displays an image of the type of the standing Virgin Hodegetria where the Theotokos holds the Christ Child on her left arm and points to him with her right ([30]). A standing Hodegetria iconographic type is found on patriarchal seals as early as Methodios I (843-847) and continues to the reign of Michael Keroularios (1043-1058) ([31]).

followed by Darrouzès. See *Les regestes*, 1989, nos 803 and 813.

(29) One will conveniently find a published series of Constantinopolitan patriarchal seals in ZACOS, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, II, nos 1-54, pl. 1-11. For examples of seals belonging to post-Byzantine patriarchs of Constantinople that continue to employ images of the Virgin and Child, see K. REGLING, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel III*, in *BZ*, 24 (1923/24), p. 106-107 ; F. DÖLGER, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges : 115 Urkunden und 50 Urkundensiegel aus 10 Jahrhunderten*, Munich, 1948, p. 122 ; and *Treasures of Mount Athos*, ed. A. KARAKATSANIS, Thessalonike, 1997, nos 13.40, 13.51, 13.56 and 13.60.

(30) For a discussion of this Marian type, including its use on seals, see G. BABIĆ, *Les images byzantines et leurs degrés de signification : l'exemple de l'Hodigitria*, in *Byzance et les images*, ed. A. GUILLOU and J. DURAND, Paris, 1994, p. 189-222. For the cult of the Hodegetria, see A.WEYL-CARR, *Court Culture and Cult Icons in Middle Byzantine Constantinople*, in *Byzantine Court Culture From 829-1204*, ed. H. MAGUIRE, Washington, DC, 1997, p. 95-99 ; C. ANGELIDI and T. PAPAMASTORAKIS, *The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery*, in *Mother of God : Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, ed. M. VASSILIKI, Athens and Milan, 2000, p. 373-424 ; B. PENTCHEVA, *The 'Activated' Icon : The Hodegetria Procession and Mary's Eisodos*, in *Images of the Mother of God : Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. M. VASSILAKI, Aldershot, 2005, p. 195-208 ; and C. ANGELIDI and T. PAPAMASTORAKIS, *Picturing the Spiritual Protector ; From Blachernitissa to Hodegetria*, in *Images of the Mother of God*, p. 209-224.

(31) ZACOS, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, II, nos 5, 7a, 8a-10a, 11, 12, 14c-15c. For a discussion of the chronological variance of the Marian iconography found on patriarchal seals as a reflection of the chronological changes of the apse mosaic decoration in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, see G. GALAVARIS, *The Representation of the Virgin and Child on a 'Thokos' on Seals of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchs*, p. 154-181 and *Idem*, *Observations on the Date of the Apse Mosaic*

On our specimen, the Christ Child sits upright, blesses with his right hand and holds a scroll in his left. The Virgin, with her right leg bent at the knee, stands upon a dais. These details most closely parallel the patriarchal seal images belonging to Alexios Stoudites (1025-1043) and Michael Keroularios ([32]). On Nicholas' seal, however, the Virgin does not incline her head towards the Child, as she does on the later examples, but rather her head remains erect and she gazes out towards the observer, similar to the earlier patriarchal seals issued by Methodios, Photios (858-867 and 877-886), Stephen I (886-893), and Anthony II Kauleas (893-901) ([33]). But in these earlier examples either the Christ Child is not quite as erect or there is no dais beneath the feet of the Virgin.

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Résumé

Nous publions ici pour la première fois un sceau ecclésiastique, qui n'a pas été connu jusqu'à present. Le specimen, qui fut récemment découvert, appartient au Patriarche de Constantinople Nicolas. Fondé sur l'épigraphie, des emblèmes décoratifs et l'iconographie, à savoir une représentation débout de la Vierge Hodegetria, le sceau fut attribué au patriarche Nicolas II le Chrysobergès (980-991). Cette étude comporte aussi une brève biographie sur le Patriarche.

*of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople*, in *Actes du XII^e congrès international d'études byzantines, Ochride, 10-16 Septembre, 1961*, III, Belgrade, 1964, p. 107-110. Galavaris' fourteenth-century dating of the apse mosaic in Hagia Sophia is erroneous. For the commonly accepted ninth-century dating of the mosaic, see R. Cormack, *Interpreting the Mosaics of S. Sophia at Istanbul*, in *Art History*, 4 (1981), p. 135-138 (repr. in his *The Byzantine Eye*, London, 1989), who also provides the relevant bibliography, p. 147, for the study of the church's mosaics and idem, *The Mother of God in the Mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople*, in *Mother of God*, p. 108-113. For a dating of the apse mosaic of Hagia Sophia to the years of the Iconophile interlude, more specifically between 787-797, also employing the iconography of patriarchal seals, see N. Oikonomides, *Some Remarks on the Apse Mosaic of St. Sophia*, in *DOP*, 39, 1985, p.111-115. For criticism of Oikonomides' dating, see Cormack, *Additional Notes : Study VIII*, in *The Byzantine Eye*, 14.

(32) Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, II, nos 14c-15c.

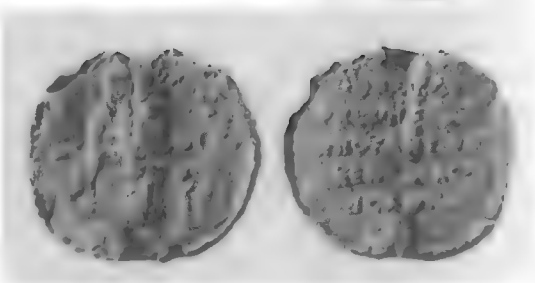
(33) *Idem*, nos 5, 7a and 8a-9b, respectively.

Pl. 1.

Pl. 5.

Pl. 3.

Pl. 2.



Pl. 4.

# MAXIME PLANUDE ET LE *DIOPHANTUS MATRITENSIS* (*MADRID, BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL*, MS. 4678) : UN PARADIGME DE LA RÉCUPERATION DES TEXTES ANCIENS DANS LA "RENAISSANCE PALÉOLOGUE"

Les grandes lignes de l'intérêt de Maxime Planude pour le savoir mathématique au cours des années '90 du XIII[e] s. sont bien connues (1) et cette connaissance n'est pas seulement fondée sur le témoignage de sa correspondance, mais encore sur celui des manuscrits qui conservent la trace de son travail. Planude écrivit des scolies aux *Elementa* d'Euclide (2), révisa le texte et composa un commentaire des livres I-II de l'*Arithmetica* de Diophante (3), dont il était conscient des déficiences,

(1) *Vid.* C. WENDEL, art. *Planude*, dans *RE*, XX (1950), col. 2202-2253, spéc. 2228 ; H. HUNGER, *Von Wissenschaft und Kunst der frühen Palaiologenzeit*, dans *JÖBG*, 8 (1959), pp. 123-155, spéc. 141 ; N. G. WILSON, *Scholars of Byzantium*, Londres, 1983, pp. 232-233 ; B. MONDRAIN, *Traces et mémoire de la lecture des textes : les* marginalia *dans les manuscrits scientifiques byzantins*, dans *Scientia in margine. Études sur les marginalia dans les manuscrits scientifiques du Moyen Âge à la Renaissance (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques* V, *Hautes études médiévales et modernes*, 88), D. JACQUART et Ch. BURNETT éds., Droz, 2005, pp. 1-25, spéc. 16-18.

(2) Conservés dans les *Vindob. Phil. Gr.* 31, *Laur.* 28, 2 et *Par. Gr.* 2373. Éd. J.L. HEIBERG, *Om Scholierne til Euklids Elementer*, dans *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter.* VI, *R. Hist. of phil. Afd.*, II, 3 (1888), pp. 227-304 ; *cf.* J. L. HEIBERG-E. S. STAMATIS, *Euclides, Elementa*, V, 1, Leipzig, 1977, sch. VI n° 6, sch. X n° 223 (pp. 327-329, 513-514). Il n'est pas possible de préciser les années durant lesquelles Planude s'est occupé des *Elementa*.

(3) Éd. P. TANNERY, *Diophanti Alexandrini Opera omnia cum Graecis commentariis*, I, Leipzig, 1893 ; l'édition annoncée par A. Allard pour la collection Budé n'a pas encore vu le jour ; mais R. RASHED, *Diophante, Les arithmétiques*, III-IV, Paris, 1984, a publié la traduction arabe des livres IV-VII. Sur l'apport planudéen au calcul de Diophante, *vid.* J. CHRISTIANIDIS, *Maxime Planude sur le*

auxquelles il essaya de remédier, au moins partiellement ; il écrivit aussi le fameux *Calcul indien* (Ψηφηφορία κατ' Ἰνδούς) (4), inspiré en partie d'un livre de calcul anonyme de l'an 1251/2 (5). L'apport planudéen au *Calcul indien* paraît limité à la sphère de l'extraction de la racine carrée (chap. 6), qu'il avait trouvée traitée de façon déficiente dans le livre anonyme (6) ; mais le mérite de cette œuvre est surtout d'exposer clairement et simplement des méthodes de calcul.

Comme nous le savons grâce aux travaux d'André Allard, la transmission du *Calcul indien* est jumelle de celle de l'édition planudéenne de

*sens du terme diophantien "plasmatikon"*, dans *Historia Scientiarum*, 6 (1996), pp. 37-41 ; Id., *Une interprétation byzantine de Diophante*, dans *Historia Mathematica*, 25 (1998), pp. 22-28.

(4) Éd. A. Allard, *Maximus Planudes, Le grand calcul selon les Indiens (Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 27, Centre d'Histoire des Sciences et des Techniques, Sources et travaux, 1)*, Louvain-La-Neuve, 1981 ; *cf.* H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, XII, 5, Munich, 1978, II, pp. 246-247, qui fait mention de l'ancienne édition de C. I. Gerhardt, Halle, 1865 (reimpr. Walluf/ Wiesbaden, 1973).

(5) Conservé dans le *Par. Suppl. Gr.* 387, ff. 163-180v (tit. Ἀρχὴ τῆς μεγάλης καὶ ἰνδικῆς ψηφιφορίας), que Georges Beccos avait prêté à Planude et qui était basée à son tour sur le *Liber Abaci* de Leonardo Fibonacci de Pise (a. 1202). Comme a indiqué André Allard (*Maximus Planudes, Le grand calcul*, pp. 3-5), nous sommes encore très loin de comprendre dans quelle mesure, dans la Constantinople de la fin du XIII$^{e}$ s., ce sont les textes mathématiques d'origine occidentale ou orientale qui ont servi de point de départ aux recherches de Planude. Il est probable, étant donné que notre savant connaissait le latin, qu'il a consulté des livres écrits dans cette langue, mais dans le calcul indien il utilise les chiffres arabes à la façon orientale et non à la façon occidentale (hispanique), comme dans la source de 1251/1252, et ce fait empêche cette probabilité de devenir une certitude. Sur l'usage byzantin des chiffres arabes, *vid.* N. G. Wilson, *Miscellanea palaeographica : III. Arabic Numerals*, dans *GRBS*, 22 (1981), pp. 395-404, spéc. 400-404. Même si, comme il est naturel, certains de ces témoignages (par exemple la simple inscription des chiffres dans la marge d'un codex) sont difficiles à dater, Wilson date du XII$^{e}$ s. les premiers témoignages de chiffres arabes de tradition perse dans des manuscrits grecs, tous euclidiens.

(6) Περὶ εὑρέσεως τετραγωνικῆς πλευρᾶς παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ, éd. A. Allard, *Maximus Planudes, Le grand calcul*, pp. 138-200, 224-233 (commentaire) ; *cf.* l'estimation, peu enthousiaste, que fait Th. L. Heath d'un tel travail, dans *A History of Greek Mathematics*, Oxford, 1921, II, pp. 547-549.

Diophante : les deux œuvres apparaissent dans l'autographe planudéen *Ambrosianus* & 157 sup. (a. 1292-93), les 23 ff. qui nous sont restés d'un manuscrit en papier non-filigrané de grand format (345 × 257 mm) et qui constituent l'archétype incomplet du *Calcul indien* (7) et l'original, fragmentaire aussi, de l'édition planudéenne de Diophante (8). Avant l'identification du copiste du manuscrit ambrosien comme étant Planude lui-même (9), une note dans le f. 14, Σχόλ(ια) τοῦ Πλανούδ(η) κυρ(οῦ) Μαξίμου, indiquait déjà que Planude était l'auteur du commentaire (10). Ce témoignage est l'antigraphe du reste de la tradition des deux textes, mais ce n'est pas une mise au propre totale de son travail, comme l'indiquent les corrections que Planude fait sur le commentaire marginal ou le texte central, parfois gratté et remplacé par une nouvelle version (11). Le texte de Diophante ne garde pourtant pas de traces d'une collation d'un second témoignage de l'œuvre, ce à quoi il fallait s'attendre puisque Planude avait envoyé à Manuel Bryennius une lettre (Ép. 33) en lui demandant son exemplaire de Diophante pour le comparer avec le

(7) A. ALLARD, *L'Ambrosianus & 157 sup., un manuscrit autographe de Maxime Planude,* dans *Scriptorium,* 33 (1979), pp. 225-234, spéc. 223, et Pl. 26 ; A. ALLARD, *La tradition du texte grec des Arithmétiques de Diophante,* dans *RHT,* 13 (1983), pp. 57-137, spéc. 59 et n. 2, avec bibliographie.

(8) Celle-ci serait postérieure à l'élaboration du *Calcul indien* : ALLARD, *L'Ambrosianus & 157 sup.*, pp. 223-224. Le texte de Diophante occupe les ff. 13, 14, 8, 18, 20, 15, 9, 16, 17, 19. Sur ses apographes, *vid.* P. TANNERY, *Diophanti,* II, pp. XXVIII-XXXIV ; éd. des scolies, *Ibidem,* II, pp. 125-255.

(9) La main de Planude fut identifiée par A. TURYN, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy,* 2 vols., Urbana-Chicago-Londres, 1972, pp. 78-81, Pl. 57. Sur le codex, *vid.* A. MARTINI-D. BASSI, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae,* Milan 1906, II, pp. 875-876 ; MONDRAIN, *Traces et mémoire,* p. 17.

(10) TURYN datait du XIV^e^ s. la main qui a ajouté la note, mais il s'agit sans doute d'un collaborateur de Planude, qui a écrit dans le même f. 14 le titre + Διοφάντου Ἀλεξανδρέως τῶν εἰς ιγ′ τὸ πρῶτον et, partout dans le codex, avec la même encre rouge, les lettres initiales (f. 6), le numérotage des problèmes (ff. 13v, 20v), l'indication τέλος (ff. 6, 21), les sous-titres (*passim*) et une partie des chiffres (ff. 9-11, 15-20).

(11) TURYN, *Dated Manuscripts,* p. 79, qualifie le manuscrit de "copie finale personnelle" de Planude, non exempte de rectifications (p. ex., f. 15v, où la scolie a été biffée et réécrite à la suite, ou f. 4v, avec l. 1-4 *ab imo* biffées et remplacées de sa main). Cependant, quelques changements d'encre (p. ex., dans les ff. 4v-5) pourraient indiquer deux temps différents de travail.

sien ([12]) ; en supposant que Bryennius ait accédé à cette demande, la collation de Planude aurait été faite sur l'antigraphe de l'*Ambrosianus*, un brouillon préalable à cette copie dont l'existence n'est qu'hypothétique.

Une deuxième lettre de Planude (Ép. 67) est devenue l'élément clé de la discussion sur le caractère du témoignage fondamental de la tradition de Diophante, le *Matritensis* B.N. 4678 (*olim* N-48), objet d'une série d'hypothèses non contrastées et de malentendus qui s'expliquent par le fait qu'il n'a été étudié qu'exceptionnellement de façon directe. L'histoire de cette polémique, qui part de la confrontation entre le témoignage de la lettre de Planude et celui du codex de Madrid, a été racontée à de nombreuses occasions et interprétée de deux façons complètement opposées ; par souci de clarté, il faut la rappeler ici.

L'Ép. 67 de Planude accompagnait probablement l'envoi au protovestiaire Théodore Mouzalon d'un codex de Diophante que celui-ci avait sollicité, nous ignorons pourquoi ; les écrits de Mouzalon que nous conservons ne vont pas au-delà de ce qui est en rapport avec la discussion dogmatique ou hagiographique, mais il est possible que Mouzalon ait été initié à l'étude de l'arithmétique par son maître, Georges de Chypre, qui avait lui-même étudié cette matière dans les cours de Georges Acropolite ([13]). Dans la lettre (dont le terme *ante quem* est la mort de Mouzalon, au printemps de 1294, mais qui aurait été écrite vers 1292-93) ([14]), Planude se dit très satisfait du travail de restauration réalisé sur un codex de Diophante : «Le livre de Diophante, que je devais t'envoyer comme tu me l'avais demandé, sort maintenant rajeuni de ses rides d'antan : on pourrait dire, pour ce qui est de l'extérieur, que le serpent s'est

(12) Éd. K. TREU, *Planudis Maximi monachi Epistulae*, Breslau, 1890, p. 53 : τὴν ὑμετέραν Διοφάντου βίβλον (ἀντιβαλεῖν ἐξ αὐτῆς γὰρ βουλόμεθα τὴν ἡμετέραν) ἐφ' ἡμερῶν ὅσων δή σοι βουλομένῳ τυγχάνει προθεσμία πέμψεις ἡμῖν ; *cf.* P. A. M. LEONE, *Maximi Monachi Planudis Epistulae*, Amsterdam, 1991, p. 66.

(13) *Vid.* C. N. CONSTANTINIDES, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the 13th and early 14th Centuries*, Nicosie, 1982, pp. 32, 36 ; I. PÉREZ MARTÍN, *El patriarca Gregorio de Chipre (ca. 1240-1290) y la transmisión de los textos clásicos en Bizancio* (*Nueva Roma*, 1), Madrid, 1996, p. 8.

(14) *Vid.* J. VERPEAUX, *Notes chronologiques sur les livres II et III du De Andronico Paleologo de Georges Pachymère*, dans *REB*, 17 (1959), pp. 168-173 ; TURYN, *Dated Manuscripts*, p. 80. Sur Θεόδωρος Βοΐλας Μουζάλων, *vid.* E. TRAPP ET AL., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, Vienne 1971-1995, VIII, n° 19439.

débarrassé de sa vieille peau ; pour ce qui de l'intérieur, c'est comme si on voyait une maison restaurée et reconstruite après être restée longtemps abîmée» (ἡ δὲ Διοφάντου βίβλος, ἣν ἀνάγκη τε ἀποπέμπειν ἦν καὶ τὰ γράμματα τοῦτ' αὐτὸ κελεύοντα ἦν, ἐπανήκει νῦν ἐκ τῶν πάλαι ῥυτίδων ἠβῶσα. τὰ μὲν ἔξωθεν ὅφιν ἂν εἴποι τις τὴν παλαιὰν ἀποξυσάμενον λεβηρίδα, τὰ δ' ἐντός, οἵαν ἂν ἴδοιμεν οἰκίας ἐκ μακροῦ πεπονηκυίας ἐπισκευὴν καὶ ἀνάκτησιν). Dans cette phrase, le verbe ἀποπέμπω a provoqué une certaine confusion : si Planude "restitue" le livre à Mouzalon ([15]), c'est parce qu'on le lui avait prêté auparavant, de sorte que certains ont interprété que le manuscrit appartenait à Mouzalon. Cependant, comme le français "renvoyer", ἀποπέμπω peut aussi avoir le sens d'"envoyer" et, comme on peut le déduire de la suite de la lettre, le Diophante n'appartenait pas à Mouzalon mais à la bibliothèque du monastère impérial dont était chargé Planude ([16]). La belle métaphore employée par le savant suggère que, pour son rajeunissement, le livre avait été doté d'une nouvelle reliure, ses feuillets avaient été réorganisés et restaurés, et le travail avait peut-être été encouragé par Mouzalon lui-même (ὃν [sc. le danger de s'abîmer] ὁ Διόφαντος εὖ ποιῶν δι' ὑμᾶς τό γε νῦν εἶναι διέδρα).

Ce fut Carl Wendel ([17]) qui, à l'origine, proposa d'identifier ce manuscrit de Diophante avec le *Matrit.* 4678. Il l'a fait à l'aide des données du catalogue d'Iriarte, l'information de la correspondance de Planude et l'édition de Paul Tannery. Ni lui ni ceux qui se sont prononcés ensuite sur la validité de l'identification ne semblent avoir directement étudié le manuscrit de Madrid, à l'exception de Tannery et d'André Allard, qui a voulu couper court à toute polémique en affirmant que, dans le *Matritensis,* il n'y avait aucune trace de la main de Planude ([18]). Jusque là, la

(15) C'est ce que pense TURYN, *Dated Manuscripts,* p. 80 : "It seems obvious that Planudes transcribed his Diophantus from the manuscript borrowed from Muzalon".

(16) Que ce monastère ait été celui de l'Acataleptos ou celui de Chora, est sujet à discussion ; *vid.* D. BIANCONI, *Libri e mani. Sulla formazione di alcune miscellanee dell'età dei Paleologi,* dans *Segno e Testo,* 2 (2004) (= *Il codice miscellaneo. Tipologie e funzioni. Atti del Convegno internazionale Cassino 14-17 maggio 2003,* E. CRISCI-O. PECERE eds.), pp. 311-363, spéc. 322, n. 29.

(17) C. WENDEL, *Planudea,* dans *BZ,* 40 (1940), pp. 406-445, spéc. 414-417.

(18) A. ALLARD, *Les scholies aux Arithmétiques de Diophante dans le Matritensis B.N. 4678 et les Vaticani gr. 191 et 304,* dans *Byz,* 53 (1983), pp. 664-760, spéc. 667.

proposition de Wendel avait été acceptée par Herbert Hunger, Alexander Turyn, Antonio Bravo et Costas Constantinides ([19]), mais refusée par Robert Browning et, après l'article d'Allard, par Carlo Maria Mazzucchi et, récemment, Daniele Bianconi ([20]). Le but de ces pages est de démontrer que le *Matritensis* est bien le codex qui accompagnait l'Ép. 67 de Planude et auquel celle-ci se réfère. Mais maintenant, regardons de près le Diophante de Madrid.

*Datation*

Dans le bref prologue à son édition de Diophante ([21]), Paul Tannery présentait le codex (sigle A) comme étant du "*s. XIII, nempe ante Maximum Planudem scriptus, et omnium, quorum ad nos notitia pervenit, antiquissimus.*" Cette datation s'est répétée successivement jusqu'à aujourd'hui ([22]), mais en réalité le manuscrit de Madrid n'est pas seulement le témoignage le plus ancien des *Arithmétiques,* il est même antérieur de deux siècles au reste des manuscrits. En effet, la plus grande partie du

(19) HUNGER, *Literatur*, II, pp. 68, 247 ; A. BRAVO, *Sobre un comentario anónimo a la "Aritmética" de Nicómaco de Gerasa y sus manuscritos en Bibliotecas Españolas*, dans *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica*, 16 (1979-1980), pp. 27-40, spéc. 27 n. 2 (bien qu'après avoir pris connaissance des arguments d'Allard [*Ibidem*, 40 "Addenda"], il en nie l'identité) ; C. N. CONSTANTINIDES, *Higher Education*, pp. 72-74.

(20) R. BROWNING, *Recentiores non deteriores*, dans *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the Univ. of London*, 7 (1960), pp. 11-21 (rééd. dans *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, D. HARLFINGER éd., Darmstadt, 1980, pp. 259-275, spéc. 263) ; C. M. MAZZUCCHI, *Leggere i classici durante la catastrofe (Costantinopoli, maggio-agosto 1203). Le note marginali al Diodoro Siculo Vaticano gr. 130*, dans *Aevum*, 68 (1994), pp. 164-218, spéc. 206-207 et n. 174 ; BIANCONI, *Libri e mani*, pp. 321-324.

(21) Éd. TANNERY, *Diophanti*, I, p. III.

(22) J. IRIARTE, *Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis Codices Graeci manuscripti*, Madrid, 1769, pp. 163-164, le datait du XIV[e] s. (*Saeculi, quantum suspicari licet, XIV*) de même que C. O. ZURETTI, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, XI, 2, *Codices Scorialenses, Matritenses, Caesaraugustani*, Bruxelles, 1934, pp. 73-74. G. DE ANDRÉS, *Catálogo de los códices griegos de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, 1987, pp. 227-228, suit Tannery pour la datation au XIII[e] s., comme le font A. ALLARD dans la description succincte du codex incluse dans *La tradition du texte grec*, pp. 62-63, et *Les scolies*, pp. 666-667, et T. MARTÍNEZ MANZANO, *Constantino Láscaris. Semblanza de un humanista bizantino* (*Nueva Roma*, 7), Madrid, 1998, p. 65.

*Matritensis* (ff. 9-135v et 137-143v) est antérieure à l'époque paléologue ; on y voit la collaboration de deux copistes : l'écriture du cop. 1 (23) (ff. 9-62, l. 25, 137-143v) est sans aucun doute datable de la deuxième moitié du XI^e^ s., probablement dans les années 60-80, on s'en convaincra en comparant nos Pl. 1-2 (texte central) avec les écritures de deux notaires impériaux : le Théodore qui a copié en 1063 l'Isocrate *Vat. Gr.* 65 (24) et le Michel qui, à une date non déterminée, a transcrit Grégoire de Nazianze dans le *Lond. Arundelianus* 549 (25) ; d'autres codex datés portant une écriture similaire à celle de notre cop. 1 sont l'Homère *Lond.* Burney 86, de 1059 (26), et le Saint Basile *Patmiacus* 20, de 1081, dont la souscription mentionne l'empereur Alexis Comnène (27). La grande simi-

(23) Le cop. 1 écrit *infra lineam* ou en montant dessus. Les scolies de sa main sont de la même encre dans les ff. 10v-16, 27-29, 42 sup., 58v, 60v-62. Il écrit des titres, des initiales et des figures en rose dans les ff. 9v, 10v, 12-13v, 14v, 15r-v, 17, 27, 35, 40, mais ceux de la partie copiée par lui ne sont pas tous de sa main. Le cadre d'écriture varie en fonction du commentaire marginal, pour couvrir un maximum de 150 x 130 mm, en 24 lignes. Le type de réglure est 22D1 Leroy et le système s'avère plutôt irrégulier, sans doute parce que le copiste se sert de quinions (par opposition au cop. 2, qui utilise des quaternions ; *vid. infra* n. 31 ; en ff. 36-44a, par exemple, la réglure est réalisée sur 1v, 2r, 5v, 6r, 9v, 10r.

(24) *Vid.* G. CAVALLO, *Scritture informali, cambio grafico e pratiche librarie a Bisanzio tra i secoli XI e XII,* dans *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito, Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4-10 ottobre 1998),* G. PRATO éd., Florence, 2000, I, pp. 219-238, spéc. 228, 231 et Tav. 12b ; d'autres reproductions dans K. et S. LAKE, *Dated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1200* (*Monumenta Paleographica Vetera,* 1), Boston, 1934-1945, VII, tav. 531. Sur le codex, *vid.* S. MARTINELLI TEMPESTA, *Verso una nuova edizione del «Panegirico» di Isocrate,* dans *Studi sulla tradizione del testo di Isocrate* (*Studi e Testi per il Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini,* 12), Firenze, Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere, 2003, pp. 91-150, spéc. 103-104.

(25) *Vid.* CAVALLO, *Scritture informali,* pp. 228, 231 et Tav. 12c ; *cf.* H. HUNGER-E. GAMILLSCHEG-D. HARLFINGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600* [cit. *RGK*], I, *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens,* Vienne, 1981, n° 288.

(26) *Vid.* LAKE, *Dated Manuscripts,* II, cod. 71, Pl. 127-128.

(27) A.D. KOMINIS, *Πίνακες χρονολογημένων Πατμιακῶν κωδίκων,* Athènes, 1968 (= *Facsimiles of Dated Patmian Codices,* Athènes, 1970), pp. 22-23, Pin. 11 ; CAVALLO, *Scritture informali,* Tav. 14b. Nous pouvons ajouter à cette liste de mains similaires au cop. 1 du *Matritensis* le psautier *Sinait. Gr.* 48, ca. 1074, D. HARLFINGER et al., *Specimina Sinaitica. Die datierten griechischen Handschriften des Katharinen-Klosters auf dem Berge Sinai : 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert,* Berlin, 1983, n° 16, pp. 35-36, Taf. 75 (cop. A) ; l'*Iliade* de l'*Oxon.*

litude du cop. 1 du *Matritensis* avec les écritures des notaires impériaux dont on a parlé atteste que la copie du Diophante fut réalisée à Constantinople et favorise l'hypothèse qu'elle ait eu lieu dans l'entourage de l'administration impériale.

L'écriture du cop. 2 (Pl. 3-5) de la partie ancienne est moins particulière : il s'agit d'une écriture calligraphique du "type perle" un peu aplatie et de cursivité variable ([28]). Ce copiste est responsable de la transcription de la presque totalité de l'œuvre de Diophante (ff. 62, l. 26-135v), poursuivant le travail initié par le cop. 1. De sa main sont la plus grande partie des scolies aussi bien à l'œuvre de Nicomaque (utilisant de l'encre noire dans les ff. 16v-22, 24-26v, 29v-33v, 35v-38v, 39v-42, 43-49, 50-57v, de l'encre marron clair dans le f. 35) qu'à celle de Diophante (*Arithmetica*, l. I-II, à l'encre noire dans les ff. 59, 62v-64, 65-69v, 70v-73 et peut-être 86), et probablement les titres et initiales copiés d'un rouge orangé non uniforme, dans sa partie et dans celle du cop. 1 (ff. 10v-11v, 15v, 18v, 19v-22v, 26v, 29 et suivantes). Il faut aussi signaler que le titre de chaque livre des *Arithmétiques* se répète à la fin, tradition qui remonte au format des rouleaux de papyrus et qui, au XI[e] s., avait déjà un petit

*Bodl.* Auct. T.2.7, que N. G. WILSON, *Mediaeval Greek Bookhands* (*Mediaeval Academy of America*, 81), Cambridge, Mass., 1973, Pl. 40, 41, date de la deuxième moitié du XI[e] s.

(28) Il écrit *infra lineam* et l'écriture occupe 180 x 145 mm, en 29 lignes. Le type de réglure est 20C1 Leroy et le système, sur 2v, 3r, 6v, 7r, n'a pas été classé par Leroy. Il s'agit d'une écriture soignée mais non excessivement harmonieuse, qui utilise largement les ligatures et les abréviations dans la copie du commentaire. On peut la comparer avec celle du Grégoire hiéromoine du monastère constantinopolitain de l'Evergetis, qui a copié l'*Oxon. Bodl.* Auct. T.2.2 en 1067 (*RGK*, I, n° 82) ou avec Basile Cerularius, scribe en 1060 d'un volume de Chrysostome conservé à Moscou (*Mus. Hist.* VI. 68 [79]) : LAKE, *Dated Manuscripts*, VI, cod. 228, Pl. 406-7 ; ou avec le copiste de l'*Etymologicum Gudianum* dans le *Vat. Gr.* 1708 : K. ALPERS, *Eine byzantinische Enzyklopädie des 9. Jahrhunderts. Zu Hintergrund, Entstehung und Geschichte des griechischen Etymologikons in Konstantinopel und im italogriechischen Bereich*, dans *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio, Atti del seminario di Erice (18-25 settembre 1988)*, a cura di G. CAVALLO, G. DI GREGORIO, M. MANIACI, Spoleto-Perugia, 1991, I, pp. 235-269, Taf. 9. Il est hors de question d'identifier ce copiste avec celui du *Matrit.* 4681 d'après la proposition de C. O. ZURETTI, *Catalogus*, XI, 2, p. 73. La seule écriture du *Matrit.* 4681 comparable à celle du cop. 2 est celle des ff. 2-17v, une écriture traditionnelle datable de la deuxième moitié du XIII[e] s. ; le codex, avec des œuvres de Michel Psellus, est fort probablement un produit provincial.

goût archaïque. Chaque titre placé au début de l'œuvre est précédé de simples barres de séparation bicolores (avec l'encre du texte et celle des titres), décoration qui se prolonge parfois par des initiales soignées et évidées (comme *epsilon* dans les ff. 109 et 121v) ([29]). Le cop. 2 nous apparaît ainsi comme un calligraphe plus conventionnel et minutieux qui complète la tâche commencée par le cop. 1.

La datation proposée ici ne fait aucun doute, nous semble-t-il, et, à vrai dire, nous sommes étonnés qu'elle n'ait encore jamais été formulée. Comme cela est habituel, le fait que le matériau utilisé soit du papier ([30]) a sans doute pesé sur la datation erronée du XIII[e] s. Les additions paléologues des ff. 2-8, 136 et 144-145 sont aussi sur papier non-filigrané mais les différences structurelles entre les deux papiers sont claires : dans la partie ancienne, il apparaît foncé et légèrement rigide ; son format est *in-quarto* (250 × 195 mm > 500 × 390 mm, format moyen du papier oriental), les fils vergeures sont réguliers et droits (10/11 en 20 mm) et les pontuseaux, obliques, sont doubles, avec une séparation interne de 15 mm et externe de 30/35 mm. De la distribution des feuillets en cahiers, numérotés dans la marge inférieure externe de la première page, nous ne conservons qu'une seule indication qui est sortie indemne du recoupage, l'inscription originale ι′ du f. 85 (des restes de la numération apparaissent aussi dans les ff. 117 et 133), ce qui atteste que le volume original comportait la séquence Nicomaque + Diophante ([31]).

(29) Des barres simples séparent les livres de Diophante dans les ff. 58, 73, 82, 89v, 109, 121v (cette dernière plus travaillée), 130v ; les essais du cop. 1 pour imiter cette sobre décoration dans les ff. 137 et 142 ont été peu réussis ; dans le f. 142, la séparation est marquée par une bande totalement noire, probablement parce que le scribe s'est trompé dans la décoration et l'a masquée.

(30) Un cas similaire de fausse datation provoquée par l'utilisation du papier et une écriture cursive est l'*Escor.* T.III.9 (avec l'œuvre historique de Jean Scylitzes et Michel Attaliate), que A. Revilla avait daté du XIV[e] s. mais dont la date de copie réelle est la fin du XI[e] s. ; *vid.* N. G. Wilson, *Scholarly Hands of the Middle Byzantine Period,* dans *La Paléographie Grecque et Byzantine. Paris 21-25 octobre 1974* (*Colloques Internationaux du CNRS,* 559), Paris, 1977, pp. 221-239, spéc. 238 (cité de façon erronée T.III.19) et I. Pérez Martín, *Miguel Ataliates, Historia* (*Nueva Roma,* 15), Madrid, 2002, pp. LVIII-IX.

(31) Le volume actuel est composé de ff. IV.145.III′ (+ 44a), où le f. 1 appartient aux feuilles de garde incluses à l'époque moderne et contient seulement le titre de l'œuvre avec la décoration caractéristique des manuscrits d'Uceda. Les folios du volume original et de sa restauration paléologue sont distribués comme suit : 2 ff. (3) + 5 ff. (8) // 1 x II (12) + 4 ff. (16) + 1 x V (26) + 9 ff. (35) + 2 x

*Le problème de la restauration*

Comme le révèle l'analyse du papier, la partie récente du codex ne peut être caractérisée comme un tout ; au contraire, elle est elle-même formée de deux parties bien différenciées (qui ont pourtant en commun le papier plié in-folio, avec une dimension initiale de la feuille de 390 × 250 mm, c.à.d. petit format de papier oriental), qui ne sont probablement pas strictement contemporaines. La plus ancienne (ff. 4-8v) était destinée à remplacer le début de l'*Introductio arithmetica* de Nicomaque ; le papier de ces feuillets et celui du f. 136, destiné à compléter la copie du *De polygonis numeris* (qui s'achevait de façon incomplète — non mutilée — dans le f. 135v) et qui était resté en blanc, se caractérise par sa couleur crème et son manque de fermeté, 13/14 fils vergeures sur 20 mm et les pontuseaux triples, avec une séparation interne de 15 mm et externe de 30 mm.

Le restaurateur de ce début de la copie de Nicomaque (cop. 3 [Pl. 6-7] : ff. 4-8v ; cadre d'écriture 180 x 120 mm, 31 lignes) utilise une encre marron clair et présente une écriture droite mais un peu tortueuse et de contention décroissante, qui se caractérise par le contraste de module. On trouve des mains similaires à la chancellerie de Michel VIII ([32]), mais aussi dans des manuscrits littéraires des années 1260-1280.

Le reste des feuillets de l'époque paléologue (ff. 2-3, 144-145) ([33]) ont été à notre avis inclus un peu plus tard comme feuillets de garde. Leur papier est légèrement plus rigide et foncé que celui des ff. 4-8, 136 ; 12 fils vergeures occupent 20 mm et on ne distingue pas les pontuseaux. Une datation *ca.* 1290 de la transcription de ces pages (Pl. 8) par un scribe à la main élégante est proposée à partir de la comparaison de sa main avec celle de Manuel Alethinos, copiste du *Vindob. Theol. Gr.* 149 en 1290 ([34]),

V (54) + 3 ff. (57) + 7 ff. (64) + 1 x IV (72) + 1 x VI (84) + 6 x IV (132) + 3 ff. (135) // 1 f. (136) // 7 ff. (143) // 3 ff. (146). Quelques altérations, comme la distribution des ff. 55-64 dans deux cahiers de 3 et 7 ff., sont sans doute dues à la restauration.

(32) *Vid.* J. Bompaire, *Actes de Xéropotamou (Archives de l'Athos,* 3), Paris, 1964, Pl. XVIII (chrysobulle de décembre 1275) ; L. Pieralli, *Le scritture dei documenti imperiali del XIII secolo,* dans *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito*, I, pp. 273-293, spéc. 285-286, Tav. 7b.

(33) Martínez Manzano, *Constantino Láscaris,* p. 128, identifie de façon erronée le copiste de ces feuillets avec Constantin Lascaris.

(34) J. Bick, *Die Schreiber der Wiener griechischen Handschriften* (*Museion Abhandlungen*, 1), Vienne-Prague-Leipzig, 1920, Taf. XVI.

avec l'Alexius qui avait transcrit en 1294 l'Aristote *Vat. Barber. Gr.* 164 ([35]), ou avec le cop. B de l'*Oxon. Bodl.* Roe 22, de 1286 ([36]).

Le texte transcrit dans le f. 2r-v (un fragment de la *Syntaxis mathematica* de Ptolémée) et le fait que les tables qui l'accompagnent (ff. 3, 144-145) soient incomplètes soutiennent l'hypothèse que ces feuillets ont été inclus dans le volume comme feuillets de garde, simultanément à une restauration dont les ff. 61 (une large bande de papier couvre la marge inférieure du feuillet) et 64 (un cercle central de papier ajouté et réécrit) gardent les traces. C'est sans doute la restauration à laquelle fait allusion la lettre de Planude, puisque c'est sa main qui figure sur le papier ajouté ; mais nous reviendrons sur ce point plus loin.

Avant d'arriver en Espagne où fut réalisée une deuxième restauration du manuscrit, le *Matritensis* a séjourné en Italie, apporté sans doute de Constantinople par Constantin Lascaris, qui y fit de brèves annotations ([37]). Comme dans d'autres volumes de sa bibliothèque, le *Matritensis* porte d'ailleurs dans le f. 2v l'énigmatique indication de Bartolomeo

(35) P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI-J. LIETZMANN, *Specimina Codicum Graecorum Vaticanorum*, Berlin-Leipzig, 19292, Tav. 41 ; A. TURYN, *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi*, Vatican, 1964, Tab. 52 ; *RGK*, III, *Rom mit dem Vatikan*, Vienne, 1997, n° 14. Le deuxième volume copié par Alexius, avec l'*Introductio arithmetica* de Nicomaque de Gérase, est conservé à Hambourg (*Cod. Philos.* 88) ; *vid.* M. MOLIN PRADEL, *Note su alcuni manoscritti greci della Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek di Amburgo*, dans *Codices manuscripti*, 34/35 (2001), pp. 15-27. Alexius a aussi copié les œuvres de Georges de Chypre dans l'*Escor.* Ψ.III.15, d'après l'identification de S. KOTZAMBASSI, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der rhetorischen und hagiographischen Werke des Gregor von Zypern* (*Serta Graeca*, 6), Wiesbaden, 1998, pp. 15, 21, 112, 228-230, 232.

(36) A. TURYN, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain* (*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, 17), Washington D.C., 1980, Pl. 32.

(37) Que Lascaris ait inséré le titre Περὶ ἁρμονικῆς dans le f. 137 avait déjà été remarqué par IRIARTE, *Codices*, p. 164 ; MARTÍNEZ MANZANO, *Constantino Láscaris*, pp. 39, 105, n. 26, a élargi la présence d'annotations de Lascaris dans les ff. 13v et 25 (deux variantes γρ(άφεται) au texte de Nicomaque), 141 (une petite correction de πλὶν par πρὶν) et 143v (dans ce cas, les scolies ne sont pas de la main de Lascaris). ALLARD (*Les scolies*, p. 667 ; ID., *Les Arithmétiques*, p. 62), se trompe donc, lorsqu'il considère que le codex appartenait à la Bibliothèque capitulaire de Messine et non à Lascaris en suivant J. M. FERNÁNDEZ POMAR, *La colección de Uceda y los manuscritos griegos de Constantino Láscaris*, dans *Emerita*, 34 (1966), pp. 211-288, spéc. 263-264.

Bardella : *visto p(er) me Bart(olomeo) Bardella,* apportée à Milan vers 1464 ([38]), ce qui justifie notre idée que le codex n'est pas arrivé à Messine par d'autres voies, mais que ce fut Lascaris lui-même qui l'avait sorti de Constantinople.

Le Diophante fut plus tard un des codex de Lascaris et de la Cathédrale de Messine confisqués par le Comte de Santisteban, qui occupa la charge de Vice-roi de Sicile juste avant le Quatrième Duc d'Uceda ; ce dernier se l'appropria pendant l'exercice de sa charge (1687-1696) et la bibliothèque d'Uceda fut à son tour saisie par Philippe V pendant la guerre de succession au début du XVIII[e] s., et destinée à ce qui s'appelait alors la Bibliothèque royale (créée dans les années 1711-1716), aujourd'hui Biblioteca Nacional. La deuxième restauration effectuée sur le codex a eu lieu alors que le manuscrit était déjà en Espagne, à la bibliothèque d'Uceda ou à la Bibliothèque royale, récemment créée, comme le suggère le papier des bandes collées pour renforcer le bord extérieur des feuillets originaux et dans certains cas à l'intérieur, dont le filigrane est caractéristique d'un papier de fabrication génoise largement attesté dans la Péninsule ibérique ([39]). La main qui a réécrit le texte dans les marges restaurées des ff. 9, 13v, 14v, 15v-16 l'a aussi complété dans les espaces libres du volume original (ff. 15v, 17) et montre un certain intérêt pour l'œuvre de Nicomaque dans la correction d'une scolie ancienne au f. 52v, où il biffe ἡμιό(λιος) γὰρ et ajoute διπλάσιος γὰρ.

*Contenu*

La description faite jusqu'ici permet déjà de retracer les grandes lignes de l'histoire du codex, mais on peut la préciser grâce aux nombreuses notes marginales qui accompagnent ces textes. Avant d'entrer dans l'analyse des ajouts textuels, il faudrait pourtant décrire le contenu du codex :

(38) MARTÍNEZ MANZANO, *Constantino Láscaris,* pp. 67-68.

(39) Le filigrane présente une "croix latine entourée d'un ovale, avec une couronne superposée et des lettres dans un cercle sous la croix" ; on le voit parfaitement, mais de façon fragmentaire dans les ff. 73, 82, 113, par exemple. Une variante similaire a été publiée par O. VALLS I SUBIRÀ, *La historia del papel en España,* III, *Siglos XVII-XIX,* Madrid, 1982, p. 78 n° 10 (a. 1713). Le papier des feuillets de garde (ff. II, III') porte le filigrane "oiseau en cercle avec lettres AN", et apparaît dans d'autres feuillets de garde des manuscrits grecs de la Biblioteca Nacional avec la reliure d'Uceda.

1. ff. 2-3v, 144-145v. f. 2r-v : Περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῶν ἀπλάνων ἀστέρων. C'est un fragment de la *Syntaxis mathematica* de Ptolémée (40). Les ff. restants, copiés à l'origine dans l'ordre 144, 3, 145, contiennent six tables astronomiques incomplètes (sans les numéros, les tables des ff. 3v, 144-145v) ; inc. f. 144 : ὁ ἐπ' ἄκρας τῆς οὐρᾶς / ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς οὐρᾶς.

2. ff. 4-57v : Νικομάχου Γερασηνοῦ Ἀριθμητικῆς εἰσαγωγῆς τῶν εἰς δύο τὸ πρῶτον. Nicomaque de Gérase, *Introductio arithmetica* (41). Le titre fut ajouté dans la marge supérieure du f. 4 par Jean Chortasménos (*vid. infra* m. 7). Le copiste des ff. 4-8, ajoutés dans les années 1260-1280, n'a pas écrit le titre de l'œuvre ni les premiers mots (Οἱ παλαιοὶ), ajoutés par une autre main ; la partie ancienne commence (f. 9) à I 10, 10 : ἐν ἰδίῳ στίχῳ τάξῃς.

3. ff. 58-130v : Διοφάντου Ἀλεξανδρέως Ἀριθμητικῶν α'. Diophante, *Arithmetica*, I-VI ; P. Tannery a utilisé ce codex dans son édition. Livre I : ff. 58-73 ; livre II : ff. 73-82 ; livre III : ff. 82-89v ; livre IV : ff. 89v-109 ; livre V : ff. 109-121 ; livre VI : ff. 121v-130v.

4. ff. 130v-135v (136r-v vac.) : Διοφάντου Ἀλεξανδρέως Περὶ πολυγώνων ἀριθμῶν. Diophante, *De polygonis numeris* (42) ; des. incomplet : ὥστε ἄρτιος ἐστιν ὁ κμ'· τετμήσθω δία κατὰ τὸ η' (err. éd. p. 480 : κ'). Suivi d'un ajout incongru du début du XIV^e^ s. : + ἁρματηλάτη φαραὼ ἐβύθισε τερατουργοῦσα ποτὲ μωσαική.

5. ff. 137-142 : Ζωσίμου, Περὶ ἁρμονικῆς ; Ps.-Euclide ou Cléonide, *Introductio harmonica* (43). Le cop. 1 a seulement fait mention de l'auteur au début, Ζωσίμου, mention complétée par Constantin Lascaris par le titre Περὶ ἁρμονικῆς. Au début du f. 141v, interrompant la copie du § 14 et dernier de l'œuvre, séparant le texte après δυνάμεις (p. 207, 9 Janus), un nouveau titre a été inclus, celui de Εἰσαγωγὴ ἁρμονικὴ Εὐκλείδου, après quoi le texte continue encore pendant quelques lignes jusqu'à sa fin absolue au f. 142.

(40) Éd. J. L. HEIBERG, *Claudii Ptolemaei opera quae exstant omnia*, I, 2, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 34-37.

(41) Éd. R. HOCHE, *Nicomachi Geraseni Pythagorei Introductionis arithmeticae libri II*, Leipzig, 1866.

(42) Éd. P. TANNERY, *Diophanti Alexandrini, De polygonis numeris*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 450-480, transcription du *Matritensis*.

(43) Éd. C. JANUS, *Musici scriptores graeci*, Leipzig, 1776, pp. 179-207 ; H. MENGE, *Euclidis opera omnia*, VIII, Leipzig, 1916, pp. 186-222.

Cette insertion est certainement particulière : elle entre en contradiction avec l'attribution à Zosime dans le titre du f. 137 et on a l'impression que dans l'antigraphe de l'œuvre ou dans la transcription même du *Matritensis*, il s'est produit une confusion qui a amené à inclure le titre peu avant que l'œuvre soit terminée, peut-être parce que dans l'antigraphe il était déplacé dans la marge. Cette altération s'observe aussi, d'après l'apparat critique de Janus, dans le *Marc.* VI, 3, copié paraît-il au XII[e] s. et par conséquent postérieur au *Matritensis* ([44]).

6. ff. 142-143v : Εὐκλείδου κατατομὴ κανόνος. Ps.-Euclide, *Sectio canonis* ([45]) ; des. mut. (§ 10, 8) πολλαπλάσιον τὸ ὅλον καὶ τὸ αβ′ ἅρα ; le texte montre d'importantes variantes par rapport à la version éditée.

*Mains marginales*

La tâche que les lecteurs du codex ont réalisée sur les œuvres de Nicomaque et Diophante est vraiment très irrégulière : il est frappant que certains lecteurs de Nicomaque n'ont pas étudié l'œuvre de Diophante et

(44) *Vid.* JANUS, *Musici*, pp. XVI-XXIV. Le *Marc.* VI, 3 (M) a d'autres points de contact avec le *Matritensis* : il présente dans les ff. 1-17 les mêmes œuvres pseudo-euclidiennes et dans le même ordre. Il est peu probable que M soit la copie du *Matritensis*, étant donné que dans celui-ci, c'est le copiste qui déclare que Zosime en est l'auteur alors que le copiste de M a laissé le titre en blanc et une main du XIV[e] s. déclare que l'auteur est Euclide, d'après J. SOLOMON, *Ven. Marc. Gr. 322 and the mss. of the Pseudo-Euclidean Εἰσαγωγὴ ἁρμονική*, dans *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 37 (1986), pp. 137-144, spéc. 138, n. 5 ; Solomon n'a jamais tenu compte du témoignage du codex de Madrid, ni dans les autres travaux qu'il a publiés, ni dans celui-ci. Par ailleurs, au f. 16 de M (avec la *Sectio canonis)* une main *vetustissima*, selon Janus, a ajouté : Ζώσιμος διώρθου ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει εὐτυχῶς, justement le nom qui apparaît dans le titre du *Matritensis* : *vid.* L. ZANONCELLI, *La manualistica musicale greca*, Milan, 1990. p. 73. Sur la tradition manuscrite de l'œuvre, *vid.* J. SOLOMON, *Vaticanus Gr. 2338 and the Εἰσαγωγὴ ἁρμονική*, dans *Philologus*, 127 (1983), pp. 247-253 : dans son *stemma*, M est la copie d'un subarchétype "c" dont dépend à son tour "d", qui est l'antigraphe du *Vat. Gr.* 191 ; comme nous le verrons, l'œuvre de Diophante fait aussi partie de ce codex et son texte appartient à la même famille que le *Matritensis*. Il faudrait réviser la filiation des œuvres pseudo-euclidiennes en fonction du témoignage du *Matritensis*, qui présente des différences notables avec l'édition de Janus.

(45) Éd. JANUS, *Musici*, pp. 148-166 ; H. MENGE, *Euclidis opera omnia*, VIII, Leipzig, 1916, pp. 158-180 ; ZANONCELLI, *La manualistica*, pp. 31-70. Nous insistons sur le fait que le *Matritensis* constitue le témoignage le plus ancien des deux textes pseudo-euclidiens et qu'on devrait tenir compte de son texte.

seul l'un d'entre eux (Jean Chortasménos, m. 7) a entrepris un travail sur les livres sans commentaire ancien (III-VI) de cette dernière. L'insuffisance de certains *marginalia* ne nous permet pas de nous prononcer sur l'ensemble des ajouts du codex, mais une simple analyse des encres et de la grosseur des calames indique que les lecteurs du codex ont été nombreux, comme on peut l'observer dans les annotations minimes des ff. 16v (marg. sup.), 21v, 35r-v, 42, 44, 51 inf., 81 inf.

Nous analyserons chronologiquement les apports substantiels en nous servant, pour la partie de Diophante, de l'étude effectuée par André Allard, fondamentalement correcte (46).

**m. 1** et **m. 2** [= copp. 1 et 2]. Les copistes du texte sont responsables de la transcription de la plus grande partie du commentaire en marge, qui se trouvait sans aucun doute dans l'antigraphe. Comme nous l'avons déjà indiqué, le cop. 1 a ajouté les scolies à Nicomaque dans les ff. 10v-16, 27-29, 42 sup., et à Diophante dans les ff. 58v, 60v-62. Le cop. 2, pour sa part, est responsable des scolies à Nicomaque dans les ff. 16v-22, 24-26v, 29v-33v, 35-38v, 39v-42, 43-49, 50-57v, et à Diophante dans les ff. 59, 62v-64, 65-69v, 70v-73, 86. Ce sont les scolies qu'Allard attribue aux mains A3 ou A4, qu'il date de façon erronée du XIII^e^ s. (47).

**m. 3**. Les *marginalia* suivants, que nous pouvons attribuer en toute certitude à une seule main, sont postérieurs de plus d'un siècle à la copie du codex. En effet, comme on peut l'observer dans les Pl. 1 sup., Pl. 3 sup. l. 3-4, Pl. 4 inf., l'écriture de cet annotateur (que nous pouvons qualifier de "cursive sauvage") est compatible avec les usages des chancelleries constantinopolitaines de la fin du XII^e^ et des premières années du XIII^e^ s. (48) ; il est d'ailleurs possible de les trouver dans des manuscrits litté-

(46) ALLARD, *Les scholies, passim.* Nous rappelons à chaque endroit les divergences avec les différentes mains qui ont écrit les notes.

(47) Dans la partie de Diophante, ce sont les sch. 2 (f. 58v), sch. 4 (f. 59), sch. 9 (f. 60v), sch. 11 (f. 61), sch. 13-14 (f. 61v), sch. 17 (f. 62), sch. 19 (f. 62v), sch. 11 (f. 63), sch. 24 (f. 63v), sch. 25-27 (f. 63v), sch. 29-30 (f. 64), sch. 32 (f. 64), sch. 36, 40 (f. 65), sch. 41-44 (f. 65v), sch. 47, 49 (f. 66), sch. 51 (f. 66v), sch. 53 (f. 67), sch. 55-57 (f. 67v), sch. 58 (f. 68), sch. 60-61, 63-64 (f. 68v), sch. 67 (f. 69), sch. 70-71, 73 (f. 69v), sch. 77-78 (f. 70v), sch. 79-80 (f. 71), sch. 81 (f. 71), sch. 82-83 (f. 71v), sch. 84 (f. 72), sch. 85-86 (f. 72v), sch. 87 (f. 73), sch. 91 (f. 73).

(48) *Vid.* N. G. WILSON, *Scholarly Hands of the Middle Byzantine period,* dans *La Paléographie Grecque et Byzantine,* pp. 221-239, spéc. 234 et Fig. 11 (a. 1202) ; PIERALLI, *Le scritture dei documenti imperiali del XIII secolo,* Tav. 1a (a. 1192).

raires comme l'Aristophane (avec le commentaire de Jean Tzetzès) *Ambros.* C 222 inf., non daté ([49]), mais sans doute antérieur à 1204.

Nous ne pouvons attribuer avec certitude à cet annotateur, qui utilise de l'encre marron clair, aucune scolie à Nicomaque, même si sa main est peut-être présente au f. 30 sup. Dans la partie de Diophante, ses ajouts sont étendus, à commencer par l'indication générale, dans la marge supérieure du f. 58 (Pl. 3) : Οὗτος ὁ Διόφαντος ἐστὶ φιλόσοφος ἀριθμητικὸς π<...>/ ὑπάρχει τοῦτο τὸ ποίημα· ἐκείνη γὰρ <...> ; sa main apparaît de même dans les ff. 63v-64v, 65v lat., 66 sup. (addition de texte), 67 inf., 68v-69 inf., 75-77v, 78v-81v, et coïncide avec la main A5 de Allard ([50]).

**m. 4**. Cet annotateur (Pl. 3 lat.) est pour nous le plus difficile à dater. À cause de la position des commentaires qu'il contient, il devrait être situé entre la m. 3 et la m. 6 (Maxime Planude, † 1305) ([51]), par conséquent tout au long du XIII[e] s. Pourtant, nous avons l'impression que la base de l'écriture est trop calligraphique pour être datée au-delà du début du XIII[e] s., de sorte que nous pouvons considérer la m. 4 comme étant à peu près contemporaine de la m. 3. L'aspect général de l'écriture est assez irrégulier, même si dans le contexte des *marginalia* du codex de Madrid, elle se distingue parfaitement de ses voisines. Dans le f. 75, la m. 4 se sert de plusieurs encres, ce qui indique un travail en plusieurs phases, et il n'est pas rare de trouver des scolies grattées et réécrites de sa main. Elle apparaît dans la partie de Nicomaque pour corriger et expliquer le texte dans les ff. 11 (ext. et inf.), 14v-15, 16, 21v, 35, 40 (brève addition de texte), 44, 44v, 45v, 47v-51, 52r-v, 55r-v. Dans la partie de Diophante (I-

(49) W. WATTENBACH, *Scripturae Graecae Specimina,* Berlin, 1897[3], Tab. XXX ; W.J.W. KOSTER, *Io. Tzetzae commentaria in Aristophanem,* Pars IV, fasc. 3, *Commentarium in Ranas et in Aves, Argumentum Equitum,* Groningen-Amsterdam, 1962, avec deux planches sans numération, dont celle qui est similaire à notre "main sauvage"est celle du f. 93v.

(50) Il a ajouté les sch. 28 (f. 63v inf.), sch. 35 (jusqu'à ἴσοι μονάσιν ζ΄, f. 64v), sch. 45 (f. 65v), sch. 54 (f. 67 inf), sch. 62 (f. 68v), sch. 66 (f. 69), sch. 99 (f. 75), sch. 102-105 (ff. 75v-76), sch. 107-108 (f. 76), sch. 110 (f. 76), sch. 111-112 (f. 76v), sch. 116-117 (f. 77), sch. 118-119 (f. 77v), sch. 123 (f. 78v), sch. 125 (f. 78v), sch. 126-127 (f. 79), sch. 131-132 (f. 79v), sch. 135 (f. 80), sch. 138 (f. 80v), sch. 139 (f. 81), sch. 141 (f. 81), sch. 142-144 (f. 81v).

(51) La scolie du f. 76 inf. est postérieure à celle de la m. 3 ; dans le f. 67 sup., la note de la m. 4 : ὀφείλει τὰ τοῦ προσδιορισμοῦ, a été écrite avant l'addition planudéenne.

II), elle apparaît dans les ff. 58v, 60v-62v, 64-67, 69v-70, 73v-77v, 79 (inf.)-80, 81, 81v (s.l.), 82, coïncidant à peu près avec la main A4 de Allard ([52]).

**m. 5.** Même s'il s'agit de l'addition de deux brefs *schemata* dans la partie de Nicomaque, il s'avère intéressant pour l'histoire du codex de remarquer ici la ressemblance de la main marginale des ff. 6v et 8v (Pl. 7) avec celle de Georges de Chypre ([53]). Ces feuillets, comme nous l'avons vu, proviennent d'une restauration datable vers 1260-1280, les années où Georges Acropolite expliquait (et le Chypriote étudiait) l'arithmétique à l'école impériale.

**m. 6.** Cette main est responsable d'annotations ponctuelles au texte de Diophante (sauf dans le f. 143v, à *Sectio canonis,* § 9) qui ont été éditées par Allard avec l'attribution à la main A2 ([54]). Il s'agit de la main de Maxime Planude (Pl. 2 inf., Pl. 3 sup. l. 3-4, Pl. 4 sup., Pl. 5 lat.), dont les annotations sont caractérisées par leur brièveté, par le soin qu'il a mis à réduire la taille de l'écriture et à utiliser (mais pas toujours) une encre grise qu'il est le seul à utiliser sur le codex. Planude est responsable des scolies suivantes, éditées par Allard : sch. 1 [à I, 1] (f. 58v lat., encre mar-

(52) Certaines scolies attribuées à A4 par Allard sont en réalité de Chortasménos (A7, = notre m. 7) ou du copiste du texte (A3). La m. 4 est, donc, responsable des sch. 3 (f. 58v), sch. 7 (f. 60v), sch. 8 (f. 61), sch. 10 (f. 60v), sch. 12 (f. 61), sch. 15 (f. 62), sch. 20-21 (f. 62v), sch. 31 (f. 64), sch. 33 (f. 64), sch. 35 (depuis Ὁρᾷ ὁ ἀναγινώσκων, f. 64v), sch. 38 (f. 65), sch. 46 (f. 65v), sch. 48 (f. 66), sch. 50 (f.66), sch. 72 (f. 69v), sch. 88 (f. 72v), sch. 89-90 (f. 73), sch. 92 (f. 73v), sch. 93-94 (f. 74), sch. 96-98 (f. 75), sch. 101 (f. 75v), sch. 106 (f. 76), sch. 109 (f. 76), sch. 113 (f. 77), sch. 120-121 (f. 77v), sch. 124 (f. 78v), sch. 128 ? (f. 79), sch. 130 (f. 79v), sch. 133-134 (f. 79v), sch. 136-137 (f. 80), sch. 140 (f. 81), sch. 145 (f. 82).

(53) Exemple de sa main dans *RGK,* II 99 ; PÉREZ MARTÍN, *El patriarca Gregorio de Chipre,* Láms. 1-3.

(54) Il est curieux qu'Allard ait donné le num. 2 à cette main si ponctuelle alors que les scolies des copistes du texte portent le num. 3. Ce fait peut révéler qu'Allard avait attribué ces scolies à Planude dans un premier temps pour rectifier ensuite cette identification en refusant catégoriquement la présence du savant dans le codex de Madrid. *Cf.* WILSON, *Scholars,* "Addenda" de la "revised edition" de 1996, p. 279, où il signale la présence dans le codex de "a few notes in the hand of Planudes". L'existence de cette apostille m'a été signalée après la rédaction de cet article par le Prof. Brigitte Mondrain, que je remercie vivement. Dans la première édition de *Scholars,* p. 233, WILSON se montrait très réservé au sujet de l'identification du Diophante de Planude avec le *Matritensis.*

ron, recadrée et entourée par la m. 7 [Jean Chortasménos]) ; sch. 39 [à I, 18] (f. 65 inf., à l'encre noire ; il efface la première et dernière partie de la scolie, qu'Allard n'édite pas en entier et qu'il qualifie d'essai raté) ; sch. 52 [à I, 21] (f. 67 sup., encre marron) ; sch. 59 [à I, 23] (f. 68v sup., encre marron) ; sch. 76 [à I, 30] (f. 70 lat., encre grise) ; sch. 114-115 [à II, 15] (f. 76v inf., encre grise) ; sch. 122 [à II, 18] (attribuée à A4, f. 78 sup., encre grise) ; sch. 191 (attrib. a A7, f. 79 sup., encre grise ; est reliée par un trait au commentaire de la m. 3) ; sch. 129 [à II, 25] (attribuée a A4, f. 79v sup., encre grise) ; sch. 146 [à III, 20] (f. 89v, encre marron foncé) ; sch. 147 [à III 21] (f. 89v) ([55]).

**m. 7.** Jean Chortasménos (Pl. 1 inf., Pl. 5 inf., Pl. 6 sup.) est le seul annotateur du codex postérieur aux additions planudéennes ([56]). Son travail, très étendu, est caractérisé par l'utilisation d'une encre marron clair. C'est le seul qui semble avoir lu le texte après le livre II (ff. 82-87), sauf f. 86 (brève addition, peut-être du XII[e] s.) et f. 89v, annoté par Planude. Dans la partie de Nicomaque, il se limite à ajouter dans le f. 4 sup. (Pl. 6) le titre et le texte suivant : + Δέδεικται ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ ὅτι ἐὰν τρεῖς ἀριθμοὶ ἀνάλογον ὦσιν ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄκρων γινόμενος ἀριθμός, ἴσος ἐστὶ τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ μέσου γινομένῳ. Τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπὶ ῥητῶν δεῖ μόνον θεωρεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐχόντων μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καί τινα μόρια, οἷον ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ὑποδείγματος :-, ainsi que des diagrammes. À la dernière page de Nicomaque (f. 57v) il y a une scolie à Diophante (I, 5) : Σχόλ(ιον) εἰς τὸ ε′ θεώρημα τῆς Ἀριθμητικῆς Διοφάντου :- Δεῖ φησὶ ἐκ τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν δύο δοθέντων μορίων ἀριθμόν. Dans la partie de Diophante, elle coïncide à peu près avec la main A7 d'Allard ([57]).

(55) Il faut attribuer aussi à la main de Planude les additions suivantes non éditées par Allard : 1) f. 65v l. 9 *ab imo (supra lineam)* à I, 18 ; 2) f. 68v sup. où il complète la scolie ancienne (sch. 60) à I, 23 ; 3) f. 78v lat., à II, 20.

(56) Sa main a été identifiée par Wilson, *Scholars*, "Addenda" de la "revised edition" de 1996, p. 279. La fameuse note du f. 74, mentionnée par Wilson, *Scholars*, p. 233 (+ Ἡ ψυχή σου, Διόφαντε, εἴη μετὰ τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἕνεκα τῆς δυσκολίας τῶν τε ἄλλων σου θεωρημάτων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ παρόντος θεωρήματος), a été ajoutée par un Chortasménos désespéré.

(57) Les scolies de Chortasménos (A7) sont éditées à part par Allard (sch. 148-200), mais il faut rendre aussi à sa main les sch. 95 (f. 74), sch. 100 (f. 75v) attribuées à A5, et refuser l'attribution des sch. 98 (f. 75), sch. 191 (f. 79). Allard n'a pas édité la totalité du commentaire de Chortasménos, dont la main apparaît dans les ff. 58-60, 61r-v, 63v-66v, 67v-68, 69v-70, 73v, 74v, 77v, 78-79, 82r-v, 83v-84v, 86v-87.

*Conclusions*

Le *Matrit.* 4678 constitue le témoignage le plus ancien de l'œuvre de Diophante et des deux opuscules pseudo-euclidiens *Introductio harmonica* et *Sectio canonis.* L'analyse de l'écriture de ses deux copistes révèle que le *Matritensis* a été copié à Constantinople du temps de Michel Psellus, dont on connaît parfaitement l'intérêt pour Diophante ([58]), et dans l'entourage impérial, sans qu'il ait reçu à ce moment-là d'autre commentaire que celui de ses copistes qui semblent reproduire la source ([59]). L'analyse paléographique des mains de ses lecteurs indique que le codex n'a jamais quitté l'entourage impérial ou, pour être plus précis mais aussi plus audacieux, celui de la bibliothèque impériale où il serait resté jusqu'à la fin du XII[e] s. quand il a reçu les scolies des m. 3 et 4 ([60]), et dans les années 1260-1280, quand Georges Acropolite expliquait l'arithmétique à l'école impériale et Georges de Chypre y eut accès. Peu après, Maxime Planude l'a sauvé d'entre les nombreux manuscrits détériorés de la bibliothèque impériale sur les instances de Théodore Mouzalon, peut-

(58) Psellus est l'auteur d'un bref traité sous forme épistolaire sur la terminologie algébrique de Diophante ; *vid.* P. TANNERY, *Les manuscrits de Diophante à L'Escorial,* dans *Nouvelles Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires,* 1 (1891), pp. 383-393, réimpr. dans *Mémoires scientifiques,* Paris, 1912-31, II, pp. 418-432, spéc. 428-432 ; ID., *Psellus sur Diophante,* dans *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik. Historisch-literarische Abtheilung,* 37 (1892), pp. 41-45, reimpr. *Ibidem,* IV, pp. 275-282, et l'édition dans TANNERY, *Diophanti,* II, pp. 37-42. Dans sa *Chronographia,* VII, 38, Psellus lui-même nous parle de ses études mathématiques comme d'une partie de ses recherches sur la philosophie "première" ; *vid.* HEATH, *A History of Greek Mathematics,* II, pp. 545-546 ; B. TATAKIS, *La philosophie byzantine,* Paris, 1959, p. 167 ; K. VOGEL, *Byzantine Science,* dans *Cambridge Medieval History,* IV, 2, Cambridge, 1967, pp. 264-305, spéc. 272.

(59) Que celle-ci soit un codex copié à l'époque de Léon le Mathématicien, comme l'affirmaient TANNERY, *Diophanti,* II, p. XVIII et VOGEL, *Byzantine Science,* p. 270, manque totalement de fondement matériel.

(60) Le XII[e] s. ne fut pas une époque spécialement florissante pour les études mathématiques, mais il faut signaler que Jean Tzetzès jouissait d'une certaine familiarité avec les mathématiciens de l'Antiquité ; il possédait d'ailleurs un manuscrit de leurs œuvres ; *vid.* WILSON, *Scholars,* pp. 190-191, A. JONES éd., *Pappus of Alexandria. Book 7 of the Collection,* New York, 1986, pp. 37-40 ; sur la possibilité qu'il ait eu accès à la bibliothèque impériale, *vid.* WILSON, *Scholars,* p. 196. Le commentaire de l'Aristophane Ambrosien dont nous avons rapproché l'écriture avec notre m. 3 est justement de Tzetzès.

être parce que Mouzalon connaissait l'existance de l'œuvre ou du codex par son maître Georges de Chypre. Au XIV/XV^e^ s., Jean Chortasménos a pu le consulter et l'annoter abondamment, sans que cela nous permette de préciser où se trouvait exactement le codex à ce moment-là, puisque Chortasménos, notaire du Patriarcat, fut un "détective" reconnu des bibliothèques constantinopolitaines ([61]). Finalement, Constantin Lascaris l'a emporté quand il a fui Constantinople, occupée en 1453.

Comme nous l'avons vu, dans la Constantinople paléologue, il y avait au moins un autre exemplaire de Diophante, celui de Manuel Bryennius, qui n'a pas eu de descendance (ou bien celle-ci n'a pas été conservée). En fait, c'est Maxime Planude qui a définitivement mis en circulation l'œuvre de Diophante, et c'est à lui que nous devons nos connaissances sur l'*Arithmetica*. À notre avis, le point de départ de cette diffusion a sans aucun doute été le Diophante conservé à Madrid, qui devient ainsi le paradigme de la récupération de l'héritage classique marquée par le travail des érudits paléologues. La présence des annotations du savant dans le codex et l'absence de contradiction avec le témoignage de son Ép. 67 en sont la preuve. En ce qui concerne la restauration matérielle du codex attestée par la lettre, il ne fait aucun doute que le *Matritensis* a été restauré à l'époque de Planude, même si, comme nous l'avons vu, il en garde actuellement peu de trace : la reliure ("on pourrait dire, pour ce qui est de l'extérieur, que le serpent s'est débarrassé de sa vieille peau") a été remplacée par l'actuelle, qui est celle du Duc d'Uceda ; quant à la réorganisation interne du volume («la maison restaurée et reconstruite après avoir

(61) Signalons que ledit codex de Hambourg avec l'œuvre de Nicomaque copiée par Alexius (*vid.* n. 35) avait reçu des *marginalia* de Chortasménos, comme on peut le voir chez M. MOLIN PRADEL, *Note su alcuni manoscritti greci*, Tav. IIIc (f. 10). Un codex des *Elementa* d'Euclide, le *Mutin. Gr.* 142, a également été annoté par Chortasménos : *vid.* H. HUNGER, *Johannes Chortasmenos (ca. 1370-ca. 1436/37). Briefe, Gedichte und kleine Schriften. Einleitung, Regesten, Prosopographie, Text*, (*Wiener Byzantinische Studien*, 7), Vienne, 1969, p. 52. De plus, le *Vat. Urb. Gr.* 80, un recueil autographe de Chortasménos, présente les *Sphaerica* de Théodose de Tripoli et d'autres textes mathématiques : *vid.* P. CANART-G. PRATO, *Les recueils organisés par Jean Chortasmenos et le problème de ses autographes*, dans H. HUNGER éd., *Studien zum Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel*, I (*Öst. Akad. der Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl. Sitz.*, 383), Vienne, 1981, pp. 132-145. Chortasménos a annoté un deuxième codex de Nicomaque de Gérase, le *Par. Gr.* 2107, d'après l'identification de MONDRAIN, *Traces et mémoire*, pp. 13-15.

été longtemps abîmée») on ne peut l'évaluer dans son état actuel, mais elle ne manque pas de justification si Planude n'a sauvé de la bibliothèque impériale qu'un tas de feuillets en désordre et abîmés.

Il faut donc réviser l'analyse qu'Allard donne de la tradition manuscrite du Diophante à la lumière des données présentées ici. A notre avis, lorsque Planude exprime sa satisfaction quant au résultat de son travail ([62]), il fait référence à celui qui a été réalisé, non sur le codex, mais sur le texte diophantien du *Matrit.* 4678, qu'il a rapidement transcrit pour en faire une nouvelle copie. Si celle-ci était le codex que nous connaissons comme étant l'autographe de l'édition planudéenne de Diophante, l'*Ambros.* & 157 sup., ou s'il y eut une copie intermédiaire, est une circonstance qui a découlé de la capacité du savant à transcrire directement le texte du *Matritensis* avec des corrections et des scolies de nouvelle facture dans l'*Ambrosianus.*

Allard avait insisté, pour argumenter contre la thèse de Tannery, sur le fait que les seuls manuscrits byzantins qui ne dépendaient pas de l'édition planudéenne, le *Vat. Gr.* 191 (V) et le *Vat. Gr.* 304 (T), ne pouvaient pas être des copies du *Matritensis* (A), mais d'un antigraphe commun. Le ms. V présente dans le même ordre que A, à la suite de Diophante, les opuscules pseudo-euclidiens *Introductio harmonica* et *Sectio canonis.* D'après Allard, V ne pourrait pas être copie de A parce qu'il présente un texte plus long : le ms. A se termine *ex abrupto* "sans qu'un incident mécanique, comme une fin de folio puisse justifier cette différence de longueur" ([63]). Mais justement, la *Sectio canonis* est mutilée dans le f. 143v, le dernier feuillet de la partie ancienne du ms. A, et il est parfaitement possible qu'il ait perdu quelques feuillets après avoir été la source de V, dont la copie des textes est à peu près contemporaine de l'addition des feuillets de garde dans le *Matritensis.*

Le deuxième argument est que les scolies de V ou de T peuvent être plus complètes que celles de A, mais la collation que fait Allard de ces témoignages est très limitée, car son objectif est clair, montrer l'indépen-

(62) Ép. 67 : "δέδοται γάρ πως, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν, καὶ συγκεκλήρωταί μοι τουτὶ τὸ ἄτοπον, πάντ' εἰς ὅσον οἷόν τε καλὰ καὶ εὐτόνως γινόμενα βλέπειν, ὅσα τε ἄν αὐτὸς ἐκπονῶ καὶ ἅπερ εἰς ἑτέρους τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀναφέρει δημιουργίαν" : "Il m'arrive alors et par le plus grand des hasards, je ne sais pourquoi, quelque chose d'étrange : tout ce que j'entreprends avec ardeur, poussé par d'autres, est une réussite et répond à mon effort".

(63) ALLARD, *Les scolies*, p. 669 ; ID., *La tradition*, pp. 78, 95.

dance de A, ce qu'il croit réussir lorsqu'il trouve que la scolie à I 5 est plus brève dans A que dans V. Les scolies à Diophante ne contiennent pas les explications ou les ajouts auxquelles nous sommes habitués dans d'autres types d'œuvres, mais ce sont en grande partie des développements numériques de problèmes posés et résolus par Diophante. C'est pourquoi, tout lecteur aguerri au calcul aurait pu, ou plutôt aurait dû, faire lui-même lesdits calculs pour comprendre l'exactitude des solutions ; la présence ou l'absence desdits calculs ne peut justifier une filiation textuelle. La datation du Diophante Matritensis proposée ici et l'identité de ses mains marginales devraient conduire à une révision de la tradition manuscrite du mathématicien alexandrin : les manuscrits perdus entre la Byzance paléologue et nos jours ne sont pas si nombreux ; bien au contraire, ceux qui ont été sauvés par les érudits paléologues l'ont été souvent pour toujours, et le Diophante de Madrid en est la preuve.

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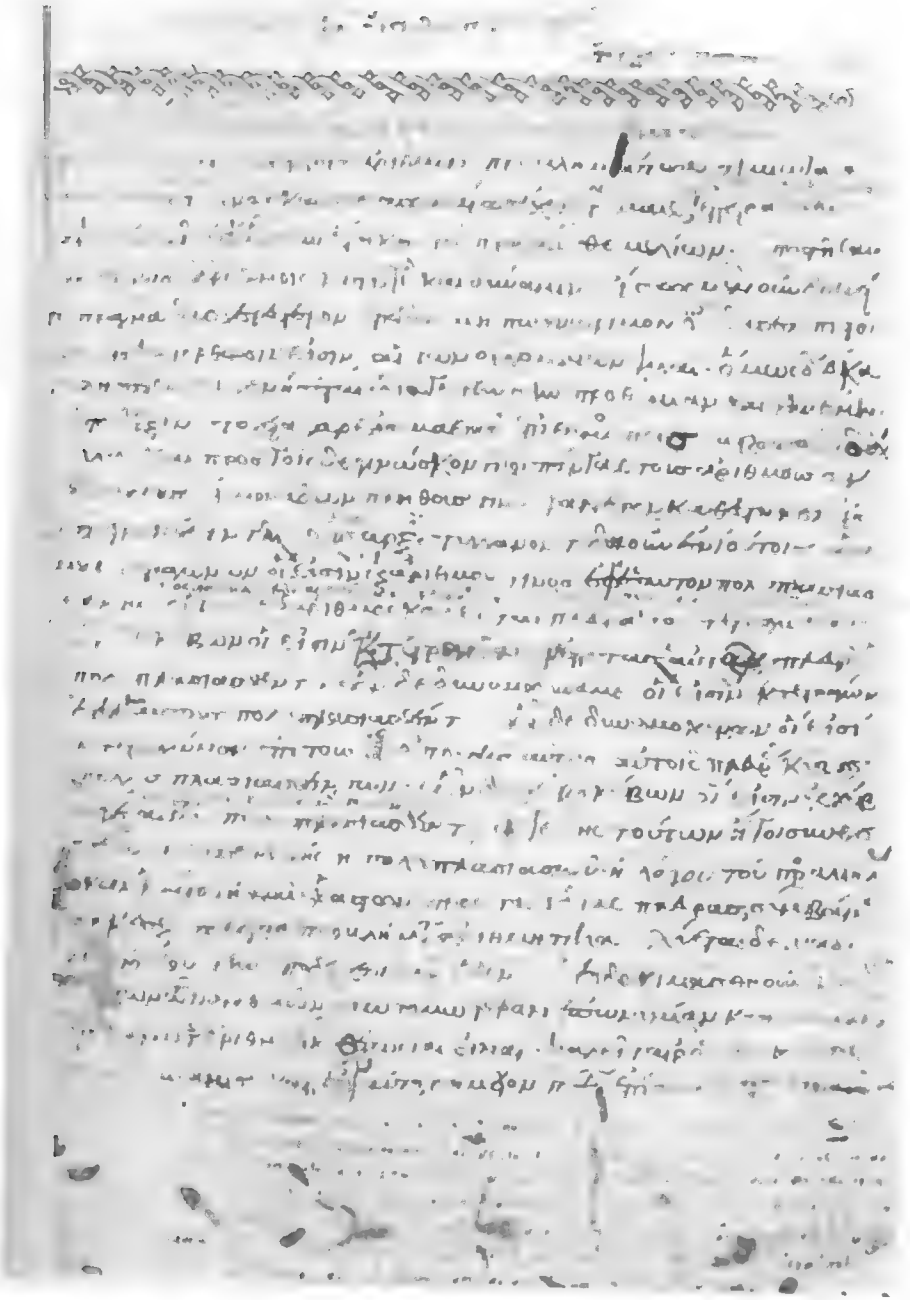
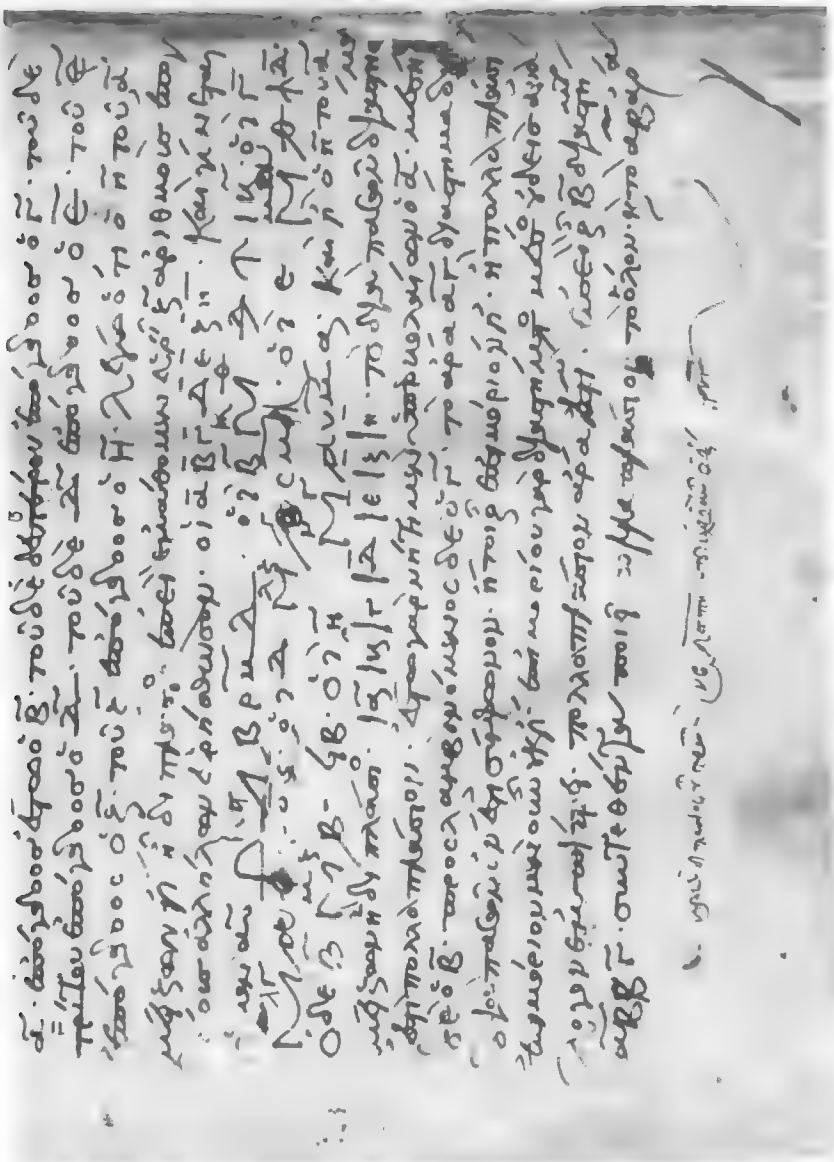
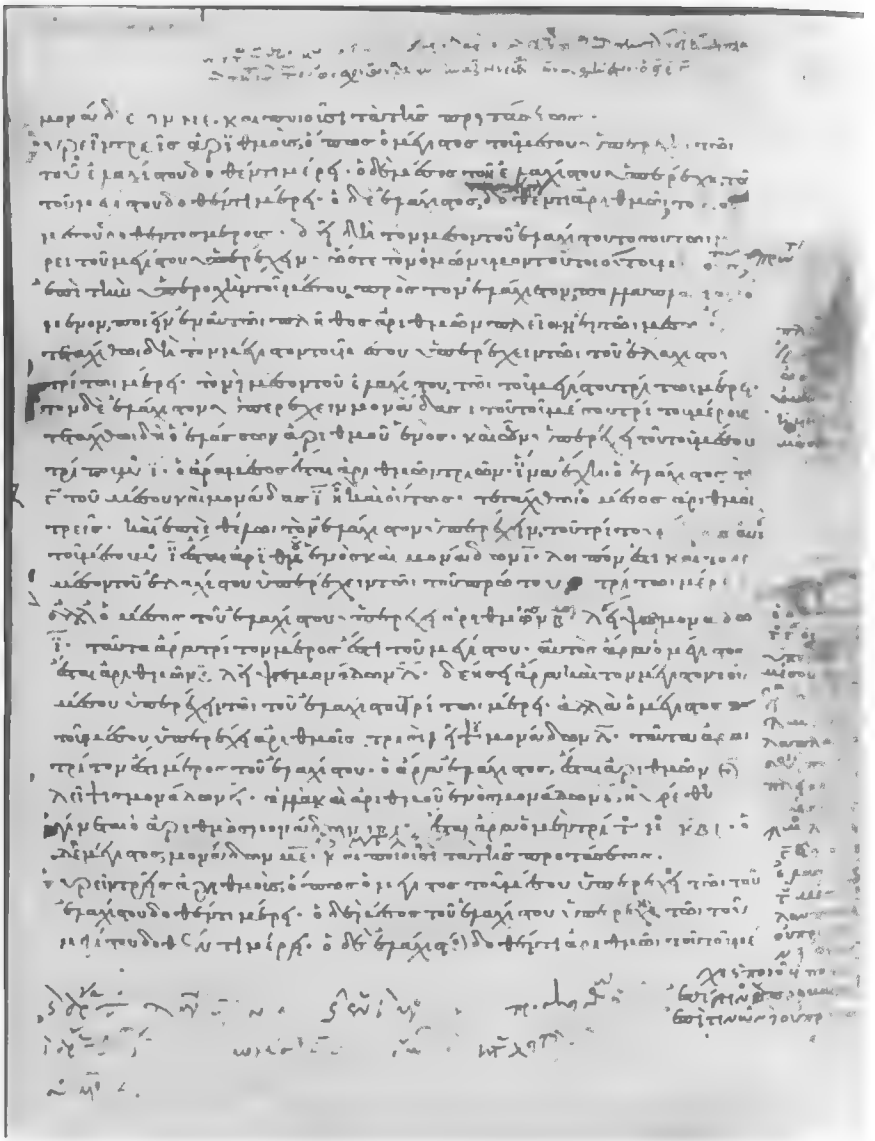
Inmaculada PÉREZ MARTÍN.



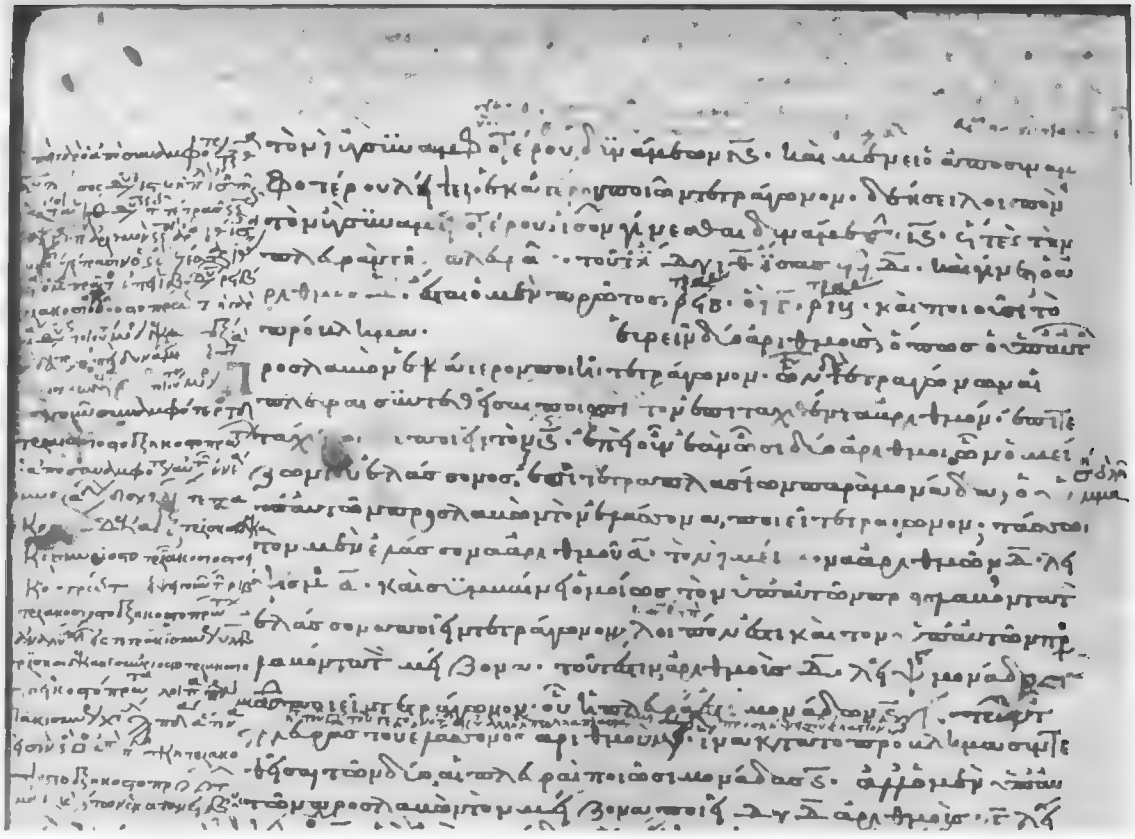
Pl. 1. — *Matrit.* 4678, f. 58.
Texte central : cop. 1 ; marg. sup. : m. 3 ; marg. inf. : Jean Chortasménos (m. 7).



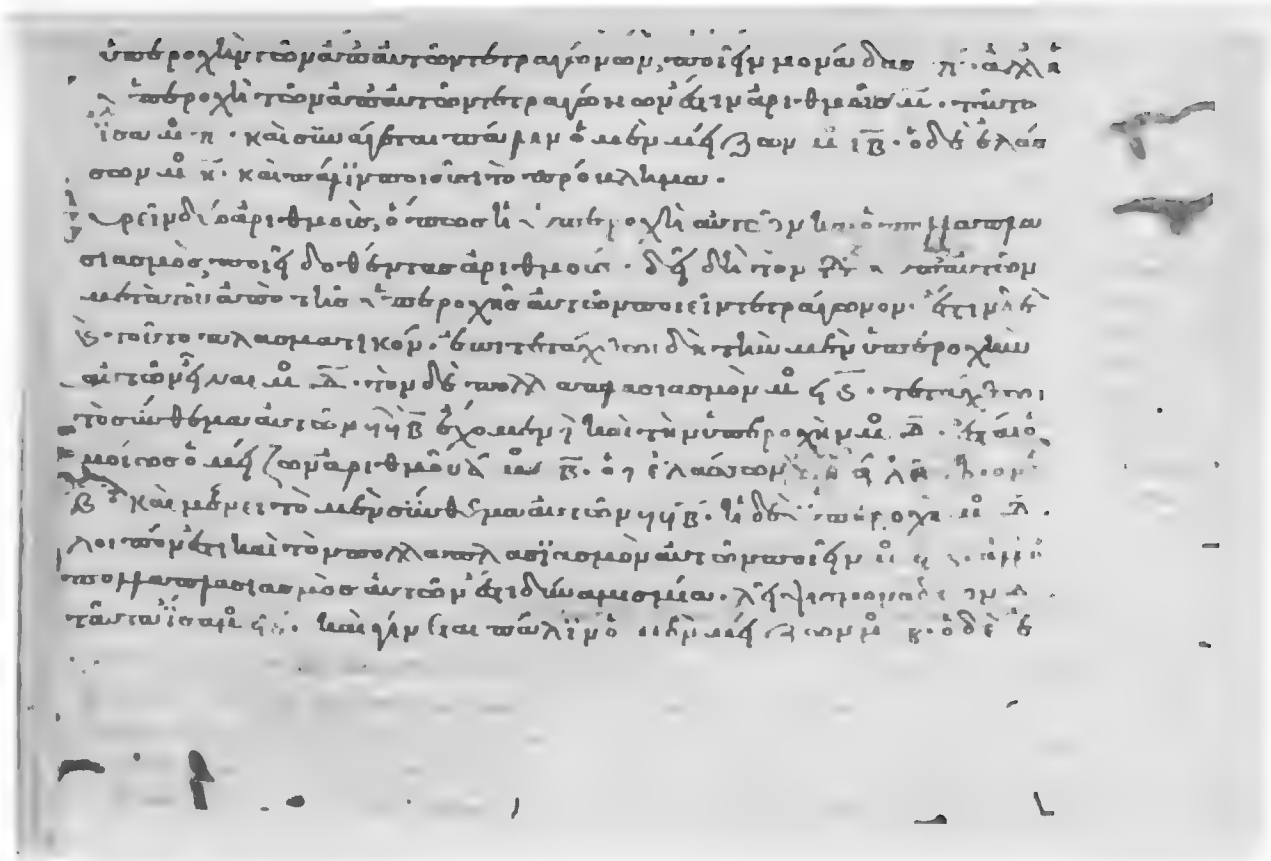
[illegible] Maxime Planude (m. 6)



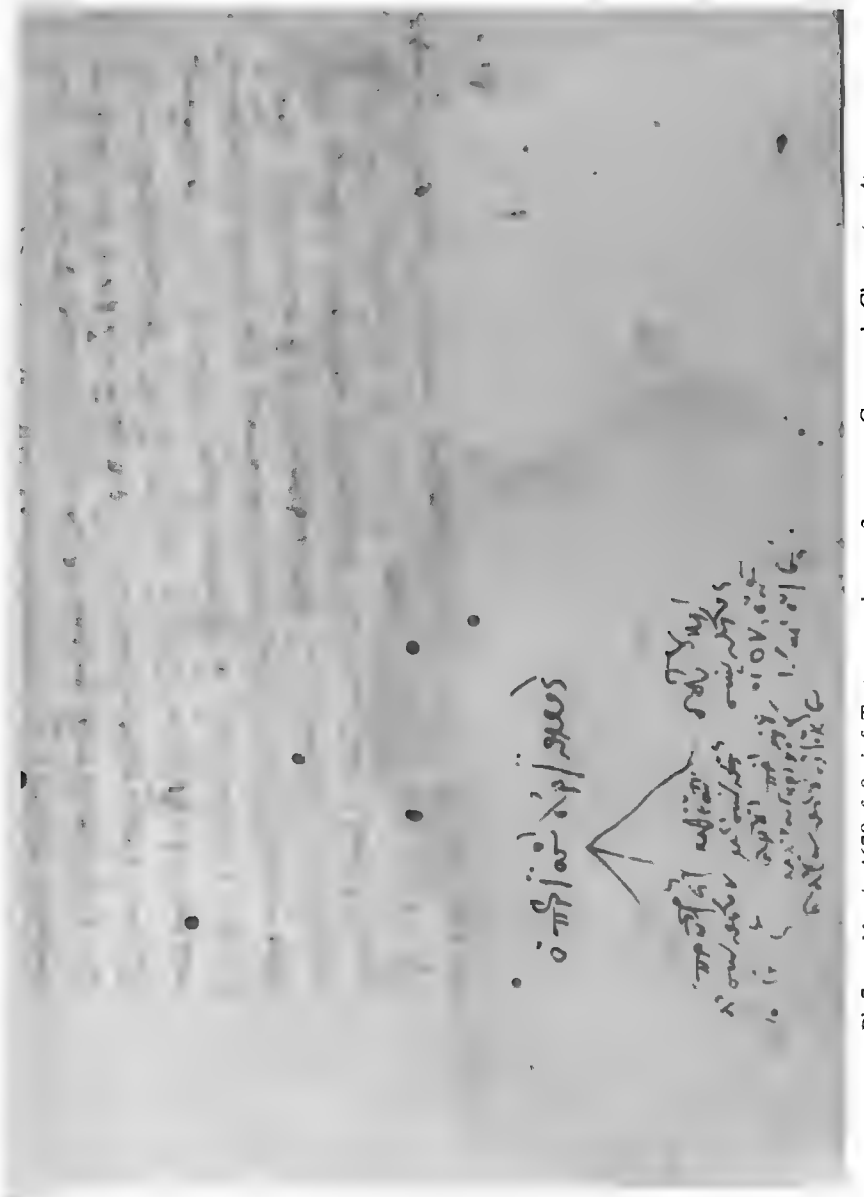
Pl. 4. — *Matrit.* 4678, f. 67.
Texte central : cop. 2 ; marg. sup. : Maxime Planude (m. 6) ; marg. inf. : m. 3



Pl. 3. — *Matrit.* 4678, f. 79v. Texte central : cop. 2 ; marg. sup. : m. 3 (l. 1-3), Maxime Planude (l. 3-4) ; marg. lat. : m. 4.



Pl. 5. — *Matrit.* 4678, f. 70 inf. Texte central : cop. 2 ; marg. lat. : Maxime Planude (m. 6) ; marg. inf. : Jean Chortasménos (m. 7).



Pl. 7. — *Matrit.* 4678, f. 8v inf. Texte central : cop. 3 ; marg. : Georges de Chypre (m. 4).

Pl. 8 : *Matrit.* 4678, f. 2 : Texte central : cop. 4.

# MEMOIRE

## THE GUILD SYSTEM IN BYZANTIUM AND MEDIEVAL WESTERN EUROPE.

### A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES, REGULATORY MECHANISMS AND BEHAVIORAL PATTERNS

### INTRODUCTION

Occupational guilds were an important form of business organization in Byzantium and the West, and both guild systems have been studied extensively. Nevertheless, this has been done in isolation and without noting defining areas of similarities and differences, except for occasional in passing comments and inferences often based on misperceptions. An in depth comparative analysis of the guild system as an institutional arrangement in the two regions has not been undertaken in earnest, and certainly filling in this gap is long overdue. For despite superficial similarities of the guild system between the two regions, there are singular differences in conception, *modus operandi*, extent of territorial penetration, the degree of attained and exercisable market and pricing power, resilience and longevity, and the causes of their demise. Also, their respective organizational structures, market conduct and performance, regulatory mechanisms, and extent of controls employed in each case were far from analogous. Further, though the Byzantine guilds preceded those in the West, views on the functioning of the former have largely been based on the experience with the operation of the latter.

With the help of an appropriately constructed analytical framework, an attempt is made to ascertain the economic milieu, institutional parameters, and political realities within which the guilds operated in each region ; sketch in a systematic and factual way the salient characteristics of the guild system as it was organized and functioned in Byzantium and the western Europe ; identify their similarities and dissimilarities as reflected in their origin, evolution, achievements, shortcomings, and economic impact ; establish and explain convergent or divergent developmental patterns ; and outline the particular circumstances that led to their ultimate wane. In the process of singling out and highlighting informative topics, primary sources and a richly textured body of guild history have been canvassed, critiqued, and distilled in order to draw cogent inferences. Long-standing theories are challenged and new hypotheses are put forward that help define more definitively the operative regulatory framework and the role of the guilds in the respective economies. Although the Byzantine guilds were the first to appear in a statutorily organized form, the western system is analyzed first as it was more pervasive and enduring, and its rules and regulations were far more elaborate, restraining, and consequential. Finally, it is hoped that the juxtaposition of the experience in the two regions and the thematic exposition will provide a better perspective, facilitate comparative scrutiny, and sharpen the contrast between the two systems.

## A. THE GUILD SYSTEM IN WESTERN EUROPE

### Economic Policies of Mediaeval Towns

*Uniformity in Policy Formulation*

The emergence, development, and policies of the guilds in the West are inextricably intertwined with the economic objectives and policies of the towns in which they were organized and operated. In turn, the industrial, trade and consumer policies set by town councils in the vast territorial ambiance of western Europe were molded by the peculiarities and vagaries of the political developments and socio-economic conditions of the time and their evolution over the centuries. Yet, despite their differences in form and asynchronous institution, the similarity of town statutory provisions both on the continent and in England is notable, particularly as it concerns the organization, location, objectives, and policy

directives of the guilds. This tendency toward uniformity, far from implying that policies were identical or static, may be attributed to the similarity of situations and problems all administrations faced in the Middle Ages, and the consequent development of parallel responses and actions by the authorities in addressing the issues on hand. By and large, the town authorities' thinking and decision-making process was driven by the commonality of experiences and available options, as influenced by the rudimentary knowledge of economic fundamentals, parochial outlook and self-centered interests, identical policy instruments at hand, and the propulsive force of the guild system once it was institutionalized.

*Town-Guild Interface*

The economic policy of the towns had a marked *provisionist* character, reflecting their concern to secure consumer goods and raw materials vital for the well-being of the community in sufficient quantities, of satisfactory quality, and at reasonable prices. The policy was prompted by the towns' vulnerability, emanating from harvest variations, unreliable transport systems, inefficient distribution networks, and lack or unsuitable storage facilities. Fragmented and thin markets meant that small changes in demand or supply impacted disproportionately on market prices (1). To prevent unwarranted price increases, town authorities often resorted to *price-fixing*, setting maximum prices. Price controls were imposed on goods that had the greatest impact on the cost of living — daily necessities largely handled by guilds (2). As the demand for these items was in-

(1) For the array of measures taken to ward off shortages, see A. B. HIBBERT, *The Economic Policies of Towns*, in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Cambridge, 1965, (hereafter *CEHE*), 3, pp. 161, 172-179 ; C. M. CIPOLLA, *The Economic Policies of Governments : The Italian and Iberian Peninsulas*, in *CEHE*, 3, pp. 399-404 ; H. PIRENNE, *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe*, New York, 1937, pp. 171-172 ; M. DOBB, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, London, 1963, pp. 89, 96 ; E. F. HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, London, 1934, 1, pp. 128, 267-269 ; E. MILLER, *The Economic Policies of Governments : France and England*, in *CEHE*, 3, pp. 286, 308-313, 328-329 ; S. L. THRUPP, *The Gilds*, in *CEHE*, 3, pp. 240, 259-260 ; G. LUZZATTO, *An Economic History of Italy from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, New York, 1961, pp. 93-94.

(2) HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 177-178 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 260-261 ; R. MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen and Traders : The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe, c. 1250-c.1650*, Totowa, New Jersey, 1987, p. 14 ; S. A. EPSTEIN, *Wage*

elastic, a small contraction in supply (e.g., due to hoarding, irregular supply, market imperfections) had an inordinately large effect on their market price, thereby affecting the purchasing power and welfare of large sections of the population. Nevertheless, price controls had major drawbacks which were not fully appreciated. Price controls cannot be effective unless it is possible to establish with some certainty what is *the* fair price and then fix this reasonable price as a maximum. But such an undertaking is fraught with difficulties, requiring intimate familiarity of the officials with prevailing market conditions, including individual producers' cost structures, as well as constant revision of the set prices to reflect changing market conditions. In setting maximum legal prices, the authorities tended to ignore supply/demand disequilibria and hence *warranted* price increases, exacerbating the situation in times of scarcity as supplies diminished further. In the absence of a well-organized rationing system, price controls were bound to break down, and they often did, since their administration was haphazard, arbitrary, and inefficient, leading to hoarding, shortages, and black markets, while the practice of farming out the inspection and the levy of fines often invited corruption. In inflationary periods, strict application of controls led to delays in adjusting prices to reflect legitimate cost increases, giving rise to producer losses and stealthy transactions. Interestingly, the adopted market regulations show a remarkable similarity both on the continent and in England (3).

The conditions of the medieval supply chain made for perennial suspicion of opportunistic behavior and fraud. Hence, consumer protection from exploitation in the hands of the trader or craftsman, who were likely to charge high prices, give short measure, or sell adulterated goods, were widely felt needs (4). To ensure fairness in commercial transactions,

*Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe*, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1991, pp. 128, 233-234.

(3) G. MICKWITZ, *Die Kartellfunktionen der Zuenfte und ihre Bedeutung bei der Entstehung des Zunftwesens*, Helsinki, 1936, pp. 24-25, 34, 45, 55-56, 58, and the city statutes cited therein ; CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, pp. 404-405 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 90-91 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 260-262 ; HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, p. 225 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 177-178, 204 ; J. U. NEF, *Industry and Government in France and England 1540-1640*, Ithaca, New York, 1957, pp. 17-18, 25, 28, 47-49 ; PIRENNE, *History*, p. 173 ; MILLER, *Economic Policies*, pp. 310, 313-314, 328 ; W. J. G. POUNDS, *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*, London, 1974, pp. 477-478 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, pp. 232-234, 237-241, and the primary sources cited therein.

(4) NEF, *Industry*, p. 12 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 176, 202.

"anti-monopoly " legislation was enacted to curb unseemly practices. Basically, the edicts aimed to prevent *restrictive trade practices*, e.g., concerted action to fix prices or bid up wages. To curb the ever present speculative tendencies resulting in artificial shortages and unwarranted price increases, "forestalling ", "regrating" and "engrossing" were prohibited throughout western Europe (5). Steps were also taken to prevent *hoarding* and suppress the middleman. Nevertheless, the content and enforceability of the laws varied substantially among cities, reflecting the diverse distribution of the exercisable political power among the dominant economic groups. Besides, when city authorities depended on the guilds for revenues, they were likely to be disinclined to make things difficult for them (6). In consequence, their implementation was uneven at best.

Comparison of guild statutes on the continent and in England shows great affinity with respect to organization, objectives, and *modus operandi* (7). Among the guilds' avowed key statutory goals, also countenanced

(5) THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 177 ; L. F. SALZMAN, *English Industries of the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1923, p. 314 ; DOBB, *Studies*, p. 91 ; S. B. CLOUGH and C. W. COLE, *Economic History of Europe*, Boston, 1952, pp. 31, 55.

(6) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 21, 24-26, 61-62, 69, 71-72, 75, 132, and statutes quoted ; CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, pp. 406, 425-426 ; HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 268-269, 280-289, and primary materials quoted ; PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 172-174 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 177 ; R. H. TAWNEY, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, New York, 1955, pp. 37-39 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp.103-104 and n. 1 ; É. MARTIN SAINT-LÉON, *Histoire des corporations de métiers depuis leur origines jusqu'à leur suppression en 1791*, Paris, 1922, p. 153 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, pp. 20, 84 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, p. 149.

(7) R. DE LESPINASSE and F. BONNARDOT, *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris : Le Livre de Métiers d'Étienne Boileau*, Paris, 1879 ; A. GAUDENZI, *Statuti delle società del popolo di Bologna*, Rome, 1896, vol. 2 ; G. MONTICOLO, ed., *I capitolari delle arti veneziane*, Rome, 1896-1914, 3 vols ; M. MULHOLLAND, *Early Gild Records of Toulouse*, New York, 1941 ; H. VON LOESCH, ed. *Die Koelner Zunfturkunden nebst anderen Koelner Gewerbeurkunden bis zum Jahre 1500*, Bonn, 1907, 2 vols ; G. HANSOTTE and R. MASSART, *Règlements et privilèges des XXXIII métiers de la cité de Liège*, Liège, 1950 ; H. T. RILEY, ed., *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis*, London, 1860, 3 vols ; Archivio di Stato di Genova : *Cartolari Notarii genovesi*, Rome, 1956, 1961, vols 22, 41 ; R. PERNOUT, ed. *Les statuts municipaux de Marseille*, Monaco, 1949 ; H. J. SEEGER, *Westfallens Handel und Gewerbe von 9. bis Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1926 ; A. GOURON, *La réglementation des métiers en Languedoc au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1958 ; L. SIMEONI, *Gli antichi statuti delle arti veronesi*, Venice, 1914 ; L. DEMAISON, *Documents sur le drapiers de Reims au Moyen Âge*,

by the local authorities, were : to maintain exclusivity in the conduct of their trade by instituting compulsory membership and limiting competition from outsiders ; prevent intra-guild competition through cooperative agreements among their members ; and enact and enforce coercive measures to ensure member compliance. Guilds therefore had the propensity and hence were unmistakable vehicles for monopolistic practices. They included concerted action to raise or maintain selling prices, formation of import price cartels, collective determination of wages and piece-work, or exclusive rights for the manufacture of particular articles. As has been remarked, "[m]onopoly was the essence of the gild system" (8) ; and further "in all victualing trades monopolistic tendencies were chronic" (9). To be sure, in some instances criticism attributing price hikes to "conspiracies" by industries supplying goods of mass demand was unfair, since upward price trends were due to prevailing demand/supply imbalances — in effect conditions beyond the guilds' control. On the other hand, restrictions of output to raise prices would have had limited effect on luxuries as their demand is quite elastic. But in most craft guilds, absence of close substitutes, import restrictions and hence lack of external competition, effective enforcement of output and price control directives, and acquiescence of the town authorities, conditions that obtained with high frequency, were conducive to establishing a sustainable monopolistic position. At the same time, situations approximating conditions of perfect competition in the face of statutory guild monopolies and the absence of competition are hard to envisage. Fundamentally, therefore, the guilds' power to control prices largely depended on the extent of intra-guild competition, their concern to avoid the community's intervention to suppress perceived monopolistic practices by restricting or taking

*Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres,* 89 (1928), pp. 5-39 ; V. Franchini, *Lo statuto della corporazione dei fabbri del 1244 in Modena*, Modena, 1914.

(8) R. De Roover, *The Concept of the Just Price : Theory and Economic Policy*, in *Journal of Economic History,* 18 (1958), p. 431. Cf. also Mickwitz, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp.156-162 ; Tawney, *Religion*, p. 31 ; E. Coornaert, *Les corporations en France avant 1789*, Paris, 1941, p. 265 ; J. Heers, *L'Occident aux XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles : aspects économiques et sociaux*, Paris, 1973, 225-226 ; A. Black, *Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought from the Twelfth Century to the Present*, London, 1984, p. 9.

(9) S. L. Thrupp, *Medieval Gilds Reconsidered*, in *Journal of Economic History,* 2 (1942), p. 169. See also Mickwitz, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 48-49 ; Hibbert, *Policies of Towns*, p. 202.

away their prerogatives, and on the interest the town authorities took in maintaining competitive conditions, which in turn depended on whether or not guild members made up the ruling group in the town government ([10]). Thus, particularly for necessities, in the face of inelastic demand, unreliable supply, compulsory guild membership, restrictive admission policies, and absence of intra-guild competition, the risk of guilds taking advantage of their legal monopolies was real ([11]).

This suspect behavioral pattern put constant pressure on town authorities to prevent abuses of guild monopolies which, ironically, they had granted and sanctioned in the interest of the townspeople ([12]). To protect consumers against fraud, adulteration, and price gouging, local authorities monitored the guilds' transactions and practices ([13]), when they did not ban guild formation altogether ([14]). In England, the law forbade the

(10) HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 202-203, 198-200, 210-215. *Contra* : THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 246-247, but see n. 17 below.

(11) Cf. C. M. CIPOLLA, *Before the Industrial Revolution. European Society and Economy, 1000-1700*, New York, 1994, p. 79 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 199-202 ; POUNDS, *Medieval Europe*, p. 298 ; TAWNEY, *Religion*, p. 40.

(12) See pp. 486-487 below.

(13) In Cologne, the archbishop retained the right to police the market because the guilds depressed purchase and inflated sales prices. DE ROOVER, *Just Price*, p. 432. In Piacenza, the bishop was responsible for oversight over bread and meat supplies. MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 49. Reproached for acting in concert to overprice their goods, the officicals of the guilds of smiths and victualers in Pistoia swore to maintain free market prices. THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 236. In Florence, in the early fourteenth century the prices of building materials were controlled by the city authorities, while craftsmen from outside were permitted to work in the city without having to become guild members or pay a fee to the guild. A. DOREN, *Das florentiner Zunftwesen vom XIV bis zum XVI Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1908, p.122 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 262.

(14) In important industrial towns of Europe, e.g., Ferrara, Douai, Rouen, Ghent, Dinant, Tournai, Brussels, Rotenburg, Goslar, Zurich, Vienna and the towns of Brabant, guilds were prohibited until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 40, 100, 131-133 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 204-205 ; HEERS, *Occident*, pp. 278-279. In sixteenth-century Venice, chandlers and apothecaries were forbidden to organize, and their trades were closely supervised by the city authorities. MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, pp. 84, 88. Associations among bakers, millers and several other craftsmen were suppressed in twelfth-century Pavia and thirteenth-century Bologna. MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 43-44 ; CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, pp. 426-427. And so was organization among bakers and butchers in thirteenth-century Erfurt, fish merchants in fifteenth-century Guines, taverners and innkeepers in almost every

guilds to set the prices of staples at levels that resulted in excessive profits. Yet, traders in foodstuffs were particularly successful in advancing their interests against the common weal between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, because their guilds wielded political and social power ([15]). Italian cities directed the guilds to refrain from making secret agreements to set low purchase and high selling prices, restricted import cartels, and put up to public auction the right to sell particular staples. Similar measures were taken in France and Germany ([16]). In general, town authorities tried to curb monopolistic practices in necessities, such as foodstuffs, candles, firewood, building materials, by restricting the right of the guilds to enforce compulsory membership or by fostering competition from outside traders, but their actions were not always timely or successful. In mid-seventeenth-century Liège, there were complaints that the town was full of monopolies and yet this odious crime went unpunished ([17]). That the authorities were compelled to intervene

town. THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 250, 260. Although guilds in the building trades existed in large cities, e.g., Florence, Antwerp, Bruges, Paris, Edinburgh, they were often repressed in other towns. THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 262 ; G. P. JONES, *Building in Stone in Medieval Western Europe*, in *CEHE*, 1987, 2, pp. 784-785.

(15) HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 202-203.

(16) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 34-35, 47-49, 59, 69, 88, and statutes quoted therein ; DE ROOVER, *Just Price*, pp. 432-433. Cf. also COORNEART, *Les corporations en France*, pp. 69, 119 ; R. DE ROOVER, *Monopoly Theory Prior to Adam Smith : A Revision*, in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 65 (1951), pp. 502-503, 506, 514-515, 517-518 ; CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, pp. 406-407, 423-428 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 176-177, 202-203, 214, 216 ; HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 228, 258-260 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 90-91 ; PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 180-182 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 250, 253, 260 ; MARTIN SAINT-LÉON, *Histoire des corporations*, p. 153.

(17) DE ROOVER, *Monopoly Theory*, p. 515 n. 2. THRUPP maintains that generally "in foodstuffs other than meat, in textiles, wax and tallow, and in wood, trade conditions were more constantly competitive" : *Gilds*, p. 248 ; and the same is true of guilds specializing in light metal wares : *Gilds*, pp. 254-259. She attributes this outcome to competition from country producers, local petty entrepreneurs and imports, and to the willingness of the local authorities to intervene and restrict the guilds' prerogatives. *Gilds*, pp. 246, 255-256, 259-260. P. BOISSSONNADE, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe – Fifth to Fifteenth Centuries*, London, 1927, pp. 214-215, and POUNDS, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 297-298, hold similar views. Yet, the alleged competitive pressure would largely be inoperative in the face of the very restrictions imposed on the trade activities of these potential competitors by guild and town regulations. For instance, goods such as cheese or bread, when their sale was not outright forbidden as adulterated, were subject

suggests that the guilds could and did take advantage of their prerogative to set prices ([18]). To be sure, the statutes of many towns contained provisions forbidding monopolistic practices ; but often medieval laws remained a dead letter and the gulf between enactment and enforcement

to control by the guilds under the pretext that uninspected goods could be harmful to consumers. MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 53, 80-81, 147. Further, as THRUPP states, *Gilds*, pp. 254, 275, guild officials had authority to inspect goods outsiders brought into town and collect heavy fines if *they* (emphasis added) judged the work was below guild standards. Also, the sale of goods by out-of-town producers deviating from set standards of measure or quality was not allowed in town in order to avoid price competition. In addition, there were severe import restrictions when they were not completely banned (see n. 33 below), while local producers operating outside the guild system were compelled to abide by the guilds' rules (see n. 66 below). Moreover, she concedes that in important sectors guilds wielded considerable, albeit probably not abiding, monopoly power, and that in all trades dealing with articles of food "monopolistic tendencies were chronic" : *Medieval Gilds*, p.169. Further, by her own account, in an array of industries throughout the West, e.g., meat, baking, preserved fish, wine, tanning and leather, metalworking, woodworking, the guilds gained monopoly power, *inter alia :* by forming price cartels in purchasing and selling, restricting admission to mastership, determining the number of workers that could be hired, setting production levels, reserving the manufacture of particular articles for guild members, enforcing strict division of labor among guilds, capitalizing on the absence of close substitutes or scarcity of supply, securing political protection, and by making the most of the strong member solidarity and the absence or lax enforcement of pro-competitive policies. *Gilds*, pp. 248-254, 256-257, 259-262, 267-268 ; eadem, *Medieval Industry 1000-1500*, in *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, ed. C. M. CIPOLLA, London, 1972, 1, pp. 255-256. Clearly, the evidence culled from THRUPP's pieces attests to the existence of a host of monopoly-power-wielding craft guilds. See also citations from her work in ns. 69, 73, 81, 83, 86, and 91 below, as well as other coercive measures in n. 66. The authors cited seem to minimize the effect of the guilds' intent on maintaining their prerogative of exclusivity and their ingrained policy to stifle intra-guild competition through coercive control. Moreover, the question remains whether the authorities could indeed modify their charters timely, consistently, and effectively, given that, by the authors' own admission, in most instances the guilds controlled the town administration. Besides, the town authorities tolerated practices prejudicial to the interests of the community, because the guilds were an important source of revenue or supported communal projects, thereby demonstrating their importance to the well-being of the town. MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 21, 77-79, 90, 96, 135.

(18) J. M. CLARK, *The Social Control of Business*, New York, 1939, p. 23 ; DE ROOVER, *Monopoly Theory*, pp. 502-503.

was rarely bridged, because the guilds could influence town councils and were assigned the task of implementing their own rules. The authorities might display a sudden zeal for the enforcement of a long-forgotten statute only when complaints grew loud ([19]).

To curb the guilds' market power and the attendant price-setting ability, local authorities frequently imposed maximum nominal prices. Nevertheless, the guilds have been able to sustain their monopolistic position over a long period of time. The intriguing question that remains unanswered is : how was it possible for consumers and authorities alike to tolerate a situation that was potentially conducive to abuse ? The ability of the craft guilds to achieve and preserve a considerable degree of monopoly power for many centuries, as well as to ensure the acquiescence of those affected by their policies, may plausibly be attributed to several factors. In the first place, guilds often aimed at preventing prices from falling by setting minimum selling prices or by cutting down production. The "secrets" that guildsmen would be punished for betraying were actually details of agreements about holding a common line on prices and wages ([20]). Such a business ploy ensured at least satisficing profit margins ([21]), could easily conceal the incidence of monopoly power and, hence, was unlikely to stir up controversy and rouse the odium of public criticism. Second, not all monopolies were forbidden but only those that were consumer-unfriendly ([22]). Third, given the community's dependence on guilds for revenues, drastic price controls were imposed only in emergencies to prevent the worst excesses. But when an emergency situation was over and normalcy was restored, price movements all but went unnoticed ([23]). Fourth, in the non-provision trades, such as the textile, metal and leather industries, the tendency was to lay emphasis on quality rather

(19) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 59, 148-149 ; DE ROOVER, *Monopoly Theory*, p. 503.

(20) THRUPP, *Medieval Industry*, p. 267. See also pp. 488, 497-498 below.

(21) Satisficing business behavior implies that enterprises strive for a minimum or merely satisfactory level of profitability rather than a maximum or optimum level, in an effort to adapt to a change in the surrounding circumstances. For details, see H. A. SIMON, *Theories of Decision-Making in Economics and Behavioral Sciences*, in *American Economic Review*, 54 (1959), pp. 253-283.

(22) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 67.

(23) N. S. B. GRAS, *Economic Rationalism in the Late Middle Ages*, in *Speculum*, 8 (1933), p. 309.

than on price ([24]), thereby affording guilds considerable discretion in price setting ([25]). Finally, the guilds managed to *accommodate* their own interests (retain their exclusivity rights) to those of the consumers, merchants, and local authorities (fair prices), thereby mitigating the negative effects of their actions and placating their concerns about potential exploitation of their monopolistic position ([26]). The guilds' disciplinary power over their members coupled with their bargaining strength stemming from their market power enabled them to carry out effectively this tactical move. Eager to retain their prerogatives even in the face of mounting pressure, the guilds relented and resolved to supply goods of standard quality at prices usually set by bargaining with the authorities. However, the agreed upon prices were likely to be above competitive levels, since the town officials were hardly familiar with complex demand/supply conditions or the individual producers' cost structures. In this fashion, the guilds could adapt to the surrounding circumstances, allay the consumers' and authorities' fears of monopoly abuses, and forestall punitive action by potentially aggrieved parties that might result in revoking their exclusivity rights. At the same time, local and state authorities, as custodians of the public interest, were assured of adequately supplied and smoothly functioning markets, consumer protection from misapplication of the guilds' prerogatives, and unimpeded collection of much needed taxes and fees, while the guild organization alleviated the city's costs of supervision by assuming the task of policing their activities and conduct.

*Protectionist Tendencies*

The volume of manufactured goods in the West increased steadily from the tenth century onward ([27]). The increased productive capacity led to intense competition and shrinking profits for the unorganized craftsmen. To maintain satisfactory returns, the emerging craft guilds began to limit

(24) GRAS, *Economic Rationalism*, p. 309 ; BLACK, *Guilds*, p. 15 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, pp. 125-127.

(25) See n. 17 above.

(26) Cf. Bo GUSTAFSSON, *The Rise and Economic Behavior of Medieval Craft Guilds. An Economic Theoretical Interpretation*, in *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, 35 (1987), pp. 19-21.

(27) POUNDS, *Medieval Europe*, p. 280 ; CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, pp. 411-419.

membership to the original members and restrict new entry into their ranks, by erecting obstacles to the recruitment of new masters through citizenship requirements or the charge of steep entrance fees, and by deterring journeymen from working on their own account — actions that were sanctioned by town authorities. Competition for markets intensified during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as the differences in technical and organizational skills between the various regions of western Europe diminished, and cities made conscious efforts to encourage industrial production as a means to improve local economic conditions. The widespread economic adversities forged a common attitude, a deep antagonism toward outsiders, and a defensive approach to economic affairs throughout western Europe ([28]). Manufacturing and trade activities were reserved exclusively for the organized local businessmen ([29]). No yarn was to be exported ; all processes following spinning had to be done within the town ; cloth that had not been produced in the town could not be dyed, finished or sold ; entry of unfinished cloth for finishing or sale into the town was prohibited ; export of undyed or unfinished cloth was not allowed ; no master, worker, or apprentice was allowed to work outside the walls of the town. Bruges, Ghent and Ypres even launched punitive expeditions into the countryside to destroy looms ([30]). The dominance of the producer interests in the towns contributed to the proliferation of craft guilds and the development of policies protective of the local industry. "Monopolistic corporations — the town itself or the constituent guilds — were the instruments of action, monopolistic privileges were

(28) PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 207-210 ; DOBB, *Studies*, p. 155 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 169, 212-216 ; CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, pp. 415-419 ; D. C. NORTH, *Structure and Change in Economic History*, New York, 1981, p. 149 ; BOISSONNADE, *Life and Work*, pp. 201-202, 210-211 ; HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 209-210, 238-239.

(29) PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 206-208 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 142 ; H. VAN WERVEKE, *Industrial Growth in the Middle Ages : The Cloth Industry in Flanders*, in *Economic History Review*, 6 (1954), pp. 239, 244-245 ; MARTIN SAINT-LÉON, *Histoire des corporations*, pp. 57, 98 ; E. LEVASSEUR, *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France avant 1789*, Paris, 1900, 1, pp. 330, 345-347 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 90, 93 ; THRUPP, *Medieval Gilds*, p. 169.

(30) HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 128-129, 209-210 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 143-44 ; H. VAN WERVEKE, *The Economic Policies of Governments : The Low Countries*, in *CEHE*, 3, p. 355 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, p. 224 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, p. 213 ; MILLER, *Economic Policies*, p. 325 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, p. 243.

the ends of actions" ([31]). Indeed, the period in which craft guilds dominated and influenced the economic policies of the towns coincides with the time protectionism reached its peak. All industrial groups were united in their determination to enforce to the utmost the monopoly each enjoyed and suppress all scope for individual initiative and intra-guild competition ([32]). To fend off competition from older production centers, the newly emerging centers adopted protective measures to foster the development of their "infant industries", thereby depriving the former centers of their market outlets. In turn, to meet the new competitive pressures, the old centers too resorted to protective measures as a way out of their difficulties ([33]). In the fourteenth century, "urban industry pushed to the extreme limit that spirit of local exclusiveness that had always been inherent in it" ([34]).

The rise of protectionist policies and the regional redistribution of economic activity ([35]) were further fostered by a momentous organizational

(31) HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, p. 211. See also J. W. THOMPSON, *Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, New York, 1960, p. 399.

(32) PIRENNE, *History*, p. 206.

(33) The measures adopted to protect local industry from outside competition reflected the political clout of the producers' interests and included : import duties and often a total ban on imports of semi-finished and finished goods ; restrictions on the growth of manufacturing outside the town or the emigration of industry from old towns into the countryside ; preservation of the towns' environs as a strictly private source of raw materials and an exclusive market for town-produced goods ; ban on the emigration of skilled workers and the export of manufacturing know-how and secrets ; encouragement of immigration of skilled workers ; stimulation of imports and interdiction of exports of industrial equipment (e.g., spindles, looms) ; favorable treatment of imports of raw materials and intermediate goods, coupled with imposition of heavy duties on, and often prohibition of, their export. At the same time, exports of manufactures were encouraged through reduction of, or exemption from, duties. These measures were universally applied on the continent and in England. CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, pp. 415-419 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 211-213, 215-216 ; HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 209-210, 238-239, and statutes quoted therein ; BOISSONNADE, *Life and Work*, pp. 201-202 ; MILLER, *Economic Policies*, p. 325 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, pp. 18-19.

(34) PIRENNE, *History*, p. 210.

(35) Certain regions attained competitive advantages due to the development of new techniques (fulling mills run by water power), resource endowment (superior quality of wool), or product innovation (lighter, lower quality but less expensive woolens, fustians), resulting in locational shifts of manufacturing centers between towns and between countries. HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 208-

change : the emergence of a new breed of prime movers — the "merchant-industrialists", who differentiated themselves from the merchant class from whom they procured raw materials and the craftsmen whom they employed ([36]). Overcoming the resistance of the merchants, the merchant-industrialists succeeded in forming their own guilds. This favorable climate also led to the proliferation of the craft guilds, which eventually became *the* major form of industrial organization in the West and often

209 ; CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, pp. 413-419 ; PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 206-208, 210 ; IDEM, *Histoire de Belgique*, Brussels, 1908, 2, pp. 410-411, 415, 417-421 ; MILLER, *Economic Policies*, pp. 316, 326-327, 339 ; E. CARUS-WILSON, *The Woollen Industry*, in *CEHE*, 2, pp. 674-675 ; THRUPP, *Medieval Industry*, pp. 256, 259-262 ; POUNDS, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 306-319 ; R. S. DUPLESSIS and M. C. HOWELL, *Reconsidering the Early Modern Urban Economy : The Cases of Leiden and Lille*, in *Past and Present*, 94 (1982), pp. 63-64.

(36) Merchant-industrialists were wholesale merchants dealing in local, inter-regional or international trade who began to arrange putting-out ventures. But many were renegade masters who, responding to the growing commercial opportunities, broke away from their fellow craftsmen, overcame the resistance of the mercantile element, entered trade directly, became putters-out themselves, and established themselves as organizers of integrated productive processes in such industries as textiles, leather and metalworking. Hampered by the defensive machinery of the guilds, their corporate discipline, their restrictions on individual enterprise, and their egalitarian precepts, the merchant-industrialists either evaded guild regulations and the attendant pressure to conform by withdrawing from the corporate towns, or accepted the guild organization, captured its government, and took control over the craft masters, reducing them to wage earners, even when they had men working for them (see n. 75 below). On the other hand, the particular circumstances under which these industries in the main industrial centers of Europe and England were operating (widening and changeable markets, dependence on imports and exports, considerable division of labor) dictated a much more sophisticated organization and required ampler resources, making it very difficult for most craft masters to operate as independents. Also, the coordination of the several phases of the productive process ( procurement, production, marketing ) and the sub-processes in-between called for the ministration of an entrepreneur, and the merchant-industrialist was equipped to perform this task. TAWNEY, *Religion*, pp. 78, 117 ; VAN WERVEKE, *Industrial Growth*, pp. 238, 240 ; DUPLESSIS and HOWELL, *Urban Economy*, p. 49 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 212, 216-220 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 97-109, 132-135, 143-145, 151-153, 155-161 ; CARUS-WILSON, *The Woollen Industry*, pp. 637-641 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 265-266 ; eadem, *Medieval Industry*, p. 245 ; CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, pp. 414-415 ; LUZZATTO, *Economic History*, pp. 114-116 ; E. COORNAERT, *Draperies rurales, draperies urbaines*, in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d' Histoire*, 28 (1950), pp. 67-68, 88 and n. 4 ; NORTH, *Structure and Change*, p. 168.

took control of the political machinery, a process which has been dubbed *Zunftrevolution*. Indeed, safeguarding their interests became an important matter of town policy (37). Further, the decline of population in western Europe during the fourteenth century reversed the relative scarcity of the factors of production and resulted in an increase in the value of labor and an upward pressure on wages. The ensuing decline in demand and prices coupled with rising wages cut deeply into the guilds' profits, giving rise to a new urgency to rally their members in resisting pressing labor demands. Intense competition for dwindling markets and the need to maintain low production costs in otherwise labor-intensive industries reinforced the inherent tendency of the guilds to maintain market power by any means, protect the interests of their existing members, and make less use of competitive market forces (38).

Certain parts of western Europe, however, did not experience the full force of the craft guild revolution. In a number of towns of the north and south France, the Low Countries, Italy and England, the merchant guilds retained or regained their primacy and succeeded in blocking the formation of associations, and if not in breaking up at least in suppressing craft guilds. Town authorities, at the instigation of commercial interests, prevented craft guilds from fixing minimum prices, restricting output, or limiting fresh recruitment to augment their ranks, when they did not determine the number of permitted craft guilds. The concentration of trading rights in the merchant guilds meant that ordinary craftsmen were compelled to deal exclusively through members of these guilds in securing raw materials and in disposing of their wares — in effect to deal on their terms, leading to the subjection of the craft to the trading element (39). In some towns merchant guilds exacted tribute from local craftsmen even though they belonged to some other guild, which is suggestive of their dominant position (40). The upshot is that, regardless of

(37) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 47, 65, 68-69 ; BLACK, *Guilds*, pp. 66-68, 116-117 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, p. 213 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 98-104.

(38) D. C. NORTH and R. P. THOMAS, *The Rise of the Western World*, Cambridge, 1973, pp. 86-88 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, p. 213.

(39) HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 220-223 ; PIRENNE, *Belgian Democracy*, pp. 90-99, 170- 171 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 100-104, 123-134 ; BLACK, *Guilds*, p. 7.

(40) S. KRAMER, *The Amalgamation of the English Mercantile Crafts*, in *English Historical Review*, 23 (1908), p. 31 n.110 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, pp. 90-91.

form and origin of controlling interests, the guilds' rules and standards became the basis of the town subsequent and state regulatory systems, while implementation was directly bound up with the guild organizational structure.

## Scope of Town Intervention and Control

### *Commodity Regulatory Framework*

Town authorities, concerned over the quality and price of daily necessities, laid down elaborate rules to protect the consumer from fraudulent sales practices. The sale of goods outside designated locations and hours was prohibited in order to prevent stealthy deals and black markets. So were sales by night, lest sellers might take advantage of the darkness and cheat over the weight and quality of their wares. The slaughter of animals before dawn was forbidden. Butchers were not to mix meat from different sexes, and they had to display cuts of meat so that customers could shop in public. Dealers in fish were not to use seaweed to freshen stale stock. Cheese had to be exposed on the market stalls and not kept in sacks. Weights and measures had to be regularly checked. In the interest of public health, entry of spoiled grain or high meat into the city was denied ; suppliers of comestibles were obligated to make use of municipal slaughter houses, meat markets, mills and ovens ; and all marketed commodities were inspected and those found to be unfit for consumption were discarded ([41]).

The regulatory legislation on industrial raw materials and intermediate and final goods was largely developed synergetically between guilds and town or state authorities ([42]). Although controls varied in details among countries and towns, they were remarkably similar throughout the western Europe. In fact, many technical provisions were almost identical. The statutory establishment of standards and the infliction of stiff penalties

(41) Epstein, *Labor and Guilds*, pp. 127-128, and the primary sources cited therein ; Martin Saint-Léon, *Histoire des corporations*, p. 153 ; Hibbert, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 172, 178-179 ; Dobb, *Studies*, pp. 91, 93 ; Cipolla, *Policies of Governments*, pp. 421-424 ; Pirenne, *History*, p. 173 ; Nef, *Industry*, pp. 28-29 ; MacKenney, *Tradesmen*, p. 18 ; Gustafsson, *Medieval Craft Guilds*, pp. 14-15.

(42) Nef, *Industry*, pp. 16-17 ; Heckscher, *Mercantilism*, 1, p. 165 ; Thompson, *Later Middle Ages*, p. 399.

for breaking the rules aimed to prevent intra-guild competition, maintain superior workmanship, and facilitate supervision. To advance these ends, most manufactures had to be produced by prescribed industrial techniques and in accordance with precise standards and measurements. The use of certain inputs was prescribed or proscribed, while the use of defective tools and inferior quality materials was prohibited. The statutes ruled on the sourcing and handling of raw materials in the textile industry ; prescribed the production processes and make of machines and tools to be employed and their specifications (e.g., width of looms, size of warping bars) ; specified the types of cloth that may or may not be produced ; detailed the length, width, and weight of the various kinds of cloth, the width of reeds, and the number of threads a warp was to contain ; and defined the methods of dyeing, stretching (tenters were not to be used), and finishing (use of iron-cards or gig mills was not allowed). Use of wool waste (flocks) was forbidden ; wool and cotton were not to be mixed ; and the mixing of different types of wool in the same piece of cloth was prohibited. Elaborate rules prescribed the compound of dyes to be used, dyeing processes, as well as the bleaching technique for linen. Textiles had to be made of specified fibers of particular thickness, and each variety had to be dyed with prescribed dyes. Dyers were distinguished in accordance with the articles to be dyed and the dyes to be used, and were enjoined to belong to different guilds. Teasels might be used on the cloth only when it was damp and shears only when it was dry. Detailed "how-to" rules determined the manner in which the weaving of the borders and the names of the responsible workers were to be made ; the colors of the roses to be attached to the cloth to affirm the genuineness of the dyes and the dyeing technique employed ; the configuration of the disks and seals to be affixed to the cloth by the inspectors ; and the way the various fabrics were to be folded and put up for sale. Similar regulations applied to other industries, such as building materials, metalworking and leather. E.g., roof tiles and bricks had to be of specific shapes and sizes, and the baking and washing had to be done in a prescribed manner. Metalworkers, e.g., cutlers, locksmiths, were forbidden to buy unmarked iron, whereas iron bars had to be made in sizes specified in the ordinance. Pewterers had to use a prescribed amount of lead to ensure against poisoning. Leather and leather goods had to conform to set specifications and be marked ; use of less durable hides, such as horse or donkey, or mixture of sheep hide with goatskin in shoes, was forbidden. Finally, the end products had to be inspected by the chiefs of the guilds

and public officials before being offered for sale, and if sold outside the place of manufacture, they had to be inspected once again by the chief of the guild in the locality where they were sold. Unmarked goods could not be sold (43).

*Restrictions on Alien Merchants' Activities*

Institutional arrangements were in place in trading centers safeguarding the personal safety and property rights of foreigners and ensuring the enforcement of contracts, thereby facilitating impersonal commercial exchange and the expansion of trade. Nevertheless, foreign merchants were subject to various limitations and disabilities in their trading activities, and the methods used were similar on the continent and in England. There were limits on the time they could stay in town — usually forty days, deemed sufficient to enable them to complete their business. They were forbidden to deal with one another, a provision which was relaxed in international entrepots (e.g., London, Bruges, Genoa) ; they were obliged to bring their merchandise inside the town for sale ; they were not

(43) HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 157-166, 170-175, 208, 263-269 and n. 48, 297-298 and n. 74, and the array of statutes quoted ; NEF, *Industry*, pp. 20-21, 24, 28, and the primary sources quoted ; POUNDS, *Medieval Europe*, p. 313 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, pp. 225, 228, 336-337 ; THOMPSON, *Later Middle Ages*, pp. 400-401 ; S. KRAMER, *The English Craft Gilds*, New York, 1927, p. 163 ; M. M. KNIGHT, *Economic History of Europe to the End of Middle Ages*, Boston, 1926, p. 234 ; NORTH and THOMAS, *Western World*, p. 126 ; CARUS-WILSON, *The Woollen Industry*, pp. 641-642, 648 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, pp. 13-14,18 ; MILLER, *Economic Policies*, p. 307 ; GUSTAFSSON, *Medieval Craft Guilds*, pp. 13-24 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, pp. 125-127. In the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, EPSTEIN maintains that "the statutes as a rule did not presume to tell them [the masters] *how* to do their work", and that "uniform standards applied to finished products, not methods of production." This enabled masters to tinker with ways to reduce their costs while achieving commonly accepted results. *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 124-25, 244-48. Certainly, more efficient producers, e.g., due to better organization and management, minor improvements on existing techniques, employment of more productive workers, could reduce costs but only marginally since the occurring specialization and product uniformity exhausted in a large measure potential real and pecuniary economies. All in all, "tinkering" did not amount to *process innovation*, which was the only way to achieve appreciable cost reductions, and whose adoption was a matter requiring the collective decision of the guild membership. See also pp. 506-508 below.

allowed to make purchases outside the town ; and they were enjoined to trade with citizens only, usually a member of a guild or strictly regulated brokers (*Unterkaeufer*), lodge with a citizen of the town, and report all dealings to their hosts. Compulsory special quarters for sojourning foreign merchants, also serving as storage facilities and marketplaces, existed in major trade centers. Formal or informal partnerships with local citizens were denounced or outrightly banned. Frequently, external traders were segregated, being confined into a particular city district, occupying a separate annex of the town market, or trading in markets distinct in time and place from those of the citizens (44).

*Wage Controls*

Town and state authorities on the continent generally supported guild regulations that fixed maximum wage rates, as conducive to stable wages and commodity prices. Wage controls were generally left up to the individual guilds, which vigorously restrained member competition for labor (45). A guildsman was not allowed to own a slave, poach another's workers by promising higher wages, take on a worker before his previous contract had expired, or hire a worker who had left his master. Guilds and town authorities demanded strict obedience of the journeymen (workers) to their masters. Workers taking wages higher than the fixed maximum wage rates were threatened with fines, whippings, or imprisonment. Administered wages did not reflect demand and supply conditions in the labor market and, in addition, they were infrequently adjusted (except in England) to take into account increases in the price of staples, resulting in a decline in real wages and in the workmen's standard of living. In many manufacturing centers on the continent journeymen formed associ-

(44) DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 92-93 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 168-172, 223-227 ; M. M. POSTAN, *The Medieval Economy and Society*, New York, 1984, p. 41 ; PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 175-76 ; idem, *Histoire de Belgique*, 2, pp. 428-430 ; R. DE ROOVER, *Organization of Trade*, in *CEHE*, 1965, 2, pp. 46, 71,112-116 ; MILLER, *Economic Policies*, pp. 330-32 ; A. GREIF, P. MILGROM, B. R. WEINGAST, *Coordination, Commitment, and Enforcement : The Case of the Merchant Guild*, in *Journal of Political Economy*, 102 (1994), pp. 745-762, 771-774.

(45) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 21-22, 24, 47-48, 54, 69, 98, 133, 145, 147, 151, and quotations from the statutes of Verona, Padua, Parma, Piacenza, Brescia, Marseille, Malines, Strasbourg, Basel, Rotenburg ; L. MARTINES, *Power and Imagination : City States in Renaissance Italy*, London, 1980, p. 46 ; NEF, *Industry*, pp.17-18, 31 ; CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, pp. 405, 427-428.

ations (*compagnonnages, gesellenverbaende*) to press for better pay and working conditions. But they faced strong opposition from the masters, who succeeded in passing laws forbidding workers' associations and strikes. Nonetheless, the struggle between guilds and workers and the ensuing social unrest spread throughout western Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As a rule, requests for wage adjustments were resolved through appeals to the town authorities. Wage rates could not be changed unilaterally or jointly by the parties but only by the civic authorities, although sometimes regulations were evaded by mutual agreement between masters and workers, or by offering wage earners bonuses on feast days and holidays. Often, inspectors took part in wage negotiations and enforced wage regulations. Employers usually had the last word because of their influence on the city's government. In many instances, wages were adjusted only following strikes, despite the fact that suspension of work in support of labor demands was forbidden (46).

## The Guild Organizational Setup

### *Origin*

Several much debated theories have been advanced in attempts to establish the origin of the guilds in the West. Medieval guilds have been linked to the Roman *collegia ;* the workshops of the manorial *curtis ;* action by high authorities to further their own ends ; the unlawful *conjurationes* which bound under oath trade groups aiming to fix prices and wages ; "gelding", the voluntary submission of trading interests to mutual taxation ; emulation of the economic success of guild-supporting regions ; the empowerment of uninfluential craftsmen in the face of an uninviting socio-economic environment ; religious fraternities and parish

(46) For details see Mickwitz, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 52-53, 54, 101-102, 133-134, 151 ; Dobb, *Studies*, p. 119 ; H. Hauser, *Ouvriers du temps passé*, Paris, 1927, pp. 100-109, 233, 246-249 ; Nef, *Industry*, pp. 17-18, 21-22, 25, 31-32, 47-49 ; Heckscher, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 228-229, 260-261, 281-282, 310-312 ; Pirenne, *History*, pp. 187, 205 ; Carus-Wilson, *The Woollen Industry*, pp. 642-645, 654-55 ; Thompson, *Later Middle Ages*, pp. 406-408 ; Pounds, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 408-409 ; Thrupp, *Gilds*, pp. 204, 270-271, 275-276 ; eadem, *Medieval Industry*, pp. 265-268 ; Miller, *Economic Policies*, pp. 321-322 ; MacKenney, *Tradesmen*, pp. 82, 84 ; Black, *Guilds*, pp. 9-10 ; Epstein, *Labor and Guilds*, pp. 78-79, 85-86, 112-124, 233-241, 250-256.

guilds ([47]). Though intriguing, these hypotheses have lacunae, strain the evidence, and are unconvincing ([48]). The prevailing view is that, fundamentally, in any period of time and region guild development was the

(47) E. COORNAERT, *Les Ghildes médiévales (V^e-XIV^e siècles)*, in *RH*, 199-200 (1948), pp. 22-55, 208-243 ; PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 61, 178-180 ; P. S. LEICHT, *Corporazioni romane e arti medievali*, Turin, 1937, pp. 13-39 ; R. EBERSTADT, *Der Ursprung des Zunftwesen*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 11-113 ; W. MUELLER, *Zur Frage des Ursprungs der mittelalterlichen Zuenfte*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 1-18 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 16-19, 25-39, 42-44, 59, 63-67, 76, 81, 83-86, 102-108, 110, 116-120, 122-123, 126-130 ; A. DOREN, *Italianische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Jena, 1934, pp. 272-274 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 233-237 ; EADEM, *Medieval Gilds*, pp. 166-167 ; POSTAN, *Medieval Economy*, pp. 133, 244-245 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 190-194 ; Max WEBER, *General Economic History*, New York, 1961, pp. 116-19 ; J. KULISCHER, *Allgemeine Wirtschafts Geschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Munich, 1928, 1, pp. 165, 181-192 ; J. W. THOMPSON, *An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages (300-1300)*, New York, 1928, pp. 475-476, 769-770, 788-793 ; R. S. LOPEZ, *Aux origines du capitalisme Génois*, in *Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*, 9 (1937), pp. 439-442 ; LUZZATTO, *Economic History*, pp. 30-31, 47-48, 60, 82-83 ; POUNDS, *Medieval Europe*, p. 287 ; K. MARX and F. ENGELS, *The German Ideology*, ed. C. J. ARTHUR, New York, 1970, pp. 69-70 ; BLACK, *Guilds*, pp. 3-7 ; C. R. HICKSON and E. A. THOMPSON, *A New Theory of Guilds and European Economic Development*, in *Explorations in Economic History*, 28 (1991), pp. 130, 136-38 ; GUSTAFSSON, *Medieval Craft Guilds*, pp. 3-6, 10-13. Based on alleged similarities, several authors have suggested the possibility of a line of development from Roman to Byzantine to western guilds : MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp.163-165, 232-235 ; B. MENDL, *Les corporations byzantines*, in *Byzantinoslavica*, 22 (1961), p. 318 and n. 32 ; MARTIN SAINT-LÉON, *Histoire des corporations*, pp. 362-363 ; J. LINDSAY, *Byzantium into Europe*, London, 1952, pp. 160-161. However, there is no evidence even hinting that the Byzantine practices had the slightest impact on the western world. Cf. EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, p. 47.

(48) LUZZATTO, *Economic History*, pp. 47-48, 60, 68, 82-83, 93, maintains that although in certain towns of medieval Italy, both Byzantine and Lombard, some kind of guild organization had continued in several trades, the evidence leaves no doubt that the twelfth-century guilds were new institutions. Cf. also THOMPSON, *Middle Ages*, pp. 321, 788 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, pp. 26, 28-30, 33-34. The case for continuity is argued by L. M. HARTMANN, *Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Italiens im fruehen Mittelalter*, Botha, 1904, pp. 16-41 ; A. SOLMI, *Amministrazione finanziaria del Regno italico nell' alto medio evo*, Pavia, 1932, pp. 160-165. On the other hand, F. DOELGER, *Die fruehbyzantinische und byzantinische beeinflusste Stadt*, Spoleto, 1958, pp. 32-36 and n. 133, and WEBER, *General Economic History*, pp.118-119, maintain that in Italy the guilds

product of the dominant local economic, political and social forces following the emergence of towns — themselves the product of these very same forces. On this view, these organizations were the voluntary and spontaneous creations of their members and, certainly, the importance of survivals has been overemphasized ([49]). Surely, the same needs produce in different ages associations which have striking resemblance ; still, associations of an early age have peculiarities which indicate a spontaneous growth and a completely independent origin. The inception of the western guilds cannot be sought in any antecedent age or institution. It is worth stressing, however, that the guild system played a major catalytic role in fashioning the economic organization of the society, in shaping the political will, and in the exercise of local authority, and, by extension, in influencing its own course of development.

Spontaneous and *voluntary association* along occupational lines and the attendant *power* afforded by *organization*, whether motivated by secular, religious, judicial, social, or economic impulses, marked the *inception* of the guild as an institution from the beginning of the twelfth century onward, as formal associations could enhance the possibilities of promoting common interests through joint action. Exchange of views on industrial problems facing the group could lead to policy decisions, improved relations with the local authorities, and negotiation for special privileges. Indicatively, fullers and dyers required ample supplies of clear water. It was therefore essential that agreements be reached among themselves to regulate the use of the streams and to prevent their pollution or interruption. Moreover, it was often equally necessary for common action to be taken in securing from the owners the right to use the streams and in maintaining that right against other claimants ([50]). Thus, the practice of forming guilds became widespread and deeply rooted both on the continent and in England, and before long the guilds became an intimate and vital part of town life. By the end of the thirteenth century, merchant

seem to have existed continuously from late Roman times, while in northern Europe they were new institutions.

(49) KULISCHER, *Wirtschafts Geschichte*, pp.181-192 ; LEVASSEUR, *Histoire des classes ouvrières*, 2, p. 262 ; G. M. MONTI, *Le corporazioni nell'evo antico e nell' alto medio evo*, Bari, 1934, p. 217 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 233 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 236-237 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, p. 27 ; POUNDS, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 287-293 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, pp. 86, 98-101, 133, 259.

(50) CARUS-WILSON, *The Woollen Industry*, p. 627.

guilds dominated the western European scene, gained control of the town government, and used their political power to regulate economic activity, further their own interests, and subordinate the craftsmen (51). Before long, however, craftsmen almost in every industry began to form their own guilds to avoid being squeezed by the merchants. The process was reinforced, as towns were expanding, the number of craftsmen increased, and division of labor delineated new professional boundaries (52). Craft guilds became increasingly influential in the ensuing centuries. Interestingly, under pressure from governments, guilds were still being created as late as the eighteenth century ; they were not abolished until well into the nineteenth century (53).

(51) E. LIPSON, *The Economic History of England*, London, 1937, 1, pp. 379-384 ; Ch. GROSS, *The Gild Merchant*, Oxford, 1890, 1, pp. 20-22, 116-120, 127-129, 213 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp.198-205, 221-222 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 97-109, 154-155, WEBER, *General Economic History*, p. 120 ; CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, p. 427 and n. 2 ; G. UNWIN, *The Gilds and Companies of London*, London, 1925, pp. 47-49, 58 ; BOISSONNADE, *Life and Work*, pp. 208-210 ; PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 198-199 ; THOMPSON, *Middle Ages*, pp. 469-470, 778, 783-785, 792 ; idem, *Later Middle Ages*, pp. 402-414 ; POUNDS, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 287-290 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, pp. 3-4, 32-35 ; H. PLANITZ, *Die deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter*, Graz, 1954, pp. 75-79, 100, 332-333.

(52) The guild organizational structure came to be all-encompassing, comprising the victualing trades ; the numerous textile, metalworking, woodworking, leather, building, pottery, glass-making crafts ; tailors, farriers, barbers in the service sectors. Some craft guilds though continued to include closely related activities. See pp. 502-503 below.

(53) On the motives, formative stages, and evolution of the guilds, as well as the antagonism between merchant and craft guilds due to their diametrically opposite interests, see F. L. MANNUCCI, *Delle società genovesi d'arti e mestieri durante il secolo XIII*, in *Giornale storico e letterario della Ligura*, 6 (1905), pp. 241-305 ; PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 93-95, 177-182, 198-206 ; idem, *Medieval Cities*, New York, 1956, pp. 85, 133-135 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 33, 38, 42, 51, 100, 156-162 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 230- 231, 252 ; eadem, *Medieval Gilds*, pp. 164-167 ; VAN WERVEKE, *Industrial Growth*, pp. 241-244 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 210-211 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 81-82, 84-85, 97-109, 130-132, 151-161 ; THOMPSON, *Middle Ages*, pp. 467, 488-489, 501, 574 ; BOISSONNADE, *Life and Work*, pp. 206-212, 216-220 ; KNIGHT, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 215-222 ; CARUS-WILSON, *The Woollen Industry*, pp. 627-628, 648-649, 653, 659-660 ; M. BLOCH, *Feudal Society*, Chicago, 1961, 2, pp. 355, 416-417, 419-420 ; LUZZATTO, *Economic History*, pp. 82-85 ; POUNDS, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 287-293, 296-297 ; LOPEZ, *Origines*, pp. 439-445 ; BLACK, *Guilds*, pp. 55-56, 58. There were also cases where the guilds were opposed or their

The inner drive to establish exclusivity in the practice of their trade led the guilds to seek the formal recognition and sanction of the local authorities, including the legal right to enforce their statutes, in effect enabling them to exercise undue influence on the competitive process. The local and subsequently the state authorities, on the other hand, were quite well-disposed to grant the request and often encouraged the formation of guilds, conferring occupational monopoly rights in order to collect taxes, license fees and rentals ([54]), establish oversight over industry, secure the provision of services ([55]), and maintain law and order. But the systematic use of the guild system for fiscal purposes and the grant of prerogatives enabled the guilds to solidify their position. The legal status conferred upon them, the sanction of their rules and regulations, and especially their right to restrict entry which made membership compulsory and legitimized the closed shop (*Zunftzwang*) ([56]), effectively transformed the guilds from *voluntary* into *obligatory* associations, and affirmed their exclusive, protectionist, and monopolistic drive. By the middle of the twelfth century, urban craftsmen had formed professional bodies recognized by the local authorities in a great number of towns on the continent and in England. They grew more rapidly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the wake of the population decline, trade slumps, and fiscal crises, becoming the dominant local economic and political force ([57]).

number frozen for political reasons. THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 237 ; CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, p. 428.

(54) For special charges levied and exclusive rights granted in return for payment, see MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 19-21, 77, 96, 134-135, 138-140 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 232, 242 ; HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 145, 226-232, 253-256 ; HAUSER, *Ouvriers*, pp. 254-256, 259 ; NEF, *Industry*, pp. 13-15, 18, 24-25 ; NORTH and THOMAS, *Western World*, p. 126 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, p. 228. Certain municipalities had built industrial facilities which they rented out to guild members, e.g., drying frames and dyeworks, slaughter houses, grain, oil, saw, and fulling mills. DUPLESSIS and HOWELL, *Urban Economy*, pp. 55-56 and n.22 ; THOMPSON, *Later Middle Ages*, p. 401.

(55) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 28-30, 42, 57, 61, 68-69, 91-92 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 241 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, p. 24.

(56) Not only was it necessary to belong to a guild in order to practice a craft, but membership was typically necessary to obtain citizenship itself. HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, p. 210.

(57) PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 179-183 ; idem, *A History of Europe*, New York, 1958, 2, pp. 98-99 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 76-77, 79 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 230, 232, 238, 245 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, pp. 28-30, 228-

When the town authorities bestowed upon a body of merchants or craftsmen the right to form a guild, they sanctioned an *occupational monopoly*, i.e. the guildsmen's right to practice their trade in the town shielded from the competition of unorganized practitioners. The grant of a charter empowered the guilds to prohibit outsiders from participating in that trade or, more rarely, to force them to pay a fee to them if they wanted to practice their trade locally, putting them in a disadvantageous competitive position. However, the sanction of an occupational monopoly certainly did not imply that the guilds were afforded the right to establish a *market monopoly* by restricting intra-guild competition once they secured the market to themselves. A sharp distinction must be drawn between the intended notion of *occupational monopoly* and the unintended outcome of *market monopoly*, the inadvertent consequence of the right to practice a craft exclusively — a fundamental distinction that has escaped notice. Exploitation of the prerogative of exclusivity by the guilds led to monopolization of the market to the benefit of their members and to the detriment of the economic interests of the community. This, in turn, led town authorities to take steps to curb their monopolistic proclivities or even revoke their right to exclusivity, when they did not ban them altogether. However, as already mentioned, such attempts were seldom successful as in most instances the guilds gained autonomy, came to control the town administrative apparatus, and their officials were entrusted with the enforcement of rules and regulations devised by the guilds themselves.

*Autonomy*

The tutelage of the municipal authorities implied that the craft guilds had to relinquish the right of self-government, and indeed in a number of towns in western Europe the guilds never rid themselves of the control of the local authorities ([58]). But in the Low Countries, the north of France,

229 ; WEBER, *General Economic History*, pp. 114, 119 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, p. 210 ; HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 179, 224 ; NORTH, *Structure and Change*, pp. 141, 149 ; NORTH and THOMAS, *Western World*, p. 57 ; MILLER, *Economic Policies*, pp. 307-308 ; BLACK, *Guilds*, p. 18 ; PLANITZ, *Deutsche Stadt*, pp. 329-330.

(58) In Nuremberg, the guilds never ceased to be under the control of the *Rath* (Municipal Council). PIRENNE, *History*, p. 182 ; DUPLESSIS and HOWELL, *Urban Economy*, pp. 57, 66-67 ; C. R. FRIEDRICHS, *Capitalism, Mobility and*

on the banks of the Rhine, and in Italy, from the first half of the thirteenth century the craft guilds demanded the right of self-government : basically the right to choose their own chiefs, make their own rules and regulations, and participate in the government of the town along with the rich merchants who controlled it. Their attempts met with great resistance from the mercantile interests, and in certain towns craft guilds were firmly controlled and even prohibited. However, in the course of the fourteenth century, in northern France and Flanders, as the craft guilds grew in strength, their demands were grudgingly recognized, they became almost self-governing entities, and gained considerable political power. In some towns, e.g., Liège, craft guilds came to control the municipal government for nearly three centuries ([59]). The struggle between these two groups has had no exact parallel in England, as only a few craft guilds attained dominant influence in the boroughs. In the meantime, in the Italian cities, Flemish towns, and England, the merchant-industrialists had organized themselves into autonomous guilds. In Germany, the growing power of the princes, who regarded the industrial-commercial city as a symbol of their power, supported municipal policies and the principle of guild exclusivity. The grip of the craft guilds tightened as certain articles could be legally produced only by guilds ; the *numerus clausus* for masters was applied forcefully ; the rules concerning the number of journeymen a master craftsman could employ were strictly enforced ; and regional alliances among town guilds were built to keep down labor costs and enforce seasonal restrictions in output to prevent market gluts. By the fifteenth century, the guilds had infiltrated to varying degrees the urban administration throughout the continent ([60]).

*Class Formation in the Early Modern German Town*, in *Past and Present*, 69 (1975), pp. 28-29, 35-36. The Venetian guilds also were under firm state control and never had the chance to share political power. THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 237 ; LUZZATTO, *Economic History*, p. 147. But even when craft guilds were subject to the direct supervision of city councils, they still maintained a large measure of control over procurement, employment, production, distribution, and pricing. FRIEDRICHS, *Class Formation*, pp. 29, 31, 35-36 ; COORNAERT, *Draperies rurales*, pp. 84-86 ; DUPLESSIS and HOWELL, *Urban Economy*, pp. 51, 57, 67-71.

(59) CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, p. 29.

(60) M. POSTAN, *The Trade of Medieval Europe : The North*, in *CEHE*, 2, pp. 271-272, 279-280 ; HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 132-134 ; WEBER, *General Economic History*, pp. 114, 119, 121 ; CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, p. 414 ; IDEM, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, p. 79 ; PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 182-183, 201 ; IDEM, *History of Europe*, 2, pp. 101-106, 239-240, 246-247 ;

*Internal Organization*

The guilds developed in diverse regional, political, and economic settings. But despite regional differences among guilds concerning the degree of their internal autonomy and political influence, their organizational setup was similar throughout western Europe. Since the early Middle Ages, guilds had been granted certain privileges and their by-laws were ratified by the town authorities. They attained legal standing by virtue of the fact that the local authorities sanctioned their statute and were granted a monopoly right to practice a craft. They were allowed to draw up regulations concerning their crafts' technical standards, *modus operandi*, and business practices, and see to it that they were observed through overseers appointed by the guilds. They had the right to assemble, own property, and often they had judicial powers. Members had to take an oath that they will uphold and abide by the guilds' statutes and that they will inform of any irregularities. They were hierarchically organized on the basis of an apprenticeship system featuring three professional grades, with precise regulations governing apprenticeship and promotion from one grade to the next, and carefully worked out conditions under which the rank of the master could be attained. Conditions for admission of new members varied, but usually included citizenship, character, financial means, entrance fee, production of a masterpiece (*chef d'œuvre*), when nepotism and the *numerus clausus* were not applied. The guilds' chiefs were elected by and from their members and approved by the authorities, but in certain Italian cities, France and Germany, they were formally appointed by the local authorities or the state. Guild officers implemented the rules and regulations of the guild ; enforced prescribed methods of production, product standards, and marketing ; served as arbiters in disputes among members ; and meted out penalties on transgressors ([61]).

THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 242, 245 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 151-161 ; KNIGHT, *Economic History of Europe*, p. 121 ; THOMPSON, *Later Middle Ages*, pp. 399, 402-404, 406-408 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, pp. 29, 339 ; H. HAUSER, *Les débuts du capitalisme*, Paris, 1927, pp. 97-99.

(61) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 19, 33, 36, 53-54, 73-75, 78-80, 86, 93, 109, 119, 121-124, 146-147, with extensive quotations from statutes ; BOISSONNADE, *Life and Work*, pp. 212-214 ; WEBER, *General Economic History*, p. 119 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 232, 237-243, 277 ; PIRENNE, *History of Europe*, 2, pp. 99-100 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, pp. 34-37 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, pp. 25-26 ; BLACK, *Guilds*, pp. 23-24 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*,

The merchant and craft guilds were corporate entities composed of traders and craftsmen who retained their independence and their own trading capital. While the guilds regulated the commercial activities of their members, as a rule they were not trading concerns themselves. However, in the Italian cities, guilds involved in the manufacture of woolens constructed dye- works, tenter-yards, fulling mills, and washing places which they let out to members ; operated central dyestuff stores ; and undertook to import dyestuffs when supplies were not forthcoming. Collective ownership of productive facilities by guilds was not uncommon in other continental centers of cloth and leather manufacturing as well. In Siena, the tanners' guild owned collectively vats the use of which was leased to members and outsiders, but the charge to the latter was many times higher. In Liege, the tanners' guild owned mills for the mechanical crushing of bark, while in Paris the weavers' guild owned collectively dye-works ([62]).

*Location of Guild Activities*

The increase in the size of towns, market area, and volume of trade allowed greater specialization as the Middle Ages wore on, making it possible for each of the basic craft specialties to be subdivided into a number of more narrowly defined sub-specialties. Nevertheless, not all crafts and trades even in towns of some size were organized into guilds. Guilds were nonexistent in small towns of a thousand or so inhabitants that made up the vast majority of medieval urban centers, as they could support only a few craftsmen in each line of work. More favorable for their development were towns of middle size, five to ten thousand inhab-

pp. 135-40, and statutes quoted therein. Throughout the West, a *de facto* inter-guild hierarchy developed based on public perceptions : masters' earnings, number of members, value of raw materials, craftsmanship, or social status of the patronage. As a result, some trades were viewed as noble while others as vulgar. On this differentiation, see DOBB, *Studies*, pp.18, 99-105 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, pp. 103, 112, 131, 140-145 ; BLACK, *Guilds*, pp. 7-8.

(62) HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 336-337 and n. 15, 381, 383 ; CARUS-WILSON, *The Woollen Industry*, pp. 655-656, 674 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 252, 270, 277 ; WEBER, *General Economic History*, p. 100 ; KNIGHT, *Economic History of Europe*, p. 123.

(63) THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 230-231, 244, 256-259 ; NORTH and THOMAS, *Western World*, pp. 57-58 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, pp. 25-27 ; HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 142-146, 167, 233-235 and n. 19, 243 ; HAUSER, *Capita-*

itants, and naturally larger cities with populations well in excess of ten thousand, which relied primarily on industry and trade, offered greater scope for specialization, and presented skilled craftsmen and adept traders with ampler opportunities to organize. To some extent, guild formation was a response to the play of urban politics. In France, guilds were more widespread, particularly after the promulgation of the edicts of 1581 and 1597 which compelled unwilling craftsmen to join guilds. In 1313, in Paris about 80 % of the crafts were organized ; by 1673, their number had increased to 90 %. Though compulsory guild membership was quite common on the continent, it was not universal in England. In 1689, only 25 % of the towns in England had any organized guild ; but it was legally required in the most important industries, such as textiles, metalworking, woodworking, and leather. The average number of guilds in most German towns ranged from 12 to 15. Organized and unorganized crafts and trades, largely in non-competing activities, co-existed on the continent and in England. However, in some towns competing activities were controlled by the guild, and craftsmen were obliged to work for members of the guild or pay a fee to the guild ([63]). On the whole, the guild system was not territorially widespread in the West ; but it did encompass the bulk of industrial production and commercial traffic.

## The Guild System in Action

### *Objectives and Policy Directives*

Ensuring producer independence, a "reasonable" standard of living, and rough economic equality for their members were cardinal socio-economic principles governing the western *craft* guilds ([64]). These central

*lisme*, pp. 84, 88-89, 103, 110, 113 ; Idem, *Travailleurs et marchands dans l'ancienne France*, Paris, 1920, pp.179-183 ; Carus-Wilson, *The Woollen Industry*, pp. 645-646 ; Thompson, *Later Middle Ages*, p. 398 ; Pounds, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 292-296 ; Boissonnade, *Life and Work*, p. 211 ; MacKenney, *Tradesmen*, p. 10.

(64) Gras, *Economic Rationalism*, p. 306 ; Idem, *Business and Capitalism*, New York, 1939, pp. 122-123 ; G. Clune, *The Medieval Gild System*, Dublin, 1943, pp. 55-56 ; Thompson, *Later Middle Ages*, p. 400 ; Tawney, *Religion*, pp. 27-28, 43 ; De Roover, *Just Price*, p. 432 ; M. Walker, *German Home Towns : Community, State and General Estate, 1648-1871*, Ithaca, New York, 1971, p. 134 ; Black, *Guilds*, p. 16 ; Gustafsson, *Medieval Craft Guilds*, pp. 6-10. Other functions included the provision of various forms of social services to

objectives would be achieved by ensuring *equality of opportunity and economic results* for all members, and effected through strict functional division of labor among crafts ; exclusive right to practice the craft the guild was involved in (65) ; compulsory membership of everyone who practiced a craft in a given location (66) ; establishment of the rule of "one man, one craft" ; protection of the craftsman from external competition as well as the competition of his fellow members ; curbing the development of industry in the countryside (67) ; adherence to traditional ways of doing business ; and corporate cooperation, solidarity, and discipline. Craftsmen were considered as social equals and, hence, competition was ruled out as unfair and even as socially subversive, because it would lead to economic disparities among the membership. No one was to advance and thereby disadvantage the others by producing more efficiently and hence more cheaply. Deviation from set product or process standards were viewed as threats to group survival. The desire for rough equality of

their members : THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 232, 238-239 ; BOISSONNADE, *Life and Work*, p. 224 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, pp. 28, 33 ; the maintenance of orderly relations among buyers and sellers : THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 231-232 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, pp. 28, 32-33 ; and protection of the members' property rights : NORTH, *Structure and Change*, p. 133.

(65) The delimitation of each craft's sphere of activity in order to maintain exclusivity and assure of a secure existence to producers at times gave rise to endless litigation among guilds, because of the difficulty in determining exact boundaries. BOISSONNADE, *Life and Work*, p. 215 ; KNIGHT, *Economic History of Europe*, p. 235.

(66) No one could work in his dwelling or on his own account ; he had to work for a master. WEBER, *General Economic History*, p. 120. In Bologna, the guilds used every means at their disposal to induce competitors to join their ranks : by forbidding their members to have business relations or associate with nonmembers ; by obliging their members to ensure that their apprentices, sons, and younger brothers joined the guild ; by waiving entrance fees, and by exercising moral suasion. In 1288, a provision was added to the municipal statutes, to the effect that craftsmen and traders who did not belong to any guild were to observe the rulings and directives of the guild authorities in all matters. In Padua and Genoa, strong pressure was also applied to bring all nonmember traders into guilds, while in Venice and Pisa traders unwilling to join guilds were threatened with boycott. MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 24-26, 32, 42-43, 46, 58, 62, 71, 72, 74, 87-88, 141-142 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, pp. 69, 84-85. Such intrusive practices enhanced the guilds' ability to thwart competition and monopolize the local market.

(67) See p. 474 and n. 30 above.

results was rooted in a feeling of brotherhood, fear of impoverishment and dependency, the belief that equal shares would guarantee work for all, and concern that more entrenched guild members could force others to economic subjection ([68]). To be sure, the system held back some people and allowed mediocre producers to survive ; but that was a small price to pay for more orderly and predictable markets and a greater sense of security ([69]).

(68) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 21, 24, 26, 140-141 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, pp. 213-214 ; HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 112-113, 129-130, 136, 273-275 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, pp. 28, 31, 55 ; PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 183-184 ; IDEM, *History of Europe*, 1, p. 207 ; WEBER, *General Economic History*, pp. 111-114 ; POSTAN, *Medieval Economy*, pp. 243-244 ; TAWNEY, *Religion*, pp. 31-32 ; THOMPSON, *Middle Ages*, pp. 493-494 ; IDEM, *Later Middle Ages*, pp. 397, 400 ; CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, pp. 424-425 ; BOISSONNADE, *Life and Work*, pp. 202, 215-216, 220-221 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 269-270, 273-274, 276-277 ; KRAMER, *English Mercantile Crafts*, pp. 29, 33, n. 113, 237 and ns. 4, 5, 240, 242, 247-248 ; KNIGHT, *Economic History of Europe*, p. 235 ; DUPLESSIS and HOWELL, *Urban Economy*, pp. 71-72, 76-78 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, pp. 19-20 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, p. 259 ; D. S. LANDES, *Unbound Prometheus*, Cambridge, 1969, p. 132 and n. 1.

(69) THRUPP asserts that "(t)he idea of equality in gild circles referred to independence, not to absolute equality of income." *Gilds*, p. 272. In her view, a certain spread in the scale of operations was taken for granted, and equality of income was never a rule of practice. In local trade and export business top masters in a guild might have a multiple of the workshop help that poorer masters could keep. Also, regulations normally were not enforced and could be legally evaded by taking out membership in two guilds. *Gilds*, pp. 260, 264, 272-276. The logic of the assertion is specious, since the *craft* guilds viewed the notions of independence and income equality as *interdependent*. The concern was that substantial income disparities emanating from larger scale of operations by a few master craftsmen would ultimately result in economic dependence of the weaker on the more entrenched members. This is attested by her own affirmation of the guilds' conservative attitude : opposition to the introduction of more advanced looms (Liege), as this would work to the advantage of the richer members and would cost the poorer members their independence ; a ban on the integration of trades or the formation of partnerships with subordinate crafts (*Gilds*, p. 273) ; purposeful limitations on plant capacity (*Gilds*, pp. 269-270) ; restrictions on the hours of work and the number of journeymen and apprentices that might be employed as favoring the larger craftsmen (*Gilds*, pp. 253, 264, 275-277, and n. 73 below) ; restraints on price competition as well as competition for labor (*Gilds*, p. 275). These restrictions effectively curbed potential increases in the scale of operations of the craft guilds, whereas incidental aberrations in the waning Middle Ages did not amount to endorsement of an uncontrolled expansion of

With support from the local authorities, as town statutes virtually reproduced their rules, the guilds instituted an array of specific measures pertaining to *technical* matters to advance their ends, as already indicated ([70]). But, in addition, elaborate rules were devised with respect to *operational* aspects to prevent unfair competition among the membership, and protect the individual member's share in the guild's total business. Specifically, individual guild members were not to buy up goods before other members had a chance of buying, while collective purchase of imported goods in bulk was encouraged ; purchase inputs in quantities exceeding their processing capacity ; or take unfair advantage of other members in any other way (e.g., by working longer hours, driving sharper bargains, or enticing clients importunately) ([71]). The development of enterprises with disparate scale of operations was discouraged through prohibition of trading on borrowed funds, formation of mixed-skill partnerships, or the union of two trades ; by restricting the number of machines and equipment a master could operate ([72]), by fixing the num-

scale. To the contrary, the *merchant* guilds did not espouse the notion of equality of results. See pp. 498-499 below.

(70) See pp. 478-480 above.

(71) MacKenney, *Tradesmen*, pp. 16-17. There were also ordinances which restrained competitive bidding threatening to raise rents and lead to evictions. Mickwitz, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 23 ; Thrupp, *Medieval Gilds*, p. 171.

(72) In 1572, in one French town potters were ordered to reduce the number of wheels they operated in their workshops. Nef, *Industry*, pp. 19-20. For similar restrictions in Leiden and Lille, see Duplessis and Howell, *Urban Economy*, pp. 55-56, 62, 70-71,73, 77. Such restrictions aiming to maintain the guilds' market strength have been rationalized as having been imposed by the *governments* in order to implement a "policy-equivalent of an efficient capital tax" to the end of curbing the expansion of the guilds' fixed assets. According to this point of view, protecting the guildsmen's growing capital investments in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries necessitated progressively higher defense expenditures and, in consequence, governments had to step in to control the expansion of the guilds' capital stock. Entry fees, long apprenticeship periods, and rules against ownership of multiple workshops, also served to reduce the city's capital investment and, by extension, its defense burden. Hickson and Thompson, *A New Theory of Guilds*, pp. 132, 131-136, 146-147. This monistic explanation is counterintuitive, as it runs against the best economic interests of the local towns, which favored increased investment, expansion of production (and hence greater supplies and lower prices), and increased employment. Further, such an undiscerning government policy would tend to foster unbounded guild monopolistic policies to the detriment of the public interest with the potential of social unrest.

ber of journeymen and apprentices he might employ, the hours he might work ([73]), and the maximum wage he might offer ; and by prohibiting price and non-price (e.g., quality, design, terms of sale) competition among members. Statutory work hours — dawn to dusk — were to be observed and as a rule night work was prohibited ([74]). The sale of wares at the craftsman's house was forbidden to prevent the undertaking of work secretly, curb low-quality, cheaper, and more affordable substitutes as a competitive means, and deter the advancement of a craftsman ahead of the others by working longer hours. Allowing such actions could result in sharp economic differentiation and subordination of fellow masters ([75]). Perforce, production units were kept small, the margin for retained earnings remained narrow, and the scope for capital accumulation was limited. Small workshops were rationalized as best attuned to market conditions : work could be closely supervised ensuring the desired level of quality, and a close balance could be struck between output and demand to avoid gluts in the marketplace ([76]).

Intra-guild competition was further thwarted by forming import cartels ([77]), checking competitive bidding, establishing the right of equal

Finally, the notion that somehow all governments in the 12th-13th centuries became concerned about protecting the guilds' capital investments is implausible at best – guilds continued to be formed at the urge of the governments through the 18th century.

(73) Unregulated workdays would have favored the more entrenched members because they could afford to hire extra help, as against the less well-off members who could get ahead only by working overtime. THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 275.

(74) Night work was generally prohibited because allegedly it affected the quality of work ; but it also served as a production-limiting device. MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 56, 75, 88-89, 143, 152, 162 ; DOBB, *Studies*, p. 93.

(75) Masters admitted to the guild were forbidden to work for other masters lest they might be reduced to journeymen. WEBER, *General Economic History*, p. 113. However, with the advent of the putting-out system, and to the extent that work was put out to guilds, master craftsmen were employed as wage earners (*maîtres ouvriers*). PIRENNE, *History of Europe*, 2, p. 102 ; HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 149-150, 187, 189 ; WEBER, *General Economic History*, p. 122. The Parisian cobbler market was overcrowded with former masters eking out a living working for others. EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, p. 151.

(76) DUPLESSIS and HOWELL, *Urban Economy*, pp. 72-73.

(77) By acting as quasi monopsonists, guilds avoided pitting one member against the other, ensured equality of opportunity among the membership, and conceivably obtained better prices by presenting a united front. LIPSON, *Economic History of England*, 1, p. 245 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunctionen*, pp. 23, 35, 69,

sharing ([78]), and prohibiting procurement of intermediate inputs from middlemen ([79]). Often the guilds secured the right of exclusive purchase of inputs essential for the craft ([80]). The objective was also promoted by prohibiting the use of more advanced equipment or deviation from traditional methods of production ; establishing production quotas ; and by imposing compulsory collective marketing of the wares produced, fixing minimum sales prices, determining the terms of sale, discounts and penalties for late payment, and forbidding price cutting openly or secretly ([81]). The enticement of fellow members' customers through earnest solicitation or of their workers by offering higher wages or other incentives was forbidden, while comparative advertising was not allowed — a craftsman could not praise his wares and disparage those produced by others, while the right to call out one's wares was limited. The purchase for resale or the sale of outsiders' products was forbidden, as was the acceptance of a contract before the completion of the one in hand. Quite often the guilds acted in concert in order to cut back output to maintain or raise prices and, to this end, they employed various methods ([82]). In London, the coopers' guild could even sue a merchant for infringing on

98, 143 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 248-251, 253-254, 275. For illustrative examples of collective purchases of inputs through cartel arrangements, see n. 17 above. However, see n. 262 below for potential drawbacks of this policy.

(78) In times of shortage, a guild member might request his fellow members to provide him with raw materials at cost. HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, p. 214 ; WEBER, *General Economic History*, p. 113 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, pp. 16-17 ; DUPLESSIS and HOWELL, *Urban Economy*, pp. 55-56, 69 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 275.

(79) In Venice, the coopers were not to buy staves from middlemen or lids from merchants. MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, p. 19.

(80) E.g., butchers were enjoined to sell tallow only to the town chandlers : DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 93-94.

(81) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 20, 34. 54, 56, 59, 61-62, 64-65, 67, 153 ; KNIGHT, *Economic History of Europe*, p. 234. Nearly all the Italian woolen guilds acted to some extent as production and sales cartels. THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 270. The Rhineland guilds in the wooden shoe industry had long established a price cartel. THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 273. In England, merchant guilds fixed and enforced on their members minimum selling and maximum buying prices. E. POWER, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History*, Oxford, 1941, pp. 89-90 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 116, 127 and n. 2.

(82) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 21, 47, 60, 66-67 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, p. 213 ; THRUPP, *Medieval Industry*, pp. 256, 267-268 ; NEF, *Industry*, pp. 26, 28-29 ; DUPLESSIS and HOWELL, *Urban Economy*, p. 62 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, p. 17.

its monopoly ; "Prices ... were affected by competition only remotely" ([83]). In Verona, the guild of brickyard owners specified how often the kilns could be fired, how many bricks could be produced each time, when they could be sold, and how many workers each brickyard could employ ([84]). In order to face up to the decline in demand for its old-fashioned products, the London weavers' guild took to impounding looms at the death of its members ([85]). Guild regulations on quality were also used as a means to restrict output ([86]). Another way to curtail production was to limit working hours or impose restrictions on weaving speed ([87]). The same end could be achieved by aligning the number of masters with market demand. Thus, in England, the number of enterprises in the printing, brick and tile making, brewing, iron-ore smelting, and other industries was fixed ([88]). A more common approach was to restrain admission to mastership through territorial restrictions, exceedingly long apprenticeship, discrimination in acquiring master rights, citizenship requirement, means test, steep entrance fees, or preference for masters' sons and sons-in-law or craftsmen married to masters' widows ([89]). Finally, price cartels or mutual trading concessions between competing towns were not uncommon ([90]).

(83) THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 259.

(84) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 21.

(85) THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 269.

(86) THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 269 ; eadem, *Medieval Industry*, pp. 267-268.

(87) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 89, 145.

(88) NEF, *Industry*, pp. 29-30.

(89) HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 146-151, 176 ; PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 184, 207 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 95-96 ; THRUPP, *Medieval Industry*, p. 268 ; EADEM, *Gilds*, p. 273 ; NEF, *Industry*, pp. 29-30 ; WEBER, *General Economic History*, pp. 112, 115, 120 ; DE ROOVER, *Monopoly Theory*, p. 514 ; FRIEDRICHS, *Class Formation*, pp. 35-36. See also pp. 509-510 and ns. 127 and 128 below.

(90) WEBER, *General Economic History*, pp. 112-115 ; LIPSON, *Economic History of England*, 1, pp. 337-338 ; 2, pp. 224-225, 233, 237-239, 342 ; MARTIN SAINT-LÉON, *Histoire des corporations*, p. 152 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 22, 35, 38, 46, 59, 86 ; LUZZATTO, *Economic History*, pp. 84-85 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 91, 93, 103 ; CIPOLLA, *Policies of Governments*, pp. 417-419 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, pp. 28, 31-32 ; PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 183-184 ; IDEM, *History of Europe*, 2, p. 100 ; S. KRAMER, *The English Gilds and the Government*, New York, 1905, pp. 91-103 ; G. UNWIN, *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Oxford, 1904, pp. 88-93 ; THOMPSON, *Later Middle Ages*, pp. 397, 400 ; NEF, *Industry*, pp. 16, 19-20, 25, 28-30, 136-137 ; THRUPP,

By and large, *craft* guild organization shielded the membership from the risks of competition, unemployment, overproduction, middlemen and speculators, and thereby ensured a relatively risk-free and unperturbed existence. Death or incapacitation of the owner, lack of successors, severe market reverses, or gross mismanagement were the main causes of enterprise mortality. Preserving isomorphic small scale operations, setting quality standards, prescribing the equipment and inputs to be used or proscribing those not to be used, establishing the processes to be followed, buying and selling collectively, and inspecting the quality of the products before they could be marketed, all aimed to prevent intra-guild competition from taking the form of unequal production capacity and initiatives favoring individual members, and thereby maintain market power for the group as a whole ([91]). The universality of these policy objectives, although less forcefully pursued in the late medieval period, is indicative of the static approach to economic affairs in the Middle Ages as the size of

*Gilds*, pp. 251-257, 259, 264, 267-270, 273, 275 ; POSTAN, *Medieval Economy*, pp. 243-244 ; HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 175, 225 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, pp. 18, 20, 82, 84 ; DUPLESSIS and HOWELL, *Urban Economy*, pp. 55, 57, 59, 62, 70, 73, 77-79.

(91) Despite convincing evidence to the contrary (see pp. 465-473, 478-480, 487, 491-497 above), and by portraying as mere aberrations what otherwise were normal practices, THRUPP maintains that the economic power of the guilds in any town and at any time varied but, on the whole, it was limited. "(A)lthough the fact that many gilds tended to become more exclusive as time passed cannot be contested, open claims to monopoly need not be taken at their face value. In industry it was always difficult to enforce them." : *Medieval Gilds*, p.170. In local trade, most guilds "exercised little or no influence on selling prices". Although "it may be true that all at times [they] sought to raise prices, ... or at least to maintain them against downward pressures, ... direct evidence of price policies in a local industry, or of their success, is rare". Charges of price conspiracy were made during inflationary periods or abnormal scarcity of goods, "when it is difficult to prove a case against a gild". Also, higher selling prices reflected supply of articles that met the buyers' quality expectations. While she cites many examples of guilds relying on restrictive practices (see n. 17 above and the notes cited therein) and acknowledges the existence "of agreements about holding a common line on prices and wages", she dismisses the evidence on restrictive policies as "seldom conclusive". The quotations cited are from *Gilds*, pp. 263-265 ; *Medieval Industry*, p. 267. Clearly, the arguments advanced in support of her thesis are inconsistent and unpersuasive. The fact that the guilds remained on the economic scene for centuries and that they had to be dislodged by decree attests to their ability to act in concert and prolong their staying power.

the total product of the group, as well as the demand for that product, were viewed as fixed : an increase in one's share meant a corresponding decrease in another's (zero-sum game). In contradistinction, the *merchant* guilds did not subscribe to the principle of equality of results. Established in the larger towns, they tried to ensure a free hand on a wide variety of articles traded domestically and overseas, their members were more inclined to form partnerships, and did not subject themselves to the meticulous restrictions instituted by the craft guilds (92). This fostered acquisitive behavior, expansion of their activities, and accumulation of individual wealth, which collectively enabled them to become prominent and acquire political power (93). The goal of equality of results originally espoused by the craft guilds was eroded between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, as in many towns of western Europe the guilds relaxed some of their rules, thereby giving rise to income inequalities among their membership and opening the way to upward mobility (94).

*Enforcement*

On the continent, the guilds managed to keep to themselves the policing of the industry in matters affecting their craft, acting as the official supervisory organs and state town authorities. In this capacity, they devised a rigid system of monitoring and scrutiny. Discipline was maintained by overseers, by a network of informers, by members watching one another for surreptitious violations of rules and standards, and by inflicting stiff penalties on transgressors (95). Inspectors covered every branch of industry, with authority to search workshops, warehouses, and homes. They had the right of entry at any time to any premises where production or trade was being carried on. E.g., guild officials visited workshops to assess the quality of the fabrics while they were still mounted on the

(92) POUNDS, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 287-290 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, pp. 90, 111-113 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, p. 135.

(93) DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 87-89.

(94) See below pp. 503-506. The preceding analysis highlights the importance of cultural beliefs and value systems and their evolution in the development of institutional structures and behavioral patterns. For detail, see A. GRIEF, *Cultural Beliefs and the Organization of Society : An Historical and Theoretical Reflection on Collectivist and Individualist Societies*, in *Journal of Political Economy*, 102 (1994), pp. 912-950.

(95) CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, p. 32 ; NEF, *Industry*, p. 14 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, p. 26.

looms. Inspections were carried on at all subsequent processing stages — fulling, cutting, dyeing and finishing, including stocks in the traders' warehouses. Substandard goods were confiscated or destroyed, and harsh penalties were inflicted on those who broke the law : subjection to public humiliation, loss of goods, expulsion from the guild, or banishment from the town (96). Guild officials kept watch over the members' business practices, pricing in particular, and investigated complaints of poor workmanship or reprehensible actions, levying fines on those found in violation of the guild's rules and quality standards. In some towns, the guilds even maintained their own special courts and jails (97). To ensure more effective enforcement, fully in Germany, less so in France and Italy, and not at all in England, the guilds obtained regulatory jurisdiction over the surrounding territory, forming a guild district (98). In England, although many regulatory tasks were entrusted to the guilds, they played a smaller part in the administration of the industrial legislation, as the authorities relied on the justices of the peace, their subordinates, and on municipal officials to discharge this function.

*Vertical Integration*

The division of labor among guilds in the various crafts and trades evolved along progressively narrowing lines of work, as processes became increasingly more complex and demanded acquired skill — a development that was similar on the continent and in England (99). The vertical integration of two trades through a partnership with craftsmen in subordinate trades or a union in a single master's workshop was prohibited. Thus, no dyer was allowed to employ cloth makers, and no cloth maker could practice dyeing. Fullers and cloth finishers were forbidden to employ weavers in their workshops and thereby increase the size of their enterprises. Tanning by cordwainers and shoemakers was prohibit-

(96) HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, p. 162 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, pp. 32, 228 ; HIBBERT, *Policies of Towns*, p. 179 ; PIRENNE, *History*, p.173 ; NEF, *Industry*, pp. 24, 28 ; CARUS-WILSON, *The Woollen Industry*, pp. 642, 657.

(97) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 127-128, 139, 145, 147-148, 157, 159 ; WEBER, *General Economic History*, p. 114 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, p. 34.

(98) WEBER, *General Economic History*, p. 114 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 257.

(99) CARUS-WILSON, *The Woollen Industry*, p. 654 ; P. MANTOUX, *The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century*, New York, 1961, p. 70.

ed. Similar rules were prescribed for most other industries ([100]). The notion was that, by practicing more than one trade, a craftsman would grow rich from the profits of several trades and thereby overshadow his fellow members. The "one man, one trade" universal principle was also intended to check the propensity of the crafts to trespass one another's domain, prevent the reduction of masters to economic dependence, facilitate supervision, and maintain high quality standards ([101]). Nevertheless, the long established functional division of labor among guilds was largely circumvented with the advent of the merchant-industrialist who, as a putter-out, integrated and coordinated successive industrial processes, including procurement and marketing, by virtually taking over individual guild manufacturing and trading activities through a principal-agent relationship. Moreover, the merchant-industrialists in the cloth, leather and metalworking industries fostered the establishment of integrated operations in the countryside, overcoming the rigidity of the rules of the urban guilds ([102]), or took control over the urban craft guilds causing the relaxation or even lapse of their restrictions. Thus, the growth of the woolen industry in the Italian cities (e.g., Florence, Siena) led to concentration of all phases of the industrial process in larger units, and the elimination of many small independent craftsmen and middlemen. Concentration of industrial activities in fewer establishments occurred in France, Flanders and England as well, as processing at successive stages of production took place in an integrated fashion in workshops owned by the merchant-industrialist, while part of the work was still put out to independent craftsmen ([103]). Often, membership in kindred craft guilds also resulted in amalgamation and integration of activities. The drive toward vertical integration was intensified during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It

(100) NEF, *Industry*, pp. 20, 28 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, p.252 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, pp. 31, 180, 224.

(101) CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic* History, p. 31 ; NEF, *Industry*, pp. 20, 28 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 108, n. 1, 135 and n. 1 ; PIRENNE, *History*, pp. 179-181 ; KRAMER, *English Mercantile Crafts*, pp. 20-21, 236-238 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 252, 274 ; FRIEDRICHS, *Class Formation*, p. 39.

(102) POUNDS, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 284-286 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 129-130.

(103) The integrative business practices of the merchant-industrialists was met with strong resistance from the small masters who were reduced to dependence, as well as from the craftsmen who felt oppressed. The ensued struggle led to protracted confrontations and even bloody clashes (e.g., in Florence, Ghent). THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 271 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 132-134.

was reinforced by the ability of larger concerns to increase their degree of specialization and thereby improve their productive efficiency, when in small undertakings workers were still performing multiple tasks and hence less efficiently ([104]).

*Horizontal Agglomeration*

In smaller English towns, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries conglomerations of kindred and even dissimilar trades and crafts were developed which, however, maintained their separate occupational identities ([105]). The move was initiated either by the guilds themselves in order to better advance the common business interests of their members, e.g., maintain their monopoly rights, exclude outsiders from securing a share in the local market, extirpate hucksters and peddlers, maintain their power and influence in civic affairs, preserve the dignity of their calling in waning industries ; or, they were promoted by town authorities in order to curb the aggressive behavior and incessant overstepping by overbearing guilds on the legitimate rights of less powerful corporate entities, and to preserve harmony among the various occupations whose boundaries were in constant dispute ([106]). To organize them on an equal footing, the authorities often fixed the number of guilds into which the various trades and crafts were to be incorporated ([107]). In a similar fashion, in fifteenth-century Venice the guild of mercers managed to extend the range of the traditional haberdashery and dry goods they had exclusive rights to market by incorporating a large number of related and unrelated crafts and trades. In Florence, an amalgam of independent traders united under the guild of oil merchants. In Antwerp and Bruges, the building guild incorporated all crafts associated with the construction industry. In Paris, Chartres, Brunswick and Leipzig, tanners were organized together with

(104) CARUS-WILSON, *The Woollen Industry*, pp. 639-641, 653-654, 655-656, 682, 686-688 ; MANTOUX, *Industrial Revolution*, pp. 62-68 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, pp. 38-39, 89 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp.130-131 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, pp. 90-91.

(105) KRAMER, *English Mercantile Crafts*, pp. 17, 18-19, 22, n. 86, pp. 23, 24, n. 91, p. 25, n. 92, p. 26, n. 94, pp. 32, 241 and n. 22.

(106) Such conflicts were quite common in France as well. See n. 65 above.

(107) KRAMER, *English Mercantile Crafts*, pp.17-34, 236-251. The number of guilds were frozen for political convenience on the continent as well, forcing related and even unrelated trades to unite in the same guild. THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 237.

the finishing trades, but they enforced strict specialization within the guild. As in England, these agglomerations of traders and craftsmen regarded themselves as separate occupations operating under an umbrella guild ([108]). By maintaining their vocational identity under a loose guild superstructure, agglomerations of trades could legally circumvent the rule of "one man, one trade".

*Erosion of the Guilds' Grip*

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, certain aspects of the craft guilds' hold, indeed the guild system *per se*, began to erode in the face of state intervention, competition from new processes and substitutes, haphazard implementation of regulations, and especially developments in *industrial organization* — the spread of merchant-industrialists and the putting-out system. The putting-out system gained importance in the period 1500-1800 ; yet, it was by no means universal. In England, legislation (Weavers' Act of 1555 ; Statute of Artificers of 1562) still sought to check the growth of the putting-out system in the rural areas, while in France the bulk of guild regulations remained in force through the eighteenth century ([109]). Nevertheless, as the impetus of the putting-out system grew and its organizational and technico-economic advantages became evident, regulations eased and the guild system increasingly lost ground. In particular, rules limiting the number of workers a master could employ were either violated or were grudgingly accommodated, until the legal impediments were ultimately removed. In France, journeymen could buy mastership rights from the government (*lettres royales de maîtrise*) which allowed them to practice their craft, thereby avoiding the strict admission rules of the guild organizations ([110]). In the Low Countries, combination of two crafts in a workshop was permitted, and was subsequently increased to six ([111]), suggesting that the "one man, one trade" rule was being

(108) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 84-85 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, pp. 4-5, 90-91, 111-113, 117-118, 120 ; JONES, *Building in Stone*, pp. 784-785 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 252 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, pp. 87, 211.

(109) CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, pp. 184, 224, 303, 398 ; DUPLESSIS and HOWELL, *Urban Economy*, pp. 70, 77.

(110) HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, p. 179.

(111) In Leiden, small drapers combined draping with the practice of another craft not necessarily related to textiles. DUPLESSIS and HOWELL, *Urban Economy*, pp. 54-55 and n. 17.

abandoned in the waning years of the Middle Ages. In England, as earlier in northern Italy and Flanders ([112]), resistance to putting out work to craftsmen in the countryside was weaker in the face of powerful and politically well-connected cloth merchant-industrialists, while the state began to curb the guilds' control over wage rates, the kind and number of tools a member could deploy, and the number of apprentices a master could employ. The fact that in England the guild regime was not anchored in industrial codes and that compulsory guild membership was not universal but was based on formally accepted law implied that some rights of the guilds could be challenged and decided on a case-by-case basis. However, the guilds' *right* of technical control of industrial processes and supervision of quality remained virtually unchallenged, albeit the rules were not enforced forcefully. The parliament respected the local rights of the guilds as long as they were based on long-standing custom and validated the existing industrial restrictions, while the Statute of Monopolies (1623-4) stipulated that the prohibition against monopoly was not applicable to prerogatives granted to guilds, thereby keeping guild monopolies alive. Wage and apprenticeship clauses and industrial controls were repealed only in the late eighteenth century, and even then some guilds in London were exempted. In Germany, however, the guilds increasingly became closed shops and the towns pursued an independent guild policy even after they were included in the territorial state of a prince. The German craft guilds succeeded in resisting the proliferation of the putting-out system and, as a result, the guild spirit persisted and the guilds survived well into the nineteenth century ([113]).

The guild system of industrial organization characterized by small scale production persisted in a number of towns in the Low Countries and Germany from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries (e.g., Leiden.

(112) PIRENNE, *Histoire de Belgique*, pp. 418-421 ; IDEM, *History*, pp. 215-216 ; A. DOREN, *Die florentiner Wollentuchindustrie*, Stuttgart, 1901, pp. 249-251 ; COORNAERT, *Draperies rurales*, pp. 79-82.

(113) HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 233-236, 238-244, 283-286, 301-321 ; THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 248 ; WEBER, *General Economic History*, pp. 122-126 ; A. ABRAM, *Social England in the Fifteenth Century*, London, 1909, pp. 1-21, 117-130 ; HAUSER, *Capitalisme*, pp. 97-99 ; NEF, *Industry*, pp. 26-27 ; COORNAERT, *Draperies rurales*, pp. 88, 95-96 ; BLACK, *Guilds*, pp. 123-125, 167-170. In the nineteenth century, Bavaria still had some 9,800 and Prussia 4,600 guilds. *Id.*, pp. 168, 170.

Lille, Courtrai, Ghent, Noerdlingen, Lier, Memmingen), in large part due to its resilience. The development of a bipolar social, political and economic structure involving a few large merchants and merchant-industrialists, on the one hand, and numerous guild-organized small producers, on the other, may be attributed to a confluence of factors ([114]). Foremost was the guilds' capacity in these regions to adapt to the changing patterns of demand and market conditions, as restrictions on the make and quantity of the deployable equipment, improvements on existing techniques, hiring policies, duality of occupation, and importation of unfinished goods were relaxed ([115]). The risk aversion of the mercantile class due to the uncertainties of the export markets also played a role. Further, there was concern about the strain on public welfare resources and the risk of social unrest were unemployment and destitution to become widespread. Thus, the patrician merchants, who had asserted their primacy in city government, came to realize the commonality of interests with the craft guilds. They took conscious action, through an extensive body of legislation and strict enforcement, to protect the guilds from the threat of the putting-out system and "free-trading", allowing them to retain control over the acquisition of inputs, type and quantity of loom ownership, quantity and quality of output, marketing of their products, and training

(114) Du Plessis and Howell assert that in the "small commodity production system", unrestricted competition, investment, expansion of output, and product innovation were intrinsic to the mode while, at the same time, the goals of the system were producer autonomy, a reasonable standard of living, and rough equality among guild members. *Urban Economy*, pp. 51, 79. However, the postulated unrestrained decision-making power that guild masters were allowed unavoidably *had* to lead to a diverse scale of operations and financial returns, which were incompatible with the desideratum of rough equality. The unattainability of this goal is attested by the very evidence adduced by the authors : some 20 % to 25 % of the drapers in Leiden were "large" and accounted for half of the annual output (*Ibid.*, p. 54) ; in Lille, some 50 masters, out of 2,250, stood out from their fellows because of their power and resources (*Ibid.*, p. 68) ; three quarters of the master *sayetteurs* owned three looms or fewer, but the remaining quarter up to six (*Ibid.*, pp. 70-71). Data from Noerdlingen and Rostock also suggest that the wealth within individual craft groups was unequally distributed. FRIEDRICHS, *Class Formation*, pp. 29 and n. 13, 30-31.

(115) This suggests that growth of output was attained less by means of "capital widening", i.e (physical) capital additions in proportion to the increase in the labor force, and more through "capital deepening", i.e. increases in the quantity and quality (embodied new technology) of capital per worker.

practices, and by severely restricting putting-out arrangements ([116]). In short, the guild system not only continued to be viewed as the optimal form of industrial organization but, by accommodating the interests of the craftsmen, as accruing equally weighty benefits to the community at large.

## Policy Implications

### *Stifling of Innovation*

As guilds sought to advance their objectives, inevitably they tended to be hostile to innovations that threatened their members' economic viability. At times, they even sought to suppress activities that they were not able to bring under their control. To ensure product uniformity and quality, facilitate price control, and maintain equality of results, guild regulations discouraged, when they did not openly forbid, innovations in methods, equipment, tools and materials. By specifying the kinds of tools and machinery that might be used in the various crafts, the rules and regulations in effect froze techniques of production, discouraged new ways of doing things, and hampered the introduction of labor-saving innovations. Thus, although more efficient mills for fulling woolen cloth were used across Europe in the 1200s, there is no evidence that they were employed in Bruges, Ghent and Ypres in the 1300s, the dominant wool manufacturing centers in Flanders. Excessive attachment to tradition predisposed the guilds to keep on using the primitive technique of their feet to treat the cloth ([117]). Also, by prohibiting the integration of processes and by limiting the employable workforce, any increase in the scale of industrial enterprise that would call forth investment embodying new technology was hindered ([118]). In general, medieval manufacturing in basic sectors made limited progress in developing more efficient techniques of production and more pliant organizational structures ([119]). Further, guild rules

(116) For details see Duplessis and Howell, *Urban Economy*, pp. 50-51, 54-64, 67-80, 83 and n. 108, p. 84 ; Friedrichs, *Class Formation*, pp. 26, 29, 35-37, 42, 45 and n. 42.

(117) Epstein, *Labor and Guilds*, p. 242.

(118) E. M. Carus-Wilson, *An Industrial Revolution of the Thirteenth Century*, in *Economic History Review*, 11 (1941), p. 58 ; Nef, *Industry*, pp. 136-137 ; Knight, *Economic History*, pp. 235-236 ; Thrupp, *Gilds*, pp. 273-274 ; eadem, *Medieval Guilds*, pp. 167-168.

(119) Pounds, *Medieval Europe*, p. 281.

introduced rigidities by effectively prescribing "the proper and only way to do things", by being slow in adapting to the changing pattern of market demand ([120]), and by controlling production and eliminating intra-and-extra guild competition. Though enforcement varied from place to place and at different periods, the net effect of these restrictions was to slow down the pace, if not impede, process and product innovation. Entrepreneurial *attitude* was not conducive to innovation either. Guildsmen identified themselves with traditional tools and methods, were reluctant to change behavioral patterns, and placed a high premium on security ([121]), an attitude which was reinforced by the safety net the guild system provided. As a result, the productivity of the great majority of guild members working for the local markets was very near the bottom of the scale ([122]).

During the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there was some progress in product innovations, especially in textiles. In the Low Countries, the shift to production of lighter textiles was a conscious decision on the part of the guild membership, urged on by merchant-industrialists and sanctioned by the town authorities controlled by patrician merchants. Inexpensive fabrics, such as *says, changeans, ostandes, satinets, outrefins, rogelistes, douken*, fustians, were produced in major centers and smaller towns by using continental wool, simplifying and shortening the preparatory and finishing stages of production ([123]), and by loosening the density of the fabric which cut down the weaving time. The shorter time required to make light cloth permitted quicker turnover of capital, ensured a satisfactory cash flow, and minimized exposure when market conditions changed. The ensuing substantial reduction in production costs offered stiff competition to old style expensive fabrics ([124]). Still,

(120) *Ibidem*, p. 285.

(121) LANDES, *Unbound Prometheus*, pp. 131-132.

(122) THRUPP, *Gilds*, p. 271 ; F. F. MENDELS, *Proto-industrialization : The First Phase of the Industrialization Process*, in *Journal of Economic History*, 22 (1972), p. 242.

(123) E.g., wool was worked dry and was combed rather than carded ; the completed fabric usually was not shorn ; fulling time was reduced from several days to one day. DUPLESSIS and HOWELL, *Urban Economy*, p. 64 n. 45.

(124) COORNAERT, *Draperies rurales*, pp. 63-65, 70-75, 80-84, 92 ; DUPLESSIS and HOWELL, *Urban Economy*, pp. 63-64 and n. 43 ; H. PIRENNE, *Une crise industrielle au XVI^e siècle : la draperie urbaine et la nouvelle draperie en Flandre*, in *Bulletin de l'Academie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres*, 1905, pp. 489-521 ; POUNDS, *Medieval Europe*, pp. 308-309, 313-319.

product innovation remained largely within the confines of the guild organizational structure for almost two additional centuries, while process innovations had to wait for the breakthrough ushered in by the Industrial Revolution.

*Impediments to Enterprise Growth*

By micromanaging the firms' operations and decision-making process as already discussed, the craft guilds prevented the development of larger and more efficient units. Their policy of virtually freezing the firms' scale of operations by limiting the scope of integration of production processes, by interfering with the introduction of labor-saving equipment, by discouraging capital accumulation, by banning formal or informal partnerships with foreigners — a potential source of capital and know-how, and by curbing intra-guild competition enterprise growth was stifled, and production units remained relatively small and isomorphic. Guild restrictions delayed until well into the fourteenth century potential propulsive efforts by more enterprising individuals to introduce product innovations that could stimulate the demand for low-quality, low-priced manufactures. Hence, no market pressure was put on the industries to reorient production methods toward longer production runs and larger size plants. Long apprenticeship ([125]), lack of labor mobility because of specialized training or imposed restrictions, and impediments to attaining mastership were additional hurdles. Further, these restraints hampered the exploitation of scale economies, prevented the reduction of costs and prices, and frustrated potential increase in demand. The policy only advanced a singular, uncompromising guild desideratum : equality of results — until guild regulations eased up in the waning years of the Middle Ages, albeit not everywhere.

*Control of New Entry*

To buttress their monopoly position and shield the profits of the existing craftsmen from the leveling effect of competition from newcomers,

(125) On the continent three to eight and even twelve years were common ; in France three to four and in England seven years was the norm. On the apprenticeship rules and their implementation in England and on the continent, see NEF, *Industry*, pp. 19, 27 ; HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 150-151, 230-231, 316 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 86-87 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, pp. 35-36, 180, 224-225 ; EPSTEIN, *Labor and Guilds*, pp. 103-111, 141-143.

entry into the guilds was limited and regulated. Restrictions on the establishment of new manufacturing enterprises intensified from the first half of the fourteenth century onward as the guilds became more entrenched, and the tendency toward exclusivity became more compelling as a result of the changing economic environment. Initially, the guilds were keen on bringing all practitioners of a trade into their ranks in order to *establish* their monopoly position ; the subsequent move to restrict entry (closed shop) aimed to *maintain* their monopoly position. To prevent their craft from becoming overcrowded, when it was not halted altogether by applying a *numerus clausus*, admission of new members was made increasingly more difficult through a variety of discriminatory devices. In some instances masters were not even allowed to set up shop on borrowed money, in effect preventing those with limited financial means from securing a foothold. At times, local exclusivity was so strong that even masters were reduced to wage earners. Apprenticeship became more exacting and more protracted, well exceeding the actual time required to master a craft ; promotion to the rank of master came to be hopeless ; and journeymen were prohibited to set up on their own account, or were unable to do so because of lack of funding. In Germany, journeymen were required to travel for five years before they could set up shop as masters. In many towns citizenship was a requirement for admission to the guild ; and where it was not the rule, preference was usually given to town citizens. In England, craft guilds had early on gained the right to exercise a virtual veto on new entrants, by providing that no one might set up as a master craftsman unless he was a full citizen and had the recommendation and security of six reputable members of the craft. Often, when a man finished his apprenticeship, cunning devices were used to keep him as hired labor. Thus, in fifteenth-century London, the weavers' guild banned the renting out of looms to prevent journeymen lacking financing from setting up on their own ([126]). Also, until it was forbidden in 1530, it had become the custom in some cases for journeymen to be required by their masters to take an oath that they would not set up on their own without their permission. The policy of exclusivity in its various forms was widespread and was even more pronounced on the continent ([127]).

(126) DOBB, *Studies*, p. 118.

(127) KRAMER, *Gilds and the Government*, pp. 78-80 ; WEBER, *General Economic History*, pp. 112-115 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, p. 36 ; UNWIN, *Industrial Organization*, p. 56 ; DOBB, *Studies*, pp. 116-119, 229-230 ;

Restrictions on the masters' eligibility to practice their craft and on the conduct of their business, rigid rules governing journeymen and apprentices, and control of new entry discouraged the formation of new enterprises by constraining the supply of entrepreneurship and skilled labor ([128]). The obstacles were less formidable in England, because the regulations concerning exclusivity, enterprise scale of operation, production techniques, rules of apprenticeship, standards of workmanship, etc. were less comprehensive and rigid than on the continent, and this permitted greater freedom of action and the development of private initiative ([129]).

## Statutory Regulatory Mechanisms

### *The Regulatory System*

From early in the twelfth century until the first half of the eighteenth century, throughout western Europe manufacturing techniques and processes encompassing all stages of production were prescribed in great detail through successive statutes which reinforced and extended each other ([130]). These statutes were promulgated initially by local but subsequently by state authorities. Particular emphasis was placed on the most

Pirenne, *History of Europe*, 2, p. 101 ; Heckscher, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 147-149, 175-176, 229-231 ; A. Abram, *Social England*, p. 121 ; Postan, *Medieval Economy*, pp. 243-244 ; Thrupp, *Gilds*, p. 254 ; Eadem, *Medieval Industry*, p. 268 ; Hauser, *Capitalisme*, pp. 34-36 ; Epstein, *Labor and Guilds*, pp. 84, 209-214.

(128) Additional hurdles included : fixing the ratio of apprentices to journeymen ; setting limits on the geographic area where masters could practice their craft, as well as on the number of apprentices they could hire ; inability of masters and journeymen to transfer from one craft to another ; obligating masters to join a guild when moving into a town with no assurance of acceptance ; enjoining out-of-town masters to practice for ten (later reduced to five) years as journeymen ; depriving outside masters of the right to have apprentices of their own ; prohibiting outside journeymen from entering a craft before having served anew as apprentices in the host town ; deliberate restriction of the apprentice throughput to prevent potential competition. Heckscher, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 146-151, 156-157, 230-231 ; Thrupp, *Gilds*, pp. 263-264 ; Knight, *Economic History of Europe*, pp. 222-226 ; Nef, *Industry*, p. 19.

(129) Heckscher, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 230-231, 266-267, 310-321 ; Nef, *Industry*, pp. 32-33, 38-47 ; Kramer, *English Craft Gilds*, pp. 161-163, 186.

(130) See pp. 478-480, 494-497, and n. 43 above.

important industries of the time — textiles, leather and metalworking. Until well into the seventeenth century, the guild system remained universally the foundation of the industrial and commercial organization, and the epicenter of the conceptualization, structure, and administration of the regulatory regime. The guilds came to exercise *de jure* and *de facto* effective control over the bulk of industry and trade. Even edicts promulgated during the sixteenth century and beyond, in an attempt to lay down uniform and state-wide rules for the organization of the crafts, did no more than provide for stricter adherence to long-standing rules and regulations devised by guilds operating in urban centers. And as the new state regulations were drafted in consultation with master craftsmen, they ensured the guilds' active participation in the enforcement of the decrees ([131]).

The regulatory framework was very similar on the continent and in England. Typically, industrial regulations in western Europe instituted the functional division of labor among crafts ; affirmed their exclusivity in practicing their trade ; established territorial boundaries of industrial expansion ; dealt extensively with the training of apprentices, employment of journeymen, admission of masters, and the relations between masters and workers ; defined manufacturing processes and set standards of workmanship and product quality ; outlined elaborate procedures for product inspection ; and devised mechanisms for their enforcement. State endorsement of guild regulations aimed to ensure control of the industry, high quality manufactures, development of an apprenticed and disciplined workforce, stable prices and wages, and preservation of law and order — all in the public interest. But a subtler motive for state regulation was fiscal : the state sustained guild monopolies in return for revenues.

*Administrative Machinery*

As under earlier decentralized regulatory regimes, the guilds became an integral part of the centralized system of state regulation introduced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Throughout western Europe guild officials continued to wield extensive supervisory and disciplinary power over the entire spectrum of industrial and commercial operations.

(131) HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 138-152,165, 263-264 and n. 48, 266-267, 296-301 ; HAUSER, *Capitalisme*, pp. 97-99 ; NEF, *Industry*, pp. 16-17 ; NORTH and THOMAS, *Western World*, p. 126.

Indeed, despite their subjection to central authority, in many instances the guilds' authority was strengthened and extended. The administrative apparatus took various forms. In England, the administration of industrial legislation was entrusted to justices of the peace and their subordinates. Monopoly rights of industrial supervision and exclusive rights to mete out fines were farmed out to private informers. In France, the guilds and the municipal authorities were instrumental in the development of a national system of industrial regulation and the institution of a multilayer supervisory superstructure. The chiefs of the guilds formed the first layer of the administrative hierarchy charged with enforcing the regulations, which also included a corps of civil servants with sectoral and regional responsibilities. General inspectors were assigned in each district, whose function was to supervise all local authorities and form the link with the central authority. Industrial inspectors oversaw the internal regulation of the industry. They were the guilds' immediate supervisors and kept an eye on all their activities along with the guilds' own supervisory organs, employing informers with whom they shared the fines they levied. In the Italian cities, early on a large body of inspectors, police officers, and informers were hired to detect violations and apprehend delinquents. In Flanders, inspectors were nominated by the civic authorities, but their lot always included guild members. They oversaw every stage of the industrial process and were vested with extensive investigatory and search powers ([132]).

*Implementation and Effectiveness*

In France, deficiencies in implementation have been attributed to the comprehensiveness, impracticality, and unenforceability of most regulations ([133]) ; the unwieldy technical specifications ; the incongruity of legal provisions and arbitrary implementation of the law ; dereliction of duty and corruption by guild and state officials at all levels ([134]) ; the discord

(132) HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 139-147, 152-157, 246, 253 ; NEF, *Industry*, p. 10 ; MACKENNEY, *Tradesmen*, p. 24.

(133) Illiterate workers and masters were supervised by equally illiterate officials. HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 166-167.

(134) HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 152-156, 225, 253-256. Inspectors visited workshops without actually inspecting the goods produced. Often, the marking of the goods was made by the producers themselves either by securing the discs in advance or by transferring them from one piece of fabric to another.

between guild officials and inspectors, which undermined the latter's ability to discharge their functions ([135]) ; the judges' disregard of the edicts or leniency in their sentencing, which in effect legitimized infractions ([136]) ; and the courts' support of the guilds even when their restrictive regulations ran counter to state regulations ([137]). But despite inefficiencies, the regulatory system did not break down altogether ; rather, it was erratically and unevenly enforced and, by the first half of the eighteenth century, in many parts of the country the regulations had already fallen into desuetude ([138]). In England, decrees regulating methods of manufacturing, limiting the number of enterprises that might be established in an industry, or restricting the deployment of equipment and workforce were less exacting than on the continent, and were administered less forcefully than the acts dealing with prices and wages. Judges were unenthusiastic about enforcing apprenticeship regulations, while in new industries workmanship was giving way to cheap, unapprenticed manpower to muscular strength ([139]). Implementation of regulations pertaining to the technical side of production were opposed by the justices of the peace, while denials of the right of the Crown and guild officials to search for defective goods were not unusual. The farming out of the supervisory function and the levying of fines degenerated into accepting payment for covering up infractions. Also, industrial issues had low priority among justices of the peace : they were overburdened with a host of other duties ; they were unpaid officials and thus susceptible to accepting bribes ; being manufacturers themselves, they were not always disinterested ; and many were not diligent in the exercise of their demanding duties. More often than not, their subordinates were unqualified, inefficient, and partial : the office was honorary and the function had little

Frequently, the seals were left with the manufacturers or merchants. HECKSCHER, *Id.*, p. 168.

(135) Municipal judges, siding with the guilds, ordered the inspectors to notify them about impending inspections and passed this information on to the chiefs of the guilds, giving them time to conceal irregularities or illicit activities. HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, p. 168.

(136) E.g., on the length, width, dye or quality of the fabrics. HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, p. 167.

(137) HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 166-168, 472 Addendum 2 ; NORTH and THOMAS, *Western World*, p. 126.

(138) HECKSCHER, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 166-170 ; CLOUGH and COLE, *Economic History*, p. 338.

(139) NEF, *Industry*, pp. 38-43, 45.

prestige, their numbers were inadequate for the task on hand, and they could not devote full time to their duties. As a result, industrial regulations were laxly and unevenly enforced ([140]). For similar reasons, by the closing years of the Middle Ages, guild rules in the rest of western Europe had been considerably relaxed or haphazardly enforced.

## The Road to Demise

The guild system in western Europe grew vigorously, albeit not uniformly, between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, forming an important part of the economic and social fabric. The institution did not fade out until the nineteenth century. Within the parameters set by the economic and constitutional settings of geographic regions and townships, the guilds were instrumental in the formulation and implementation of local economic policy, defined the choice set, determined production and transaction costs, and established the conditions for engaging in economic activity. In large measure, the guild organization contributed to the smooth provisioning of the towns, promoted sound workmanship, facilitated impersonal commercial exchange, and strove to maintain the integrity of commercial transactions by developing and enforcing internal codes of conduct. The production discipline enforced by the guilds mitigated extreme oscillations of output and thus contributed to work and income stability, while their charitable work eased human suffering. Finally, the guild organizational structure was conducive to the formation of a skilled labor force and the transfer of skills from old to new trades, helped develop an entrepreneurial class, provided administrative talent to town government, and paved the way to the transition from the handicraft to the machine industry.

Throughout the medieval and post-medieval period, the hold of the guild organizational structure was not grounded on the imperatives of technology, however. Rather, it was maintained by a scheme of coercive regulations. The rigidly structured guild system began to disintegrate toward the end of the Middle Ages in the face of changing economic circumstances, new and more efficient forms of business organization, the impracticality and unenforceability of its rules and regulations, and the

(140) Kramer, *English Craft Gilds*, pp. 163, 186 ; Heckscher, *Mercantilism*, 1, pp. 246-256, 260-261 ; Nef, *Industry*, pp.10, 26-27, 32-36, 47-52, 56-57, 136-138.

competition from the more cost-effective rural industry. The guilds' exclusivity, conservatism, monopolistic practices, and selective entrance policies came to be increasingly questioned. The rise of individualism and the progressive recognition of the legitimacy of inequality of talent and wealth cast doubts on the practical utility and even the justification of the corporate self-interest practiced by the guilds. As the number of players grew larger, difficult to sustain constraints on private initiative and human economic interaction forged changes in the behavioral patterns of players and enforcing organs, in key operational rules, and in the enforcement procedures of the regulatory apparatus. Access to political power by various economic groups enabling them to implement their agenda, had a profound impact on the industrial organizational structure. De-emphasis on wealth and income maximizing behavior by the guild system frustrated productivity-raising organizational and institutional changes, until the potential for increasing returns was perceived by more enterprising, better informed on unrealized opportunities, forward looking, and possessing the requisite organizational and managerial skills individuals — the merchant-industrialists. These motivated prime movers broke away from the constraining institutional framework established by the guild organizational structure, cut through the pervasive rigidities of the system, and ushered in changes in the organization of business and the policy framework, leaving the traditional guilds increasingly isolated from the mainstream of economic power. Craft guilds lost control over industry regulations and withered as the putting-out system gained momentum, the pace of technological innovation accelerated, and new industries organized on a present-day basis appeared. New markets and trade opportunities disrupted further their hold over an array of industries. The confluence of these forces eventually undermined the viability of the guild institution and ultimately led to its demise, making possible the transition from the guild system to the putting-out system to the corporate organizational forms of the "free-trading" system — but not after it had dominated the scene in the western world for well over half a millennium. Still, the decline of the guild system was a slow and tortuous process. New guilds were still being formed throughout western Europe in the eighteenth century ; but the sixteenth century had already marked a turning point in the fortunes of most guilds. By the time decrees abolishing the guilds were enacted in France (1791), England (1835), Spain (1840), Austria and Germany (1859-60), and Italy (1864), the guilds' authority had long been on the wane. Intent on promoting primarily their

own narrow interests, the guilds had become an unmitigated drag on the economic scene. The medieval form of forced association was incompatible with the ideas of individual liberty and free competition, more efficient organizational forms, and new economic prospects lurking in the horizon ([141]).

## B. THE BYZANTINE GUILD SYSTEM

### State Economic Policies

*Free Trade Regime*

By the tenth century, Constantinople was already the largest city and the major consumption center in Byzantium. Because of its large population and vulnerability to incursions from hostile nations, the state was keen on maintaining an uninterrupted flow of supplies through imports, grain in particular, since shortages and inordinate price hikes affected the welfare of the citizenry and could result in social unrest ([142]). Disorder in

(141) The demise of the guilds has been attributed to the introduction of a more broad based property tax system, the development of professional bureaucracies, and the adoption of convertible currencies in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These occurrences, by broadening the states' tax base and raising their borrowing capacity, enabled them to dispense with the guilds as tax-collecting- agents for peacetime needs and defense emergencies. Hickson and Thompson, *A New Theory of Guilds*, pp. 150-161. The alleged association is tenuous and certainly does not establish causation. No convincing evidence is adduced to support the view that these innovations were instrumental in the states' decision to do away with the guild system, or that they were the sole consideration that motivated the states to abolish them at the dates they did. Further, in many states the guilds were eliminated well before (and at times long after) the institution of these measures (see *Id.*, pp. 153-161). Significantly, guilds were still being formed as late as the eighteenth century, and the states continued to take advantage of the administrative capacity of the guilds until their official abolition in the nineteenth century. As discussed in the text, potent forces coalescing were at work that ultimately led to the demise of the guild institution, the impact of which this theory chooses to ignore.

(142) A. Stoeckle, *Spaetroemische und byzantinische Zuenfte*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 102-103, 138 ; G. I. Bratianu, *La question de l'approvisionnement de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine et ottomane*, in *Byz.*, 5 (1929-1930), p. 83 ; S. Runciman, *Byzantine Trade and Industry*, in *CEHE* 2, p. 133 ; A. Andréadès, *Byzance, paradis du monopole et du privilège*, in *Byz.*, 9 ( 1934), p. 173 ; G. G. Litavrin, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo i gosudarstvo v X-XI vv : I problemiy istorii*

the capital of a so centralized state could paralyze the entire administrative apparatus and threaten the *status quo*. As a contingency measure, the state maintained a granary in the capital where it stored grain as a reserve for emergencies, e.g., sieges, crop failures, disruption of trade, which it sold to the guild-organized bakers at below market prices to prevent significant retail price increases ([143]). In general, the wholesale trade was entrusted to unorganized traders, while the wholesale import and retail end of the trade in selected consumer goods was routinely handled by guilds. The practice continued until the end of the twelfth century, when the guild organizational structure began to disintegrate.

*odnogo stoletia 976-1081 gg [Byzantine Society and State in Tenth and Eleventh Centuries : Historical Problems of One Century 976-1081]*, Moscow, 1977, pp. 142, 147, 151-152 ; G. DAGRON, *The Urban Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in *Economic History of Byzantium*, ed. A. E. LAIOU, Washington D. C., 2002 (hereafter *EHB*), 2, pp. 445-453.

(143) G. I . BRATIANU, *Une expérience d'économie dirigée. Le monopole du blé à Byzance au XI^e siècle*, in *Byz,*. 9 (1934), p. 653 ; IDEM, *Approvisionnement*, p. 91 ; C. MANGO, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV^e-VII^e siècles)*, Paris, 1985, p. 55 ; J. HALDON, *Comes Horreorum – Komes tes Lamias*, in *BMGS*, 10 (1986), p. 204 ; A. KAZHDAN, *Tsekhi i gosudarstvennye masterskie v Konstantinople v. IX-X vv [Guilds and State Workshops in Constantinople in IX-X Centuries]*, in *VV*, 6 (1953), p. 150. Several scholars maintain that during the tenth century, the grain imported in the capital by private merchants was purchased by the state, stored in warehouses, and sold to the bakers at a fixed price. BRATIANU, *Approvisionnement*, pp. 91-94 ; C. M. MACRI, *L'organisation de l'économie urbaine dans Byzance sous la dynastie macédoine*, Paris, 1925, pp. 23, 71 ; R. GUERDAN, *Byzantium, its Triumphs and Tragedy*, New York, 1957, p. 104 ; J. DURLIAT, *L'approvisionnement de Constantinople*, in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, ed. C. MANGO and G. DAGRON, Ashgate, 1995, pp. 22, 29 and n. 54, 30-32. However, other authors maintain, convincingly, that in normal years the bakers purchased the wheat on the free market and at going prices ; that there was no organized provisioning on a massive scale as in earlier times ; and that the state did not monopolize the wheat trade. The only exception was the short-lived state monopoly at Raidestos during the reign of Michael Dukas VII (1071-78). M. ATTALEIATES, *Historia*, text and annotated modern Greek translation by I. D. POLEMIS, Athens, 1997, pp. 352-356 ; A. D. SIDERIS, *Ἱστορία τοῦ οἰκονομικοῦ βίου*, Athens, 1950, p. 264 and n. 2 ; M. J. SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo i torgovlja v Konstantinopole v nacale X v [Crafts and Trade in Constantinople at the Beginning of the Tenth Century]*, in *VV*, 4 (1951), p. 36 ; MANGO, *Developpement urbain*, p. 54 ; P. MAGDALINO, *The Grain supply of Constantinople, ninth-twelfth centuries*, in MANGO and DAGRON, *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, pp. 39-45 ; ANDRÉADÈS, *Byzance*, pp. 177-178.

There were virtually no trade restrictions in Byzantium. On the contrary, imports from the provinces and abroad were encouraged through open markets and nominal duties ([144]), while few exports were banned : weapons, bullion, salted fish for obvious reasons ; purple silks because they were reserved for the exclusive use of the imperial court. Already by the tenth century the grain trade was in private hands, and commercial transactions were carried out without state interference ([145]). From the twelfth century onward, the bulk of grain imports to the capital was handled by merchants from the three Italian republics — Venice, Genoa and Pisa ([146]). A state whose authority had by then been emasculated could hardly exercise effective control on trade movements dictated by market forces. To be sure, prompted by concern to keep the price of grain low in times of scarcity, agreements were reached between the Byzantine emperors and the Italian cities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, whereby exports of grain were prohibited whenever the price exceeded a predetermined level ([147]). Nevertheless, the Latins, as well as imperial officials and big landlords, brazenly violated these pacts and the state directives proved ineffective ([148]).

(144) The 10 % *ad valorem* import duty had a fiscal character – to raise revenue, not to protect the guilds and unorganized producers from external competition. In fact, raw silk, a high-value and heavily imported article, was exempted from import duties (*Book of the Eparch* [see n. 151 below], 6. 5). But even this nominal rate was waived for Venetian exporters in the eleventh century, and sharply reduced for the other Latin traders by the twelfth century. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 359, 367, 379 ; N. Oikonomides, *Entrepreneurs*, in *The Byzantines*, ed. G. Cavallo, Chicago, 1997, p. 164.

(145) Attaleiates, *Historia*, pp. 277-278, 352-356 ; Magdalino, *Grain supply*, pp. 43-44.

(146) M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450*, Cambridge, 1985, p. 601 ; A. E. Laiou-Thomadakis, *The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System ; Thirteenth-Fifteenth* Centuries, in *DOP*, 34/35 (1980/1981), pp. 183-184, 194-195.

(147) F. B. Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, Cambridge, 1936, pp. 41-42 ; J. Chrysostomides, *Venetian Commercial Privileges under the Palaeologoi*, in *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (1970), pp. 272, 312-329 ; Laiou-Thomadakis, *The Byzantine Economy*, pp. 213-215 ; eadem, *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II - 1282-1328*, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 57-65.

(148) Chrysostomides, *Venetian Commercial Privileges*, pp. 314-315 ; Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 64, 72-73.

*Competitive Price Formation*

The distinctive characteristic of the official pricing policy in Byzantium was that prices of goods and factors of production (with the exception of capital) were established by market forces under conditions of free and fair competition within a framework of private enterprise system. The contracting parties were free to take advantage of the prevailing market conditions and their bargaining skills to arrive at a price consistent with their personal circumstances. The mere disparity of values in an exchange did not void sales contracts, as the permissible latitude in business conduct was extensive. Clever exploitation of an advantageous situation or outwitting the other party did not run counter to the *bona fides* requirement in sales contracts *(caveat emptor)*. Aggressive bargaining was an inseparable part of trade negotiations as it fostered price competition ([149]). The rationale was that in workably competitive markets the parties have the choice to bargain, shop around, or wait, so that they can make an informed decision and strike the best deal. The exchange therefore will benefit both parties, at least in their own judgment, which explains their engagement as opposed to no exchange at all. The Byzantines fully appreciated the enormity of the task of having state officials set *the* price *they* deemed "right" for a wide range of products, substituting their own judgment for the market forces to ensure demand and supply equilibrium. They discounted the notion that government authorities could outperform the market and correctly sensed the impracticability and unworkability of such a major undertaking in a complex business environment. Besides, price fixing would have been counterproductive as it would have led to shortages and black markets. In short, the tenor of the law, as reflected in

(149) "It is only natural that goods of higher market value be purchased at a lower price, and goods of lower market value be sold at a higher price" : *Basilics,* ed. I. D. Zepos, *Basilika*, 5 vols, Athens, 1896-1900, (hereafter cited as *B*) : *B.* 20. 1. 22, 3 scholium ; further, "agreements reached in any manner by those engaging in lawful transactions are enforceable" : *B.* 12.1.88. In fact, "in buying and selling, the contracting parties are allowed to outmaneuver one another on the price" : *B.* 10.4.16, 4. See also *B.* 53. 7.1 ; *Ecloga*, 16. 30, in *JGR*, 8 vols, ed. I. and P. Zepos, Athens 1931, vol. 4 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 3. 21 ; 18. 1, in *JGR* vol. 5 ; *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 18, in *JGR* vol. 6 ; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, 11. 2, in *JGR* vol. 7 ; *Peira*, 38. 5, in *JGR* vol. 4 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 34, in *JGR* vol. 7 ; K. Armenopoulos, *Hexabiblos*, ed. K. G. Pitsakis, Athens, 1971, 3. 3. 101 ; 3. 3. 70 and scholium ; 3. 3. 73 and scholium.

the *Basilics*, the *Book of the Eparch*, and the legal texts composed between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries already cited, provide unmistakable evidence that the state did not interfere with the process of price formation, that the going market prices were established under unfettered competition, and that prices reflected the prevailing market conditions being the outcome of the interplay of effective demand and supply. To be sure, the Byzantines did not make an intellectual effort to analyze the functions and workings of the price mechanism. But even though they did not work out an analytical framework to explain price formation, they were fully aware of the beneficial effects of the competitive interaction of the contracting parties on market prices, as they were cognizant of the price distortions caused by the concentration of economic power. They were concerned that market prices could be manipulated, and to prevent such occurrences and to ensure the unimpeded functioning of the market mechanism, they enacted pro-competitive legislation and set norms of business conduct to thwart unfair competition.

*Strengthening of the Market Mechanism*

The competitive process was buttressed with a panoply of legal and other institutional arrangements, aimed to frustrate anti-competitive practices and ensure correct business conduct by guilds and unorganized businesses alike. They included such legal props as anti-monopoly legislation, anti-hoarding rules, and the one-man one-trade directive ; measures that steered all business transactions to designated marketplaces to prevent market fragmentation, increase efficiency, and keep transactions costs low ; court enforcement of property rights ; and norms of business behavior to ensure fairness in commercial deals and to forestall unlawful competition. Enforced consistently, these measures would go a long way toward maintaining competition, thwarting monopolistic practices, and assuring the consumer of a fair deal.

To ensure the integrity of business activities and preserve competition, the Byzantines had enacted anti-monopoly legislation. *Monopoly*, i.e. dominant market control by one firm or by several acting in concert, and *monopolization*, i.e. market conduct involving actions undertaken to secure and maintain a monopolistic market position by effecting the weakening, elimination or exclusion of competitors were forbidden and punishable by law, as were express or tacit agreements to fix prices. The inflicted penalties ranged from stiff fines to confiscation of property and exile. Tribunals were also liable to penalties if, because of venality, dis-

crimination or other failings, did not enforce the law ([150]). The *Book of the Eparch* ([151]), in instituting the official industrial and trade policy for this major commercial center, extended the legal provisions that sought to restrain monopoly and promote competition to guild organized activities as well. Thus, guild members were forbidden to preempt purchases of imported raw materials, finished goods, or livestock by traveling outside the capital ([152]). Were they allowed to do so, entrenched members could buy up incoming supplies before other members had a chance to make purchases, thereby denying equal access to all guild members and effectively monopolizing the import trade for their own benefit.

The uninterrupted flow of supplies and price competition was further reinforced by strict anti-hoarding rules. Traders who bought up goods and hoarded them in order to sell them in times of scarcity were severely punished ([153]). The *Book of the Eparch* also addressed specific instances of unconscionable deals resulting in excessive profits and criminalized such business conduct. Thus, guild members were directed not to hoard imported commodities in times of scarcity in order to raise prices and exact excessive profits ([154]). Further, to prevent stockpiling, guild members were urged to make purchases in quantities commensurate with their processing capacity or turnover ([155]). Finally, the grocers were requested to keep an eye on and report to the eparch any diversion of imported

(150) *B.*19.18.1 ; *Ecloga*, 15. 25 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Π. 24. 1 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 11. 7 ; Synopsis *Minor*, M. 4.

(151) The *Book of the Eparch* (*Eparchikon Biblion*) (hereafter *BE*), probably promulgated in 911 or 912, codified earlier decrees concerning the activities of private guilds located in the capital. The Greek text was published with emendations by J. NICOLE, *Le Livre du Préfet ou l'Édit de l'empereur Léon le Sage sur les corporations de Constantinople*, Geneva, 1893, and was reprinted in : *JGR* 2, pp. 371-392. An English translation is by A. E. R. BOAK, *The Book of the Prefect*, in *Journal of Economic and Business History*, 1 (1929), pp. 597-619. A recent critical edition of the Greek text and a German translation is by J. KODER, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, Vienna, 1991. The *Book of the Eparch* is the main source of information on the Byzantine guild system.

(152) *BE*, 5. 2- 4 ; 6. 8, 12 ; 7. 4 ; 8. 8 ; 9. 3 ; 15. 3 ; 16. 2 ; 17. 3. Butchers were the only exception to the rule (*BE*, 15. 3), but probably they had to show cause and obtain special dispensation.

(153) *B.* 60.22.6 ; *B.*60.44.2 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, 18. 24. 3 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 57 ; Synopsis *Minor*, E. 45 ; *Hexabiblos*, 6. 15. 7 ; 6. 14. 13.

(154) *BE*, 7.1 ; 10. 2 ; 11. 3 ; 13. 4 ; 14. 1 ; 15. 6 ; 16. 5 ; 20. 3.

(155) *BE*, 2. 8, 9 ; 7. 1 ; 14. 1 ; 15. 6 ; 16. 5.

goods pertaining to their trade to non-guild members, lest they store them away and raise their prices ([156]).

The law forbade guild members to partake concurrently in more than one guild ([157]). The intention of the "one man, one trade" rule was to preserve the mandatory functional division of labor among guilds, whereby no *two* guilds could compete in the purchase or sale of the *same* good, and to curb the *parallel practice* in whatever form of two trades or crafts. Hence the prohibition of *vertical integration*, i.e. the expansion into preceding or succeeding phases of production and distribution ([158]), and *horizontal integration*, i.e. the expansion into similar or diverse activities carried on by other guilds ([159]), whether individually or through a partnership leading to a union of trades. Insistence on strict division of labor prevented enterprise growth *unrelated* to market demand, dominant occupancy of the market by a few large firms, and weakening or elimination of competitors based on the exercise of sheer market power — in short, monopolization or lessening of competition in sectors vital to the capital's economy. The policy aim of the rule was to restrain the growth of firms in sheer size at the expense of enterprises operating upstream, downstream or laterally, a development which was not the outcome of genuine market growth, and that the growth of market demand be shared by as many firms as possible and be met by existing firms and/or new entry. Certainly, the purpose of the rule was not to enforce egalitarian

(156) *BE*, 13. 4.

(157) *B*.60.32.1. The prohibition is repeated in the *Book of the Eparch* : 2.1 ; 4. 1, 7 ; 5. 1 ; 6. 14, 15 ; 8. 6 ; 9. 6 ; 10. 1, 5, 6 ; 11. 2, 8 ; 12. 4, 6 ; 13. 1 ; 14. 2 ; 15. 1 ; 21. 7, and the blanket provision 18. 5 : "no one may enter the craft of another and practice both concurrently ; he must choose one and give up the other, informing the eparch of his choice". Several hypotheses have been advanced regarding the rationale for this provision : to keep the guilds from banding together and become a threat to the state ; to foster labor specialization and facilitate state supervision of industrial, trade and labor activities ; to maintain quality control over manufactures ; and to make easier the levy and collection of taxes and prevent fraud of the fisc. J. P. WALTZING, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains*, Louvain, 1895, 1, p. 147 n. 1, pp. 150, 354 and n. 3 ; STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, pp. 98-99 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, pp. 35, 40-41, 46, 57-58, 61 ; G. ZORAS, *Le corporazioni bizantine*, Rome, 1931, pp. 76-78. Though plausible, these explanations do not derive from the *Book of the Eparch* and are incidental at best.

(158) *BE*, 4. 7 ; 6. 14 ; 7. 3 ; 8. 6.

(159) *BE*, 2.1 ; 4. 1 ; 5. 1 ; 10. 6 ; 11. 2 ; 13. 1 ; 15. 1.

behavior or to prevent a move from one occupation to another within the guild system.

Guild members were forbidden to supply inputs and finished goods to non-guild members ([160]), to buy imported inputs on behalf of influential or wealthy persons ([161]), to act as procurement agents for members of unauthorized guilds, barter or purchase goods they were not authorized to handle ([162]) ; or to sell such inputs unprocessed ([163]). The main purpose of compulsory guild membership and particular restrictions was to forestall the growth of *commercial* manufacturing and trade activities outside the guild system. By funneling all commercial transactions through a controllable setting in statutorily designated sectors, the strict division of labor among guilds could be enforced, while the emergence of monopolistic market structures and concentration of economic power could be thwarted ([164]). The practice of a craft or trade was fundamentally free,

(160) *BE*, 6. 16 ; 8. 8 ; 12. 4, 7 ; 13. 4 ; 16. 3.

(161) *BE*, 6. 10 ; 7. 1.

(162) *BE*, 9. 6 ; 11. 8 ; 12. 7.

(163) *BE*, 6.13 ; 7.1. The stipulation that raw materials cannot be sold to traders who intended to export them unprocessed (*BE*, 6. 16) reflects a primary concern to avoid unwarranted shortages and consequent price increases. It also points to a conscious policy of exporting only finished goods from the capital, which generated employment opportunities locally and a much higher value added.

(164) It has been argued that, despite the prohibition, the nobility, in collusion with guild members, managed to have silks produced for their account or at their homes, which in turn they sold on the market. G. MICKWITZ, *Die Organisationsformen zweir byzantinischer Gewerbe im X. Jahrhundert*, in *BZ* 36 (1936), pp. 75-76 ; IDEM, *Un problème d'influence : Byzance et l'économie de l'Occident médiéval*, in *Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale*, 22 (1936), p. 27 ; KAZHDAN, *Tsekhi*, p. 153 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, p. 29 ; R. S. LOPEZ, *Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire*, in *Speculum*, 20 (1945), p. 16. Similarly, provision *BE*, 16. 4, which prohibits pork dealers to hide pigs in nobles' houses, has led to the inference that dignitaries were illicitly involved in the livestock trade : SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, p. 30 ; DAGRON, *Urban Economy*, 2, p. 457. However, the notion that the powerful would be involved in an unlawful activity and that guild members would be willing to cooperate in spite of the ubiquitous presence of informers and the inflicted severe penalties is strained and lacks evidentiary support. The law's *cautionary* provisions aimed to thwart *potential* transgressions and cannot be construed as *proof* of a prevalent pattern of unlawful actions by dignitaries. Besides, the powerful did not have to resort to underhanded and risky deals, flout the law, and be humiliated if caught – a virtual certainty, as illegal conduct and flagrant transgressions of the law could hardly elude the attention of

except for the exercise of certain narrowly defined economic activities in the capital, where the law required that the practitioners operate within the guild organizational structure. Designation of narrowly bounded marketplaces for the conduct of wholesale and retail trades, prohibition of individual guild members to preempt purchases of imported goods by traveling outside the capital, and interdiction of external suppliers to sell outside the designated marketplaces, prevented market fragmentation, forestalled commodity diversion, fostered competitive pricing behavior, ensured the unfettered functioning of the market mechanism, and impeded the emergence of gray markets.

To instill good faith and ensure fairness in business deals, statute law and the *Book of the Eparch* set norms of business conduct and standards for the orderly conduct of commercial transactions, inflicting severe penalties on noncompliant guildsmen. Thus, it was a punishable offense for a businessmen to buy another's wares at a price below the one agreed upon under some pretext, e.g., subsequent price decline ([165]). Vendors, having agreed on the price and received earnest money on a sale, were forbidden to raise the price afterwards ([166]). Businessmen were forbidden to misinform buyers ([167]), adulterate their wares ([168]), alter their measures or use scales which had not been stamped by the eparch's office ([169]). Nor could they bid up deceitfully someone else's rent ([170]), go about their busi-

the vigilant chiefs. They could openly and profitably invest their capital in silk manufacturing (or any other activity for that matter) by lending to guild members, by entering into a partnership with a guild member, or by setting up shop themselves or by sponsoring a slave. The nobility and venturesome wealthy individuals were free to exploit business opportunities, but in particular sectors they had to operate through the guild system. See also pp. 541-580 and n. 243 below.

(165) *BE*, 18. 5.

(166) *BE*, 6.11 ; 9. 2 ; 10. 5 ; 11. 5. The blanket provision *BE*, 18. 5 extends the rule to the remaining trades.

(167) *B.* 19.10.1 ; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, 11. 14 in *JG*, vol. 2.

(168) *BE*, 2. 5 ; 7. 6 ; 10. 1 ; 11. 4, 6.

(169) *B.* 60.22.6 scholium ; *B.* 60.51.33 ; *BE.* 11. 9 ; 12. 9 ; 13. 2 ; 16, 6 ; 19. 4 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, 18. 24. 3, 5 ; *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 52 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 58.

(170) The law imposed no ceilings on rentals, and a lease could not be annulled on grounds that the agreed rental was less than the going rate, unless deception could be proven. Leases were freely negotiable, and rentals could be renegotiated at agreed upon intervals or at the expiration of the lease. A tenant could not be evicted against his will before the expiration of his lease, even if

ness in a noisy, rude, irascible or importunate manner, ([171]), or consummate deals outside the designated marketplaces ([172]). Unorganized craftsmen and traders were subject to statute law for incorrect business conduct ([173]). Also, to impress self-discipline and probity in their dealings, the law enjoined craftsmen to watch one another and report underhanded deals, being held responsible if they failed to do so ([174]). Coercion ([175]) or fraud in sales was not condoned ([176]). In sales both of animate (e.g., cattle, draft animals) and inanimate things, vendors had to make known to the buyer latent defects. Concealment of blemishes could result in cancellation of the deal, reduction in price, or a fine (*caveat venditor*) ([177]). On the

someone else offered a higher rent. *B.*20.1.2 ; *B.*20.1.22, 3 and scholia ; *Ecloga*, 7. 1, 26 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, M. 13. 12 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 18. 19, 33 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 12. 2 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 8. 1-3, 20, 34. Nonetheless, in connection with commercial workshops leased to guild members, the *Book of the Eparch* criminalized the acquisition of such properties, for the most part in prime locations and hence in short supply, by deceitfully bidding up the rent. *BE*, 4. 9 ; 9. 4 ; 10. 3 ; 11. 7 ; 13. 6 ; 18. 5 ; 19. 2. Apparently, the authorities were concerned that such stealthy practices could create an unsettling business environment by unwarrantedly strengthening the bargaining power of the landlords in the face of a highly inelastic supply, thereby forcing aggrieved tenants to accept unjustifiably excessive rent increases or face eviction and loss of goodwill. The provision did not prohibit rental adjustments reflecting changes in market conditions ; rather, the aim was to frustrate opportunistic behavioral tendencies. Certainly, the action taken did not mean to ban competition as MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 223, argues, or that the eparch regulated the rent of the workshops, as KAZHDAN asserts, *Tsekhi*, p. 148 ; IDEM, *Derevnja i gorod v Vizantii IX-X vv [Country and Town in Byzantium in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries]*, Moscow, 1960, p. 321.

(171) *BE*, 7. 6.

(172) No work could be done and no deals could be concluded in the homes of guild members (*BE*, 2. 11 ; 6. 1, 13 ; 9. 7 ; 11. 1 ; 21. 3), or secretly in dark corners and back alleys of the capital (*BE*, 3. 2, 6 ; 7. 6 ; 16. 2, 4 ; 21. 3). The measure aimed to ensure that all business transactions were aboveboard.

(173) *B.* 20.1.22 scholium ; *B.*60.22.6 ; *B.*60.44.2 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Π. 24. 3, 5 ; *Ecloga*, 16. 30 ; *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 18, 42 ; E. 45 ; *Peira*, 38. 29, 30 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 11. 2 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 15, 19, 70 and scholium, 72 ; 6. 14. 12, 13, 16.

(174) *B.* 54.17 ; *BE*, 10.1 ; 11. 6 ; 13. 4.

(175) *B.*19.10.65 ; *B.*10.2.26,28 ; *Ecloga*, 16. 29 ; *Peira*, 38. 51 ; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 36 ; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 11. 3 ; 3. 3. 68.

(176) *B.* 19. 10. 68.

(177) *BE*, 21. 5, 6 ; *B.*19.10. 34 ; *B.*19.1.33(2), 43, 64 ; *B.*19.6.9 ; *B.*19.8.4, 6, 13, 21 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 11. 3 ; *Peira*, 38. 23, 24 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*,

other hand, aggressive bargaining or craftiness resulting in a loss up to half the price were permissible practices short of outright fraud ([178]). However, the rule applied only to *immovables* and did not extend to commodities that were the object of ordinary commercial transactions — dry and perishable goods. In these instances, price determination was left entirely up to the contracting parties ([179]). Similarly, exaggerated praise and affirmations without promise did not generate obligation ; but if the vendor categorically promised nonexisting attributes, he was liable for deception ([180]).

*Capping of Profit Margins in Retail Sales of Necessities*

The *Book of the Eparch* did not fix the *price* of any commodity dealt by the guilds. Still, misreading of the relevant provisions ([181]) has led to the conclusion that the prices of bread, wine, meat and fish, and implicitly for of all other goods, were *fixed* by the eparch ([182]). The fact is that the

A. 12. 7 ; *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 19 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 57-59, 61-63. OIKONOMIDES maintains that "...government offices verified the quality of goods brought to market. This applied to all merchandise, the most expensive as well as the least costly" : *Entrepreneurs*, pp. 154-155. The fact is that spot checks took place only in sales of cattle and draft animals to ensure that they were free of defects and in good health : *BE*, 15. 2 ; 21. 4.

(178) *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 18 ; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 11. 2 ; *Prochiron* Auctum, 15. 34 ; Hexabiblos, 3. 3. 72.

(179) *B.*10.4.16, 4 ; *B.* 20.1.22, 3. On the scope and implementation of the principle of just price in Byzantium, see G. C. MANIATIS, *Operationalization of the Concept of Just Price in the Byzantine Legal, Economic and Political System*, in *Byz.*, 71 (2001), pp.147-177.

(180) *B.*19.10.17 ; *Peira*, 38. 30 ; *Synopsis Minor*, A. 92 ; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3.19 and scholium ; 3. 3. 66.

(181) *BE*, 15. 2 ; 17. 1 ; 18. 1 ; 19. 1.

(182) NICOLE, *Livre du Préfet*, pp.182, 188-190, 192 ; STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, pp. 80-81, 99-102 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 213, 217-223 ; E. H. FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire. Byzantine Guilds Professional and Commercial*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. xx, 38, 41, 43 ; BOAK, *Book of the Prefect*, pp. 598, 615-617 ; KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, pp. 122-131 ; ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, pp. 58, 70-71, 105, 107-108 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, pp. 41, 61, 71, 79, 87 ; A. P. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *To Eparchikon Biblion Leontos tou Sophou kai ai Syntechniai en Byzantio*, Athens, 1935, pp. 60-61 ; SIDERIS, *Historia*, pp. 265, 271 ; BRATIANU, *Approvisionnement*, pp. 91-92 ; A. M. ANDRÉADÈS, *The Economic Life of the Byzantine Empire*, in *Byzantium*, ed. N. H. BAYNES and H. St. L. B. MOSS, Oxford, 1962, pp. 57, 66 ; A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*, London, 1973, pp. 55,

law only set maximum *profit margins* at the retail end for these staple articles handled by the guilds and only in the capital. This was quite a progressive pricing policy since profit capping ([183]), though intrusive, was inappreciably disruptive of the functioning of the market mechanism and the price formation process compared with outright price fixing. Fixing profit margins is not tantamount to fixing prices. The reason is that the wholesale price structure of the consumer goods involved — the bedrock for retail price formation — was allowed to reflect the prevailing demand and supply conditions as well as prospective price movements. Thus, as the fixed profit margin was calculated on the wholesale price, any change in the latter was transmitted to the retail price and, in consequence, price changes at the wholesale level were passed on to the consumer ([184]). Besides, setting profit margins did not preclude price competition, as vendors might accept lower margins in order to increase their volume of sales, aiming at maximizing total instead of unit profits. Also, since the cost structure of the sellers varied, the fixed profit margin was calculated on a differing cost basis and, as a result, lower cost sellers could undercut higher cost ones and expand their volume of sales. Indeed, this pricing policy, far from stifling private initiative, tended to foster a competitive spirit, as it provided an incentive to try and capture a larger share of the market and thereby enhance total profits. For an increase in sales not only broadens the basis on which markups are calculated, but also reduces the unit cost of sales by spreading overhead costs over a greater number of units. On the other hand, fixed profit margins did not neces-

205 ; KAZHDAN, *Tsekhi*, p. 150 ; idem, *Derevnja*, p. 321 ; BOISSONNADE, *Life and Work*, p. 47 ; N. H. BAYNES, *The Byzantine Empire*, London, 1946, p. 216 ; THOMPSON, *Middle Ages*, p. 337 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp. 145-146 ; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade*, p. 157 ; GUERDAN, *Byzantium*, p. 93 ; H. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, *Démographie, salaires et prix à Byzance au XI^e siècle*, in *Annales : Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 27 (1972), pp. 238-240 ; M. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*, London, 1997, p. 93 ; DURLIAT, *Approvisionnement*, pp. 29 n. 54, 30-32 ; DAGRON, *Urban Economy*, 2, pp. 455-459. *Contra* : SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, pp. 30-31, 36. See also ns. 274 and 275 below.

(183) FRESHFIELD, *Byzantine Guilds*, p. xviii, maintains without comment that profits were capped on all trades, probably periodically. This view has no foundation, as it is very unlikely that the *Book of the Eparch* would have remained silent on such an important issue.

(184) Failure to appreciate the all-important difference between setting profit margins and price-fixing has led to unsupported statements about wide-ranging price controls. See n. 260 below.

sarily ensure price stability, as has been argued ([185]). Retail prices remain stable only as long as wholesale prices remain unchanged, since the latter are determined by market forces. Furthermore, *fixed* profit margins cannot limit profit *levels* because, when wholesale prices rise, retailers' profits increase as well, as the demand for necessities is inelastic and the fixed margins are calculated on a higher cost basis resulting in higher retail prices.

*Conditions of Work and Wage Rates*

The guilds did not dictate the size of the workforce in business establishments. The conditions of work and wage rates were determined freely by the contracting parties ([186]) and, contrary to what has been asserted ([187]), wages were not fixed by the state or the guilds. A mechanism for adjudicating labor disputes existed, such complaints being argued before the eparch's bureau. As wages were not regulated, and judging from the fact that riots, so frequent in the capital, appeared to have political and not social character ([188]), apparently wages were not suppressed ([189]). Slaves,

(185) LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp. 142-143, 145, 147-148 ; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 320-321, 330, 344-345 ; idem, *Tsekhi*, pp. 149, 154 ; A. HARVEY, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900-1200*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 203 ; ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 93 ; *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (hereafter *ODB*) s.v. *Profit* ; THOMPSON, *Middle Ages*, p. 337 ; C. MORRISSON and J.-C. CHEYNET, *Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World*, in *EHB*, 2, p. 858 ; A. E. LAIOU, *Exchange and Trade, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in *EHB*, 2, pp. 735-736.

(186) *BE*, 6. 2 ; 8. 12 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, p. 148 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, pp. 14, 21, albeit only for wages of apprentices.

(187) See n. 260 below.

(188) S. RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Civilization*, London, 1933, pp. 192, 200 ; ANDRÉADÈS, *Byzance*, p.176 ; P. CHARANIS, *On the Social Structure and Economic Organization of the Byzantine Empire in the Thirteenth Century and Later*, in *Bsl*, 12 (1951), pp.147-149 ; S. VRYONIS, JR., *Byzantine Δημοκρατία and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century*, in *DOP*, 17 (1963), pp. 291, 293, 303-314 ; HENDY, *Studies*, pp. 571-582, 590.

(189) The *Book of the Eparch* did impose conditions on the *hiring* of a special category of workers of superior skills in short supply and great demand employed exclusively in the all-important silk industry ; but it did not interfere with their remuneration. Such operatives could not be hired for more than a month at a time, although contracts could be renewed and, depending on market conditions, after they had been renegotiated ; they could not be hired away from

frequently mentioned in the *Book of the Eparch* ([190]), were either independent proprietors of workshops in guild activities permitted by law, ([191]), or were set up in business by their masters as their sponsored surrogates ([192]). A slave who intended to set up shop on his own account had to be sponsored by his master ([193]). Slaves were also employed as workers in workshops ([194]), but there were no regulations establishing their remuneration. Employment of slaves was rather limited and by the thirteenth century had largely ceased ([195]).

*Restrictions on Alien Merchants' Activities*

The *Book of the Eparch* directed that all imported wares be stored in the warehouses of the *mitata* ([196]), which served both as guest houses for foreign merchants and as the marketplace for the disposal of imported goods. Foreign and provincial merchants were treated in the same manner as far as trade was concerned. The persons and property of visiting merchants were secured, procedures were in place to enforce contracts, and commercial disputes were adjudicated by an impartial judicial system. The eparch's deputy (*legatarios*) apprised him of all the merchants

another employer before they had completed the task(s) for which they had been paid by their current employer ; and they were not to receive advance pay for more than thirty days' work. *BE*, 6. 2, 3 ; 8. 10, 12. The purpose of the intervention was to make available these skilled operatives to all employers and, apparently, to the imperial silk workshops as well, since the latter had to compete with the private sector for the services of these qualified craftsmen. SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, pp. 16, 20, MACRI, *Organisation*, pp.149-50, THOMPSON, *Middle Ages*, p. 336 n. 1, LINDSAY, *Byzantium*, p. 160, DAGRON, *Urban Economy*, 2, p. 420, extend the hiring regulations pertaining to the silk industry to craftsmen employed by all guilds. However, there is no such provision in the *Book of the Eparch*, as would be expected for a matter with far-reaching implications for the conduct of industrial activities. Extending provisions applying strictly to the particular circumstances of the silk industry by analogy to other sectors is arbitrary.

(190) *BE*, 2. 8-10 ; 4. 2 ; 6. 7 ; 7. 3, 5 ; 8. 13 ; 11. 1.

(191) E.g., jewelers (*BE*, 2. 8, 9) ; silk garment merchants (*BE*, 4. 2) ; spinners (*BE*, 7. 3) ; weavers (*BE*, 8. 13). Slaves could not join certain guilds : bankers' (*BE*, 3. 1 ) ; dealers' in raw silk (*BE*, 6. 7 ; 7. 3).

(192) *BE*, 2. 10 ; 6. 7.

(193) *BE*, 4. 2, 5 ; 8. 13.

(194) *BE*, 8. 7 ; 11. 1.

(195) SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, pp. 13-14 ; KAZHDAN, *Tsekhi*, pp. 136, 147.

(196) *BE*, 6. 5 ; 20. 1.

who had entered the capital and of their origin, inspected the goods they brought, instructed them as to the manner in which the sale will be conducted, and set the time within which they had to dispose of their wares and complete their purchases. As a rule, no one was permitted to stay longer than three months. Noncompliants were subjected to corporal punishment, their wares were confiscated, and they were expelled from the city ([197]). Suppliers negotiated with representatives of the guilds, the only persons authorized to make purchases of imports.

Special commercial treaties modified the general rule, designating lodgings and imposing quantitative restrictions on purchases by foreign merchants — usually expensive silks. The pacts treated more or less favorably particular nations, depending on the Byzantines' commercial and political interests and bargaining power ([198]). For political reasons, the Byzantines were obsessed with the possibility that foreigners might smuggle out of the country forbidden items — mostly highly prized silks, and took pains to prevent such incidents through thorough searching at exit points.([199]) As a rule, there was no limit to the quantity of silks foreign and provincial merchants could buy, as long as their sale was not explicitly forbidden, the sale was reported to the eparch, and the article was stamped by his staff. The purpose of having the silks sealed when produced and sold was not to guarantee product quality or trademark ; rather, it served to certify that the goods were *tradable*, i.e. not prohibited for domestic consumption or export. Foreign trade restrictions were eroded in the eleventh century and were ultimately dismantled during the twelfth century, following the diminished role of the previously all-important silk industry due to competition from newly emerged provincial production centers ([200]), the weakening of the executive power of the government ([201]), and the commercial privileges granted to the Latins

(197) *BE*, 20. 1, 2 ; 5. 5 ; 10. 2.

(198) For details, see LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, pp. 3, 28-41.

(199) *BE*, 4. 1 ; 8. 1, 2, 4.

(200) D. JACOBY, *Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade*, in *BZ*, 84/85 ( 1991/1992), pp. 452, 460-462, 464, 466-467, 493-498.

(201) P. CHARANIS, *Internal Strife in Byzantium during the Fourteenth Century*, in *Byz.*, 15 (1941), pp. 208-230 ; LAIOU-THOMADAKIS, *The Byzantine Economy*, pp. 188, 199, 201, 204-205, 210-211 and n. 131, pp. 212-213, 215, 218, 220-221.

which enabled them to penetrate deeply the capital's commodity markets ([202]).

## The Byzantine Guild Organizational Structure

### *Origin*

The issue has been raised whether the tenth-century private guilds in the Byzantine capital were the continuation of the Roman guilds (*collegia*), or they represented a new beginning. Neither the *Book of the Eparch* nor other legal texts and narrative sources are helpful in resolving the issue. The view of the overwhelming majority of scholars is that the Byzantine guilds, especially those dealing with necessities, are geneticall-ly related to the Roman *collegia*. The link is ascribed to the continuity of urban life in Byzantium ; the preservation of state authority over guilds and the right of intervention in the economy inherited from the Roman times ; and the similarity of their regulations, functions, and status vis-a-vis the state ([203]). Perhaps the clearest evidence of linkage is to be found in consecutive legal provisions ([204]), which over the centuries repeat the fundamental directive that the private guilds of the capital fall under the authority of the eparch, the successor of the Roman *prefectus urbi* whose title and jurisdictions he inherited. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the five private guilds involved in the import and processing of raw

(202) Charanis, *Economic Organization*, pp. 149-151 ; Sjuzjumov, *Remeslo*, p. 35 ; Lopez, *Silk Industry*, p. 40 ; Oikonomides, *Entrepreneurs*, p. 165.

(203) Stoeckle, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, pp. 135-141 ; Christophilopoulos, *Syntechniai*, p. 4 ; Hartmann, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte Italiens*, pp. 16-41 ; Mickwitz, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 232 ; Boak, *Book of the Prefect*, pp. 599-600 ; Ostrogorsky, *History*, p. 254 ; Runciman, *Byzantine Trade*, p. 154 ; P. Schreiner, *Die Organisation byzantinischer Kaufleute und Handwerker*, in *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor-und fruegeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel-und Nordeuropa*, Goettingen, 1989, Teil 6, pp. 46-48, 56-57, 61 ; Kazhdan, *Tsekhi*, p. 144 ; P. Charanis, *On the Social Structure of the Later Roman Empire*, in *Byz.*, 17 (1946), pp. 49-50 ; Sjuzjumov, *Remeslo*, p. 13 ; Litavrin, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 152 ; Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, pp. 20, 23 ; Epstein, *Labor and Guilds*, p. 26. Contra : H. Gehring, *Das Zunftwesen Konstantinopels im zehnten Jahrhudert*, in *Jahrbuecher fuer Nationaloeconomie und Statistik*, 38 (1909), pp. 590-591.

(204) *CTh*, 1. 10. 4 ; *CJ*, 1. 28. 4 ; *Prochiros Nomos*, 40. 27- 29 in *JGR* vol. 2 ; *B.* 6. 4. 13 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 66. 32.

silk, manufacture of silks, and the marketing of domestically produced and imported silks were newly instituted entities, as there was a hiatus in the continuity of the silk industry from the sixth to the ninth century ([205]), and an altogether different reason for their induction into the guild organizational structure : to prevent the stealthy manufacture and trade of the declared as nontradable high quality silks reserved for the court.

Although the state's control over the guilds remained, nonetheless important changes had been wrought out over the centuries. Unlike the Roman times, the individual in Byzantium was not bound to his calling, and guild membership was no longer hereditary ([206]). Guild members retained their own trading capital, while their property no longer was liable for the obligations of the guild. Compulsory membership was confined only to a limited number of state designated sectors, while a wide range of crafts and trades remained unregulated. For instance, crafts in transport, construction and metalworking, known to have been among the most widely organized during the Roman times ([207]), lost institutional continuity in Byzantium. Entry was linked to integrity, capability, and financial means, while exit was voluntary or in consequence of punishment for infractions of the law. Change of occupation within the guild system was allowed provided one relinquished his current occupation. Finally, contrary to the Roman experience, the Byzantine state never imposed price controls over commodities handled by guilds.

*Purpose*

The Byzantine guilds were created by fiat, which reflects their *mandatory* character. As official organizations instituted by the state, they were under its direct control effected through the eparch and the chiefs he appointed. The statutes, defining the scope of their activities and the code of conduct, were issued in the form of edicts by the state and not by the guilds ([208]). Contrary to what has been hypothe-

(205) On the decline and revival of the private silk industry in Byzantium before the tenth century, see LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, pp. 4, n. 2, 8-16.

(206) STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, pp. 138, 140 ; OSTROGORSKY, *History*, p. 254 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, p. 9 ; BOAK, *Book of the Prefect*, pp. 599-600 ; THOMPSON, *Middle Ages*, p. 337.

(207) THRUPP, *Gilds*, pp. 233-234.

(208) BOAK, *Book of the Prefect*, p. 598 ; A. P. KAZHDAN and A. WARTON EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkeley, 1985, p. 52.

sized ([209]), the legislative intent, and the nature, formulation, and tone of the statutory provisions spearheaded by the Byzantine authoritarian regime suggest that it is unlikely that the edicts were drawn up in a collegial and collaborative manner between the eparch's office and the guilds, and that the end product was the outcome of a give and take. By the same token, the view that the rules and regulations contained in the *Book of the Eparch* were drafted by the traders themselves, and that the guild secured monopolistic advantages for its members by exerting influence on the authorities ([210]), is stretched and unconvincing. As the state's organs, the guilds enforced the government's economic policy and the stipulated rules of business conduct safeguarding the interests of the consumers ; they did not act as stewards of the business interests of the guildsmen ([211]). In particular, the guild organization aimed : to secure key supplies at reasonable prices from the provinces and abroad, with the guilds acting collectively as *quasi* state surrogates. To establish and enforce norms of business behavior and standards for the orderly conduct of commercial transactions, preventing such unsavory practices as adulteration of goods, underweight sales, or profiteering ([212]). To thwart the production and trade of forbidden articles, mainly prized silks ([213]), and

(209) KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, pp. 21-31.

(210) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 207-223, 228-231, 234, and especially 229, argues that, beside the protection of the public from gouging in foodstuffs, the law, initiated by the traders themselves, aimed to thwart all competition among members or from outside, and thereby safeguard the guilds' monopolies – the statutory monopoly granted the guilds hardly served the interests of the state. The notion that the state-granted monopolies advanced the interests of the guildsmen is challenged in pp. 544-551 below.

(211) Cf. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Syntechniai*, pp. 38, 48 ; BOAK, *Book of the Prefect*, pp. 597-598 ; OSTROGORSKY, *History*, p. 254 ; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade*, p. 154 ; E. FRANCÈS, *La disparition des corporations byzantines*. In *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, 1961*, Belgrade, 1964, 2, p. 97 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, p. 13 ; CHARANIS, *Social Structure*, p. 50 ; MENDL, *Les corporations byzantines*, p. 318 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp. 134, 140-141, 147-148, 151. *Contra* : MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 229 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, pp. 73-74 ; ANDRÉADÈS, *Byzance*, pp. 172-173 ; KAZHDAN, *Tsekhi*, p. 144.

(212) See pp. 520-526 above ; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Syntechniai*, p. 4.

(213) *BE*, 4. 1, 3, 4, 8 : 7. 5 ; 8. 1-5, 9. Cf. also STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 99 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, p. 3, 15, 20-21 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, pp. 55-56 ; ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, p. 102.

prevent the export of know-how, industrial secrets, and skilled manpower ([214]). To effect collective purchases of selected imported goods in important trades in order to achieve lower prices ([215]). Other reasons advanced for the role of the guilds include : to facilitate the levy and collection of taxes, supervise all manufacturing activities to maintain high quality, and ensure fulfillment of public service obligations ([216]). However, these alleged functions are not even implicit in the provisions of the *Book of the Eparch* or other narrative sources ([217]) ; apparently, they are transplants of occurrences in the West.

The *Book of the Eparch* defined the economic activities in the capital that had to be undertaken by private enterprises mandatorily organized into guilds, and thereby established statutorily their sectoral sphere of operation. This suggests that the guilds were instituted by state power and as the obligatory form for engaging in a craft or trade in designated business activities. In these specified instances, membership was compulsory and a precondition for the practice of a craft or trade ([218]). The coexistence of guild-controlled and non-guild-controlled economic activities in the same sector made no sense in the state's framework of industrial and commercial policy. Indeed, the practice of certain crafts by non-guild members was explicitly forbidden ([219]). It would be simplistic to suggest

(214) *BE*, 8. 7. Contrary to LOPEZ's assertion, *Silk Industry*, pp. 18, 23, the provision did not aim to shield the local silk industry from external competition as is evidenced by the unrestricted import of silks of comparable quality (*BE*, 5. 1-5).

(215) Silks (*BE*, 5. 3) ; raw silk (*BE*, 6. 8 ; 7. 4) ; linens (*BE*, 9. 3).

(216) MACRI, *Organisation*, pp. 43, 46 ; ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, p. 102 ; OSTROGORSKY, *History*, p. 254 ; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade*, p. 154 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp. 132, 134-135, 138-139, 143-144, 289.

(217) Cf. ANDRÉADÈS, *Byzance*, pp. 174-175.

(218) CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Syntechniai*, pp. 4, 36, 50 ; MICKWITZ, *Organisationsformen*, pp. 72-74 ; SIDERIS, *Historia*, p. 264 ; MENDL, *Corporations*, pp. 301-302, 304, 312-318 ; SCHREINER, *Organisation*, p. 54 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp. 130, 151. *Contra* : STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 8 ; GEHRING, *Zunftwesen*, p. 580 ; BOAK, *Book of the Prefect*, p. 608 n. 5 ; ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, p. 172 ; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade*, pp. 154 n. 12, 156 ; KAZHDAN, *Tsekhi*, pp.138-139, 144, 146-147, 153 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, pp. 15-16 ; D. SIMON, *Die byzantinischen Seidenzuenfte*, in *BZ*, 68 (1975), pp. 36-39 ; ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 94 ; A. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Industry : Lopez and Beyond*, in *Journal of Medieval History*, 19 (1993), p. 32.

(219) *BE*, 9. 6 ; 11. 8 ; 12. 1, 4, 6 ; 13. 4.

that a mandatory guild system was instituted only to allow the parallel conduct of the same economic activities by unorganized businessmen outside the purview of the authorities, whether noblemen, wealthy enterprising individuals, or small scale traders and craftsmen, as has been argued. It would serve no purpose to set up an organizational structure, designate operational functions at each stage of the productive process and distribution, and enact elaborate regulations concerning admission, obligations, and conduct, only to let the assigned activities to be conducted outside the guild system. Had this happened, the guild system effectively would have been scuttled.

*Scope of Guild Activity*

Contrary to the prevailing view ([220]), the guilds' extent of economic activity in the capital was narrowly bounded. Only manufacturing and trade establishments operating in a limited number of state designated sectors viewed as vital to the local economy or essential to the provisioning of the city were mandatorily organized into guilds, because the government deemed it necessary to oversee their activities ([221]). Intentionally,

(220) NICOLE, *Le Livre du Préfet*, pp. 3, 11 ; Ch. DIEHL, *Études Byzantines*, Paris, 1905, p. 143 ; MENDL, *Corporations*, p. 303 ; ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, pp. 153, 207 ; MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 226, 230 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, p. 33 ; KAZHDAN, *Tsekhi*, pp.137-138 ; IDEM, *Derevnja*, pp. 308, 334 ; SIDERIS, *Historia*, p. 269 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, pp.18-19 ; M. ANGOLD, *The Shaping of the Medieval Byzantine 'City'*, in *BF*, 10 (1985), p. 29 ; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade*, p. 154 n. 12 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, p. 20 ; OSTROGORSKY, *History*, pp. 253-254 ; FRESHFIELD, *Byzantine Guilds*, pp. xii-xiii ; SCHREINER, *Organisation*, p. 51 ; VRYONIS, Jr., *Guilds*, pp. 293-294, 297, n. 26 ; TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, p. 41 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp. 148-49 ; DAGRON, *Urban Economy*, 2, p. 407. See also n. 260 below.

(221) The only craftsmen and merchants required to be organized into guilds were jewelers ( *BE*, 2), bankers (*BE*, 3), those involved in silk manufacturing and trade (*BE*, 4-8), linen and spice dealers (*BE*, 9, 10), candle-makers (*BE*, 11), soap-makers (*BE*, 12), tanners and saddlers (*BE*, 14). A number of basic staples were also handled by guilds : bread (*BE*, 18 ), fish (*BE*, 17), meat (*BE*, 15, 16), wine (*BE*, 19), and groceries (*BE*, 13). Many trades dealing in other equally important and heavily marketed consumer goods, such as vegetables, fruits, milk, eggs, poultry, clothing, shoes, medicines, firewood, construction materials were not under guild control. The fact that private enterprises in particular sectors were mandated to belong to a guild did not imply they had lost their free-

a multitude of business firms engaged in a range of economic activities was left outside the state's purview ([222]), as the authorities had no particular interest in regulating their activities : their large number, diverse activities, and small scale of operations would have rendered their supervision unmanageable ; their trades did not involve prohibited articles ; they operated in a highly competitive environment ; and they were subject to the common law for reprehensible business practices ([223]). Hence, their compulsory induction into numerous guilds would have served no purpose and would have been impractical. On the other hand, it is inconceivable that economic activities the state was keen in regulating would have been omitted from the compilation of edicts included in the *Book of the Eparch*, as has been argued. In short, the regulatory system was not as pervasive as has been thought. The notion that the guild system was ubiquitous is born of the failure to put the regulatory nexus in proper perspective.

The view is also held that, in addition to the capital, guilds were active in the provinces as well ([224]). Yet, most provincial towns were small and

dom to manage their operations as they saw fit – they only had to abide by the law and make sure deals were aboveboard.

(222) An incomplete list of over fifty crafts are enumerated in *B.* 54.6.6 and *BE*, 22. 1. For additional unregulated crafts and trades, see Ph. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολισμός*, Athens, 1948, B, I, pp. 179-243 ; *Exabiblos*, 2.4.15-22. Important industries located in the capital or its outskirts, e.g., metalworking, woodworking, glassmaking, woolen and linen, pottery, building materials, grain milling, operated outside the guild organizational structure.

(223) See n. 173 above.

(224) STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 3 ; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Syntechniai*, pp. 4, n. 2, 37-38 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, p. 23, n. 2 ; CHARANIS, *Economic Organization*, p. 152 ; JACOBY, *Silk in Western Byzantium*, p. 457 and n. 25, pp. 490-492 and n. 230, p. 499 ; P. TIVČEV, *Sur les cités byzantines au XI^e^-XII^e^ siècles*, in *Byzantinobulgarica*, 1 (1962), p. 173 ; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Hommes d'affaires Grecs et Latins à Constantinople (XIII^e^-XV^e^ siècles)*, Paris, 1979, pp.111-112 ; P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos 1143-1180*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 158, 167 ; OSTROGORSKY, *History*, p. 253 ; ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire*, p.284 ; SCHREINER, *Organisation*, pp. 51-52 ; E. FRANCÈS, *La féodalité et les villes byzantines au XIII^e^ et au XIV^e^ siècles*, in *Bls.*, 16 (1955), p. 86 ; TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, p. 41 ; BOISSONNADE, *Life and Work*, p. 46 ; HARVEY, *Economic Expansion*, p.158 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 149 ; DAGRON, *Urban Economy*, 2, pp. 417-418. *Contra* : SIDERIS, *Historia*, pp. 266-267, 277, 296, n. 2 ; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade*, p. 161 ; G. MAKRIS, *Studien zur spaetbyzantinischen Schiffahrt*, Genoa, 1988, pp. 142-146. A. KAZHDAN and G. CONSTABLE point out that we do not know whether the guild sys-

could support only a limited number of craftsmen and traders. The few larger ones had more business establishments, but they covered a wide range of activities with a small number of practitioners in each — hardly an inviting situation that would have prompted the state to set up a nation-wide guild system based on a functional division of labor. The requisite critical mass simply was not there. Besides, the state had no particular interest in controlling the activities of scores of small businessmen scattered throughout the empire. If a guild organizational structure was in force in the provinces, it surely would have been cited in the existing legislation, as has been the case in earlier times ([225]). Moreover, were the Byzantines so keen on controlling all industrial and commercial activity in the provinces through a guild system, they would have instituted an elaborate national regulatory apparatus. This would have entailed the development of a vast administrative machinery and would have to take some legal form. Yet, neither the legal texts nor the narrative sources provide such evidence. On the other hand, a passage in the Ordinance of emperor Michael VIII Palaeologos issued in the mid-thirteenth century ([226]) commands provincial civilian and military authorities to set "just" prices for necessities. The fact that the Ordinance affords regional authorities unprecedented regulatory power over the prices of staples betokens the absence of guilds in the provinces, as such regulatory function would have already been assigned to them had they been in existence. Nor does the Ordinance institute a guild organizational structure to fix and enforce just prices, apparently because this was not common practice. All in all, telling factors lead to the inference that the guild organization was confined to the capital.

*Internal Organization*

The guilds lacked an internal organizational structure ([227]), in the sense that these entities did not have bylaws, i.e. a body of working regulations

tem extended to the provinces : *People and Power in Byzantium*, Washington DC 1982, p. 141. The scholarship is divided on the issue whether or not the guilds disappeared after the twelfth century. The issue is taken up in pp. 556-559 below.

(225) *CTh*, 12.1.162 ; 12.6.29 ; 13.1.9 ; 13.5.1, 2 ; 14.3.2,5,8 ; 14.4.9,10 ; 14.7.1, 2 ; 14.8.1 ; *CJ*, 11.7.1 ; 11.9.4, 7.

(226) Cited in L. Burgmann and P. Magdalino, *Michael VIII on Maladministration*, in *Fontes Minores*, VI, Frankfurt, 1984, p. 382.

(227) Cf. Christophilopoulos, *Syntechniai*, pp. 36-38 ; Macri, *Organisation*, p. 36. *Contra* : R. S. Lopez, *The Role of Trade in the Economic Readjustment of*

defining concrete objectives and the requisites for actions leading to their implementation. Nor did they have officers responsible for the conduct of its affairs ([228]). The guilds' domain and the members' rules of conduct were set forth externally by law — the *Book of the Eparch.* The guilds themselves did not function as business establishments ; nor did they provide industrial facilities or financial assistance to guild members. Each guild comprised an array of independent producers or merchants plying the same trade, who were free to conduct their business as they saw fit. The Byzantine guilds had no binding internal regulations dictating how each member ought to conduct his business. In the centralized Byzantine administrative system, the chiefs had a rather circumscribed directive and supervisory authority, while the detailed inspections were undertaken by specialized functionaries dispatched from the eparch' s office. The guilds levied a one-time nominal entry fee on new members, although it is not certain whether all of them did ([229]). They had no standing trading funds, as is evidenced by the fact that guild members had to contribute to a fund to effect the mandated collective purchase of imports. Finally, the *guilds* were not legal right-holding entities and, hence, they could not own property, sue, be summoned to trial, or mete out punishment to violators of statutory rules and regulations. However, *individual* guild members could sue and be sued through the office of the eparch.

The guilds had chiefs, some one, but most more than one, depending on the size of their membership ([230]). The chiefs were trusted state offi-

*Byzantium in the Seventh Century, DOP*, 13 (1959), p. 77, without supporting evidence.

(228) STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, pp. 84, 102, 137-38.

(229) *BE*, 4. 5 ; 6. 6 ; 7. 3 ; 8. 13. The view expressed by DAGRON, *Urban Economy*, 2, p. 408, that the guilds managed funds supplied in particular by annual assessments on their members is conjectural. There is not even a hint of such levies in the *Book of the Eparch*, or the narrative sources for that matter, to support the assertion. The notion apparently derives from the experience in the West.

(230) The varying titles of the chiefs (*exarchos*, *prostates*, *proestos*, *protostates* – *BE*, 2. 6, 9 ; 5. 1, 3 ; 6. 4 ; 12. 1 ; 14. 1, 2 ; 16. 3 ; 17. 1, 3, 4 ; 19. 1) suggest an inter-guild hierarchy, possibly reflecting the perceived differences in the socio-economic status of their members and the quantum of membership. Cf. NICOLE, *Livre du Préfet*, p. 88 ; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Syntechniai*, pp. 47-48, 49 n. 1.

cials, were appointed by the eparch, and were accountable to him ([231]). They saw to it that guild members complied with the law and the eparch's directives. They also served as a liaison between the eparch and the guildsmen, e.g., referring to the eparch issues requiring his decision and relaying the eparch's directives to them ([232]), reporting violators of the law based on preliminary inquiries, or presenting prospective new members to the eparch ([233]). This liaison function did not mean that the chiefs advanced the interests of the guildsmen. On the other hand, the fact that the chiefs oversaw the activities of the guild members did not imply that they "managed" their business, as has been argued ([234]). Private enterprises operating in guild-designated sectors did not loose their managerial independence. The chiefs did not interfere with the firms' decision-making process and they did not micromanage their activities. The Byzantine guild organization formed a *superstructure* encompassing an array of independently functioning production and trade units. Enterprises operating under the guild system were run either by a single person or as partnerships (*hetaireiai, koinoniai)*, i.e. statutory law forms of business organization, a pattern followed by firms operating outside the guild organizational structure ([234a]).

(231) *BE*, 5.1 ; 14. 1, 2. STOCKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 84 ; CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Syntechniai*, pp. 47-48, 49 and n. 1 ; BOAK, *Book of the Prefect*, p. 599 ; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Civilization*, p. 175 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, p. 39 ; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Entrepreneurs*, p.155, and DAGRON, *Urban Economy*, 2, p. 410, maintain that the chiefs of the guilds, though official organs of the state, were chosen from among their members. However, this is true only for the society (*syllogos*) of the notaries who, because of their legal training, distinct quasi-judicial function, and high ethical standards were subject to a different set of rules, including a *numerus clausus* (*BE*, 1. 1-3, 13, 22, 23). In fact, the *society* of notaries was not a *guild* proper (*systema*), and the *Book of the Eparch* is careful to make the distinction. The *ad hoc* procedure of selecting their chief cannot be applied by analogy to guilds involved in totally unrelated industrial and trade activities. In dealing with the guilds proper, the *Book of the Eparch* nowhere indicates that the chiefs were chosen from among guildsmen or alludes to the process of their selection. This is understandable, as the authorities could not trust active guild members to perform their duties impartially because of their vested interest.

(232) *BE*, 17.4 ; 18.4 ; 19.1.

(233) *BE*, 7. 3.

(234) CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Syntechniai*, p. 38.

(234a) LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp. 129, 151, maintains that the guilds were a particular variety of *koinonia*. This parallelism is misleading:

There was no mandated, structured, or strictly enforced hierarchy of the industrial workforce consisting of graded ranks of apprentices, journeymen, and masters, or detailed regulations concerning apprenticeship, advancement, or conditions and hours of work ([235]). Training in a trade was a private matter in which the state showed no interest. The only way a person could acquire a skill was to practice a craft as an apprentice to an experienced craftsman. Though unstructured and unsupervised by the state, apparently this was a workable institutional arrangement for vocational training. At the end of his apprenticeship, for the duration of which there were no hard and fast rules, the individual could offer himself for hire in the same workshop or elsewhere ([236]), advancing to foreman if he was a good performer ([237]). If he had managerial aptitude, business acumen, and had saved or could borrow, he could open his own shop.

Although conditioned on certain qualifications (integrity, capability, financial means), requirements (payment of a one-time nominal entrance fee), and the attestation of several respectable persons ([238]), legal entry into the manufacturing and trade guilds was not restricted and no *numerus clausus* was imposed. Possession of technical skills was not a precondition to setting up shop, as long as the requisite expertise could be

*Koinonia* and *hetaireia* were forms of business organization pertaining to *individual* enterprises. Guilds, on the other hand, formed a *superstructure* or *second tier* comprising individual enterprises plying the same trade which might take the legal form of *koinonia*, *hetaireia*, or sole proprietorship. For a typology of the relationships among first and second tier organizational forms in the Byzantine business sector, see G. C. MANIATIS, *The Domain of Private Guilds in the Byzantine Economy, Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries*, in *DOP*, 55 (2001), pp. 347-49 and the schematic diagram opposite p. 350.

(235) Yet, KAZHDAN, *Tsekhi*, pp. 143-44, IDEM, *Derevnja*, pp. 305-306, 315-316, 318-319, 323, and KNIGHT, *Economic History of Europe*, p. 94, maintain that the hierarchy at the workshop suggests that there was no fundamental difference between Byzantine and western guilds.

(236) *BE*, 6. 2, 3 ; 8. 10, 12.

(237) *BE*, 8. 7.

(238) *BE*, 2. 10 ; 3. 1 ; 4. 5 ; 6. 6 ; 8. 13. The view expressed by OIKONOMIDÈS, *Entrepreneurs*, p.155, that one had to take an entrance examination and distribute sums of money to his colleagues at the time he entered his professional guild is unsubstantiated and an unwarranted extension of the practice in the West. And so is the view expressed by HICKSON and THOMPSON, *A New Theory of Guilds*, p. 163, and BOISSONNADE, *Life and Work*, p. 47, that the Byzantine guilds were "all-input-restrictive" and charged uniformly high entry fees.

acquired through hiring or a partnership ([239]). The decision to accept new entrants was not made by guild members, or even by their chiefs, but by the eparch ([240]). Guild members not only did not nominate, but they were not even consulted on prospective candidates ([241]). In most guilds slaves were admitted as members provided they were sponsored by their masters. This meant that venturesome wealthy individuals and noblemen could establish industrial and commercial firms in activities under mandatory guild control by using their slaves as surrogates, if they encountered a conflict of interest, wished to remain inconspicuous, or were unwilling to be involved personally in the day-to-day operations of the enterprise. Interestingly, such an involvement has been criticized as an infiltration of lucrative businesses or as a stealthy, forcible, sinister and exploitative action, deriving from the exercise of political or economic power ([242]). Yet, such entry, far from being surreptitious, suspect or inimical, should rather be considered as a conscious and forward-looking effort on the part of the authorities to provide a vent to latent entrepreneurship and tap a source of capital for the expansion of industry and trade. New entry would promote competition through growth of guild membership, expand production for domestic consumption and exports, and increase the chances of employment and better pay for the capital's workforce — policy objectives yielding significant economic and political dividends ([243]).

(239) The *Book of the Eparch* would certainly have stipulated technical skills as a requirement if indeed this was the case. Cf. M. J. SJUZJUMOV, *Kniga Eparcha* [*The Book of the Eparch*], Sverdslovsk ,1949, pp. 85, 211-212 ; IDEM, *Remeslo*, p.17 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 140, n. 94. *Contra* : KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 317 ; IDEM, *Tsekhi*, pp. 141-42.

(240) *BE*, 2. 10 ; 3. 1 ; 4. 5 ; 6. 6, 7 ; 7. 3 ; 8. 13 ; 12. 2 ; 14. 1 ; 16. 1. Aliens, clergymen and Jews were not allowed to become guild members. *BE*, 5. 2 ; 6. 16 ; *Syntagma*, 4, p. 469.

(241) CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Syntechniai*, pp. 37-38 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, pp. 52, 73 ; SIDERIS, *Historia*, p. 269 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, p. 17 ; LINDSAY, *Byzantium*, p. 158. *Contra* : RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Civilization*, p. 175.

(242) JACOBY, *Silk in Western Byzantium*, p. 477 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, pp. 15-16 ; E. FRANCÈS, *L'état et les métiers à Byzance*, in *Bsl.*, 23 (1962), pp. 239-240 ; MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine silk industry*, pp. 34-37 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 150.

(243) The notion that the guild regulations aimed to forestall the penetration of the guilds by the nobility, in effect creating a "closed shop" (n. 164 above), is shared by others as well : Ch. DIEHL, *Études byzantines*, Paris, 1905, p. 143 ;

Exit from the guild was not restricted ([244]), while it was mandatory when a member wished to take up another craft within a guild-designated activity. A member could be expelled from the guild for unbusinesslike conduct or other infractions of the law, a decision that was made by the eparch ([245]). A sentence to exile also resulted in expulsion ([246]). Judging from the number of regulations, albeit not their content, and the stiff penalties inflicted on transgressors, it has been inferred that the guilds, and by extension their members, were "repressed" ([247]). Yet, the largest part of the legal provisions were *agoranomic* in character, in that they set norms of business behavior and standards for the orderly conduct of com-

KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 323 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Kniga Eparcha*, pp. 39-41, 266 ; VRYONIS, Jr., *Guilds*, p. 298 ; C. MANGO, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome*, London, 1980, p. 56 ; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au X^e s. : Prix, loyers, imposition (Cod. Patmiacus 171)*, in *DOP*, 26 (1972), p. 350 and n. 27 ; FRANCÈS, *L'État*, pp. 240-243 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp. 149-50 ; SCHREINER, *Organisation*, pp. 57, 61 ; DAGRON, *Urban Economy*, 2 : 442. *Contra* : SIMON *Seidenzuenfte*, pp. 40-41 and 44 ; E. PAPAGIANNI, *Byzantine Legislation on Economic Activity Relative to Social Class*, in *EHB*, 3, p. 1087. Clearly, the rationale for these stipulations was to channel their economic activities through the guild organizational structure and membership when their involvement meant doing business in guild-designated sectors. To be sure, the law (*B.* 6.1.23) established the incompatibility of the status of high-ranking state officials with direct or indirect involvement in business. But except for the few dignitaries occupying positions of the highest authority in the capital and to whom the law was strictly referring, there were many rich persons who had purchased titular dignities with no authority to discharge state administrative functions. These, as well as numerous members of the powerful Byzantine aristocratic families, indeed some among the emperor's close relatives, were actively involved in commercial activities, particularly during and after the twelfth century. P. LEMERLE, *'Roga' et rente d'État aux X^e-XI^e siècles*, in *REB*, 25 (1967), pp. 77-100 ; R. GUILLAND, *Vénalité et favoritisme à Byzance*, in *REB*, 10 (1952), pp. 36-37 ; A. ANDRÉADÈS, *De la monnaie et de la puissance d'achat des métaux précieux dans l'empire byzantin*, in *Byz.*, 1 (1924), p. 105 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantiskoe obščestvo*, pp. 164-168 ; LAIOU-THOMADAKIS, *The Byzantine Economy*, pp. 188, 199, 201, 204-205, 212, 220-221 ; M. HENDY, *The Economy : A Brief Survey*, in *Byzantine Studies*, ed. S. VRYONIS Jr., New Rochelle, New York, 1992, p. 146.

(244) STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, pp. 62-64.

(245) *BE*, 2. 12 ; 4. 1, 7 ; 5. 1, 2 ; 6. 1, 10, 12, 14 ; 7. 1, 6 ; 8. 2, 8, 9 ; 9. 4-7 ; 10. 1-5 ; 11. 2, 6, 8 ; 12. 2-4, 8 ; 13. 1-3, 5, 6 ; 14. 2 ; 15. 6 ; 16. 2 ; 17. 4 ; 18. 5 ; 19. 4.

(246) *BE*, 3. 5 ; 6. 1 ; 10. 1 ; 13. 1-3 ; 15. 6.

(247) STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, pp. 138-139.

mercial transactions and consumer protection. The law did not deprive guild members of their personal freedom or stifle private enterprise ; it only *bounded* their commercial freedom to ensure conformity with fair business practices and curb abuses. Harsh penalties, combined with the ubiquitous presence of informers ([248]), only intended to provide a powerful deterrent to reprehensible actions. Seen in this light, token entry qualifications and severity of penalties inflicted on violators of the law can hardly be viewed as repressive or inhibiting private initiative ([249]).

The state's representative in its relations with the guilds was the eparch, the highest ranking of all officials in the city, in fact the governor of the capital. He exercised absolute authority over the guilds ([250]), overseeing the economic activities of their members and ensuring their compliance with the law. In this capacity, he also followed closely the dealings of foreign merchants with the guilds. His judicial authority empowered him to judge infractions of rules, inflicting penalties of varying severity on offenders ; adjudicate disputes between vendors and clients emanating from commercial transactions ; and arbitrate conflicts arising from labor contractual obligations ([251]). To carry out his functions, aside from the chiefs of the guilds, the eparch employed a number of subordinates, including the *legatarios* (his deputy), a high ranking assessor, counselors, and numerous inspectors and support staff. The *legatarios* had direct oversight over foreign traders, including the duty of inspecting their wares on arrival, assigning them quarters, and determining the length of their stay. He also saw to it that goods were not hoarded by local merchants ([252]). The assessor was a high ranking official in the eparch's staff, employed subordinate officers to discharge the functions of his office, and assisted the eparch in the exercise of his supervisory function over the guilds' activities. Finally, the eparch's inspectorate included

(248) *Kekaumenos*, *Strategikon*, text and annotated modern Greek translation by D. TSOUNGARAKIS, Athens, 1993, p. 39.

(249) See also p. 553 below. MICKWITZ also observes that detailed regulation did not imply that the Byzantine guilds were oppressed. *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 207, 231.

(250) *B.* 6.4.13 ; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 66. 32 ; *Ecloga Basilicorum*, ed. L. BURGMANN, Frankfurt, 1988, I. 3. 23. 2 ; *Peira*, 51.29 ; R. GUILLAND, *Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire Byzantin*, in *Bsl.*, 41 (1980), pp. 17-32.

(251) *B.* 6. 4, 2, 3 ; *Ecloga Basilicorum*, 7. 3. 23. 2 ; *BE*, 22. 1-4.

(252) *BE*, 2. 1-3.

superintendents, sealers and examiners of silk fabrics, and inspectors of weights and measures.

## The Effective Monopoly Power of the Guilds

### *Statutory Guild Monopolies and Pricing Behavior*

The statutory guild organizational structure, and the attendant division of labor and exclusive production and marketing of their wares, has led to the belief that the guilds were empowered to stifle intra-guild competition and exercise unbounded monopoly pricing power ([253]). However, the existence of a fiat *guild* sales monopoly does not *ipso facto* imply monopolistic pricing behavior by *individual* guild members or elimination of intra-guild competition, as has been argued. A sharp distinction should be made between the exclusive right of the guild members as a *group* to be involved in a certain economic activity, and the ability of *individual* guild members to take advantage of this prerogative and wield monopoly pricing power in the marketplace. Effective exercise of monopoly pricing requires the existence of highly concentrated market structures, collusive

(253) J. Nicole, *Le Livre du Préfet*, "Commentary" extract from the *Revue Géneréle du Droit*, 1893, Variorum Reprints, London, 1970, p. 293 ; Stoeckle, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, pp. 99-100, 102 ; Mickwitz, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 208-209, 217, 228-229, 234 ; Zoras, *Corporazioni byzantine*, pp. 70-71, 105, 107-108 ; Macri, *Organisation*, p. 53 ; Andréadès, *Economic Life*, pp. 57, 62-63, 66-67 ; Koukoules, *Byzantinon Vios*, B, I, p. 254 ; Knight, *Economic History*, p. 94 ; Boissonnade, *Life and Work*, p. 47 ; Kazhdan, *Derevnja*, pp. 320-321 ; Simon, *Seidenzuenfte*, pp. 24, 41-42, 44 ; Lopez, *Silk Industry*, pp. 17-18 ; Kazhdan and Constable, *People and Power*, p. 135 ; Angold, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 93 ; Oikonomidès, *Entrepreneurs*, pp. 154-160 ; Litavrin, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 154. See also n. 260. Schreiner, *Organisation*, p. 54, maintains that the guild system allowed the state, if necessary, to set and control prices, while Runciman, *Byzantine Trade*, p. 158, argues that "when prices and profits were not specified in the articles of the gild the prefect could fix them according to the circumstances of the moment". Finally, A. Kazhdan presents a picture of a state-organized and strictly controlled private economy, asserting that, although the substructure of the byzantine economy was based on private ownership and private enterprise, Byzantium was not a society of free private owners and producers since the eparch of the capital and his staff were empowered to control the price and quality of the products, as well as the conditions in the workshops, through the guild system. *State, Feudal, and Private Economy in Byzantium*, in *DOP*, 47 (1993), pp. 99-100.

action by guild members with ability to set prices and enforce price discipline on fractious members to ensure compliance, closed entry into the guild, protection from external competition, and a supportive or quiescent law enforcement officialdom. These conditions were nonexistent.

The degree of market concentration is an important determining factor that affects the players' attitude and pricing behavior. The evidence points to the existence of a market structure that generally was characterized by a large number of firms, a wide range of enterprise sizes ([254]), designation of narrowly bounded marketplaces, and a regulated albeit virtually unimpeded entry of new firms, conditions reflecting an atomistic market structure that tended to foster a competitive attitude and a potent inter-seller and inter-buyer rivalry among guild members. Express or tacit agreements leading to monopoly situations were illegal and largely unenforceable ([255]), while the threat of economic exploitation and decimation of an aggrieved guild through underhanded practices would most certainly invite the membership's forceful reaction in the face of high stakes and elicit state intervention. Similar reaction and response would be expected in the case of wronged consumers. Even securing a purchase monopsony

(254) The fact that guild members in several important trades contributed to a fund according to their means for the collective purchase of imports (see p. 549 and n. 261 below), the existence of members who were unable to procure wholesale and had to buy retail from importers (*BE*, 6. 9 ; 7. 2, 4, 5), and the absence of any restrictions on enterprise scale of operations, attest to a varying financial strength of the membership and the concomitant asymmetric size distribution of firms. The view therefore expressed by MANGO, *Byzantium*, p. 56, that the guild system was designed to discourage private initiative and enrichment is not borne out.

(255) See p. 521 and n. 150 above. Market dominance could also be attained if the members of the guilds could enter into an overt or covert agreement covering every transaction, setting uniform prices or sales quotas, and driving all-or-nothing deals. To be effective, however, collusive agreements presuppose enforceable schemes to restrict sales and maintain prices, ability to discipline unruly members, and consent or acquiescence of the overseeing chiefs and, by extension, of higher level authorities — conditions extremely difficult to put into practice and sustain. Besides, collusive agreements tend to be fragile and often break down even in highly concentrated markets, because antagonistic tendencies among rival members lead to deviations from perfectly collusive behavior. On the other hand, conspiratorial actions would have prompted the authorities to crack down on violators of the law whether *ipso jure* or at the plea of aggrieved parties.

did not by itself guarantee sales monopoly pricing power in a market structure featuring low or negligible concentration and lack of opportunity for concerted action. As long as guildsmen were free to set their own prices, as they were, intra-guild competition could not be thwarted. The prevalent thinking points to the "fallacy of division", as what is true for the entire guild membership as a class is not necessarily true for each member of the class.

The alleged monopoly power of the guilds is predicated on the implicit, but unwarranted, assumption that the Byzantine guilds formed a monolithic bloc of like-minded businessmen who acted on command, in unison, or in compliance with internal regulations entailing disciplinary action for noncompliance, and the explicit, but unsupported, view that the main purpose for instituting the guild system and the provisions of the *Book of the Eparch* was to prevent *price competition* among the members of the same guild ([256]). But the Byzantine guild system did not (and could not) aim to raise or maintain prices through concerted action among guild members, since such conduct ran counter to entrenched policy and the anti-monopoly tenor of the law. The *Book of the Eparch* did not impose price discipline on guild members to the end of thwarting intra-guild competition and protect the individual members' share in the total business. Nor were prices or profit margins fixed at the manufacturing or distribution stages of the production process. There were no external or internal regulations aiming at ensuring uniformity in the scale of operations of individual industrial or trade enterprises, since there were no restrictions on the quantity or quality of inputs or the number of workers that could be employed, the equipment to be deployed, or the amount of output to be produced ([257]). New entry into an industry or trade was not legally impeded, suggesting ample opportunities for augmenting the

(256) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 229 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, p. 18 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 154. This is another instance of an inference based on the experience of the West.

(257) Therefore, there is no substance to the view expressed by several authors, rooted in occurrences in the West, that the guild system forestalled the crises of overproduction : ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, p. 103 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, p. 60 ; ANDRÉADÈS, *Economic Life*, p. 63 ; GUERDAN, *Byzantium*, p. 97. By the same token, if an enterprise was compelled to downsize due to competitive pressure or a downturn of the business activity, the guild system could not have safeguarded against unemployment, as has been alleged : ANDRÉADÈS, *Byzance*, pp. 172-173.

ranks of the guilds. There were no import controls or high import duties to shield domestic producers from external competition. The exit of inefficient firms under normal competitive conditions was not hindered. Nor were the regulations designed to protect guild members from the competition of unorganized craftsmen and noble owners of workshops, as has been argued ([258]). The prohibition of conducting parallel economic activities outside the guild organizational structure did not intend to fend off potential competition, but rather to induct prospective practitioners in *designated* sectors into the guild system. These groups could legitimately practice a craft or trade by joining the ranks of the guilds and competing freely within the guild organizational structure.

In short, the prevailing market organization and structures, inability of guild members to cross functional barriers and take over another guild's activities, anti-monopoly and anti-hoarding legislation, open trade policy, lack of control over the imperial government, and economic self-interest were potent countervailing forces, which tended to deter collusive behavior and foster a pro-competitive rather than cooperative attitude among guild members. Contrary to what has been asserted ([259]), guild members could ill-afford to become lax and complacent or feel secure because they were not immune from competition, since the guilds did not act as stewards of their business interests. On the whole, the authorities pursued a policy which refrained from controlling the prices and quality of inputs and outputs, skill supply, conditions of employment, wage rates and, in general, from micromanaging the firms' operations. Rather, they opted for market-based economic policies and solutions with just enough regulation to prevent abuse ([260]).

(258) MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 228-231, 234 ; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 319-20, 323, 331, 334-336, 344 ; idem, *Tsekhi*, pp. 138-139, 144, 146, 153 ; SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, p. 24 ; FRANCÈS, *L'État*, pp. 239-241 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, pp. 15-16, 20, 23 ; L. BRÉHIER, *Les institutions de l'empire byzantin*, Paris, 1949, pp. 458-459 ; ANDRÉADÈS, *Byzance*, p. 172 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp. 150, 154 ; *ODB*, s. v. Guilds.

(259) OIKONOMIDÈS, *Entrepreneurs*, p. 157 ; KAZHDAN and CONSTABLE, *People and Power*, p. 48.

(260) Failure to put the regulatory regime in proper perspective gave rise to the unsupported notion that the guilds controlled every aspect of the economic activity in the capital and the provinces, and led to sweeping, albeit unfounded, pronouncements about far-reaching price controls and a fettered, command-and-control economy : "*L'État se mêle du tout ; il contrôle tout ...il règlemente tout. Tel produit doit être vendu... à tel ou tel prix* " : NICOLE, *Le Livre du Préfet*, p.

293 ; "From the moment [the imported items] come into the hands of the guilds, the government makes decisions about them, about their processing, their price, and their sale" : STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 99 ; "One was not permitted to fix one's own prices... wages were not fixed by bargaining but by the decision of the prefect" ; "There was no economic freedom in Byzantium, everything was regulated. Here the true socialist city was in being before Karl Marx and Lenin" : GUERDAN, *Byzantium*, pp. 88, 93, 95 ; "Free trade and free production were unknown in the Byzantine Empire" : A. A, VASILIEV, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1958, 1, p. 344 ; "*Les divers corps de métiers étaient organisés en corporations hermétiquement closes, étroitement surveillées, minutieusement réglementées pour tout ce qui concernait le recrutement, le salaire, le mode de travail et de vente ; et, pour protéger ces corporations, des mesures fort sévères limitaient ou supprimaient la concurrence étrangère*" : DIEHL, *Études byzantines*, p. 143 ; "The State fixed the quantity of purchases, the quality of manufacture, prices, and wage-rates" : IDEM, *Byzantium : Greatness and Decline*, Rutgers University Press, 1957, p. 89 ; "*Le préfet protégeait les corporations contre tout concurrence ... il fixait les conditions qu'elles devaient faire aux ouvriers, les prix aux quelle elles devaient vendre" :* ANDRÉADÈS, *Byzance*, pp. 172-173 ; "The State ... controlled everything ... it fixed the wages of workmen... and the price for the sale of every product ... employers had no control over ....the number of apprentices that they might deem necessary." : THOMPSON, *Middle Ages*, p. 336, n. 1 ; "The control exercised by the eparch was far-reaching in the extreme ... the government regulated the amount of goods to be bought, supervised their quality and fixed a buying and market price." : OSTROGORSKY, *History*, pp. 253-254 ; "Guilds regulated... the quality and volume of production, prices of goods and the salary of the Misthioi" : *ODB*, s. v. *Guilds* ; "The state...checked the quality of products, the size of workshops (ergasteria), the wages of the journeymen or hired workers (misthioi), and market prices" : KAZHDAN and WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture*, p. 22 ; "(T)he state in the person of the eparch ... fixed wages, the purchase and selling prices of all goods, ..." : T. TALBOT RICE, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*, London, 1967, p. 121 ; "Intra-guild competition was regulated in particular detail" : KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 320 ; "..the gilds were in a position to exercise a large measure of control over the level of prices" : ANGOLD, *Byzantine 'City'*, p. 32 ; "The larger part of the ordinances included in the Book of the Eparch was aimed at limiting competition between guilds and also among members of the same guild" : LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, p. 18 ; "Wherever possible, all competition – among members or from outsiders – was to be thwarted. " : MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 229 ; "Depressing as the perusal of the *Book of the Eparch* must be to anyone who believes in free enterprise," : MANGO, *Byzantium*, p. 55. A. R. LEWIS, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500-1100*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 175-176, 245, A. R. GADOLIN, *Alexis I Comnenus and the Venetian Trade Privileges : A New Interpretation*, in *Byz.*, 50 (1980), p. 444, and Ch. M. BRAND, *Did Byzantium Have a Free Market ?* in *BF*, 26 (2000), pp. 63-72, esp. 65, 67, maintain that the whole system of establishing prices in Byzantium had broken down in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Yet, neither the state nor the guilds had ever set out to fix wholesale or retail prices in the first place. Finally,

*Fiat Guild Import Monopsony and Pricing Power*

The state authorities felt that they could take advantage of the capital's importance as an international trading center and the large volume of imports to obtain more favorable prices. To this end, guild members in several important trades were enjoined to contribute to a fund according to their means for the collective purchase of imported goods, which were then allocated among them in proportion to their respective contributions ([261]). These statutorily mandated purchases at designated market days reflected the authorities' belief that the exercise of quasi-monopsony power, by enjoining guild members to trade collectively, would strengthen their bargaining position and thereby lower the price of imports. Also, guild members were forbidden to meet merchants by traveling outside the capital, since operating outside the mandatory collective purchase system would undercut the effectiveness of the officially enjoined quasi-monopsony. The fact that deals had to be made with a small number of fairly large and shrewd external suppliers may also have contributed to the decision to legislate collective action in order to neutralize their enhanced bargaining power ([262]). In general, guild members were enjoined not to

SIDERIS, *Historia*, pp. 222, 264-266, 275-278, 294-297, characterizes the Byzantine economy as "mixed", in the sense that the state did intervene and control industrial and trade activities, but not to a degree that choked off private initiative. See also pp. 527-528, and ns. 182 and 254 above.

(261) Silks (*BE*, 5. 3) ; raw silk (*BE*, 6. 8 ; 7. 4) ; linens (*BE*, 9. 3).

(262) The bargaining power of the guilds in these wholesale transactions might not have been as great as has been presumed. A small number of fairly large external suppliers, absence of close substitutes, seasonality of shipments, and the bargaining skills of seasoned suppliers could effectively mitigate, if not countervail, the market dominance of the guilds. Furthermore, by timing their entry into the market, staggering the quantities offered for sale, or withdrawing part or all of their wares from the market when prices were purposely depressed, suppliers could enhance perceptibly their bargaining power during the three-month period they were allowed to stay in the capital. Opportunity to act in concert while confined in the *mitata* or the possibility of re-exporting their merchandise could have a similar effect. Import dependence and the legitimate concern that the exercise of inordinate monopsonistic price leverage might disrupt the regular flow of critical inputs could further ease the pressure on suppliers. The upshot is that the suppliers were not inescapably trapped and at the mercy of the guilds, at least not at all times, and the latter's alleged overwhelming monopsonistic power could be readily attenuated under a set of compelling circumstances.

compete against each other and thereby bid up the *purchase* price of imports. Instead, they were to act in concert against the outsiders to obtain the best price ([263]).

Where wholesale purchases took place with higher frequency (e.g., foodstuffs), or it was difficult to effect collective purchases by the entire membership because of the large number of items involved, small quantities per transaction (e.g., legumes brought into the market by farmers from the capital's immediate hinterland, hardware produced by local artisans), varying procurement schedules, unwieldy membership dispersed throughout the city (e.g., grocers) ([264]), or inputs (e.g., ash, dyes) used in the production of goods satisfying basic needs (soap, cloth), prices were negotiated individually and not collectively, but outbidding another member's price offer was forbidden ([265]). Again, the measure aimed at strengthening the negotiating position of the buyers vis-a-vis *outside* suppliers and thereby obtain the lowest possible price. However, no such prohibition existed when purchases were made in the *domestic* market by producers or retailers of luxury, semi-luxury, or basic goods, e.g., silk yarn, silks, linens, spices, perfumes, woolens, shoes, building materials. In this instance, sellers and buyers were free to negotiate at their discretion — intense competition was encouraged.

## Policy Implications

### *Innovation-friendly Environment*

Only industries located in the capital, and of those only the silk, soap, leather and candle- making, were regulated, and only as concerns the ethical conduct of their business. The hands-off policy of the Byzantines regarding the business decisions of the guild-controlled economic activities, reinforced by the emphasis on intra-guild competition, apparently had a positive effect on the introduction of process and product innovations. Indeed, it is debatable whether there was much room for dramatic advances in technology, given the high quality of products turned out and the strong emphasis on product differentiation. Judging from the unsurpassed quality of output of the all-important silk industry, the margins for

(263) *BE*, 10. 1 ; 12. 5, 13. 3.
(264) *BE*, 13. 1.
(265) See n. 263 above.

improving on specialization, production techniques, work methods, shop-floor organization, and overall efficiency do not seem to have been particularly significant. The existing degree of specialization in raw silk processing, dyeing and weaving apparently was fairly advanced, and these advantages were likely reinforced by product specialization among firms. But, fundamentally, there was no grass-roots demand for low-quality, low-priced, low-markup silks, which could be profitable only if they could be standardized and produced in large volume ([266]). The strong element of conspicuous consumption of the end users, as silks were objects of distinction by a class-conscious clientele which expressed strong preference for variety and high quality, militated against mass production. Hence, the industry had no economic incentive to seek novel production methods that would have induced technological breakthroughs. Besides, opportunities for product or process innovations in any industry could be seized, as there were no restrictions on entrepreneurial initiative ([267]).

*Unhampered Enterprise Growth*

The guild system was not as pervasive, restraining, or enduring as has been thought. Coupled with the pro-competitive thrust of the state's industrial and commercial policy, this suggests that the guilds played a far less determining role in the organization and operation of the economy than ascribed to them while extant from the tenth to the twelfth centuries ([268]). The regulatory regime did not interfere with the strictly technico-economic aspects of the firms' operations or managerial decisions, pricing in particular, thereby affording entrepreneurs ample room for independent action within a fundamentally market-oriented system. As a result, state intervention did not perceptibly affect economic incentives, discourage private initiative, or impede the growth of enterprises within each guild's domain. Firms at all stages of the productive process could increase their market shares by exploiting the growth in demand and by chipping away at the shares of fellow guild members through intra-guild

(266) Production of fairly standard quality output might be possible in the soap industry.

(267) For details, see G. C. MANIATIS, *Organization, Market Structure, and Modus Operandi of the Private Silk Industry in Tenth-Century Byzantium*, in *DOP*, 53 (1999), pp. 319-322, 326-328.

(268) See pp. 556-559 below.

competition, as the *Book of the Eparch* neither secured the market position of the members nor prevented the exit of uncompetitive enterprises. Nor did the law forbid price or non-price competition, prohibit trading on borrowed funds, set limits on plant capacity, or regulate production techniques and work processes, which it would have to if the objective was to curb the growth of the scale of individual enterprises. The spectrum of enterprise size distributions within the guild organizational structure attests to the absence of any intention to freeze enterprise operational capacity. Once in place, the regulatory framework provided a set of non-shifting parameters that defined clearly the rules of the game, and allowed guild members and those doing business with them to conduct their affairs with certitude, as is evidenced by the growing economic activity in the capital over the centuries. In short, the authorities opted for outcomes attained through the competitive process and the dynamic interaction of the market forces. Hence, the view (269) that guild regulations aimed to preserve the small scale character of business undertakings has no foundation.

*Unimpeded Entry*

Although legally regulated, new entry was virtually unimpeded, as there was no restriction on the number of potential entrants into the guilds, while entry requirements were far from onerous. Besides, entry decisions were made authoritatively by the eparch, to which guildsmen had no choice but to comply. New entry was probably challenged by existing members, but it is unlikely that they could sway the eparch's decision, as he was keenly interested in increasing productive capacity and in fostering intra-guild competition, which would ensure high quality of output and lower prices. Entry was probably denied only when it would result in *chronic* excess capacity and oversupply, leading to cut-throat price competition, subnormal earnings to enterprises and labor, and

(269) LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, p. 18 ; MICKWITZ, *Organisationsformen*, p. 76 ; DIEHL, *Byzantium*, p. 89 ; FRANCÈS, *L'État*, pp. 239-243 ; OIKONOMIDES, *Entrepreneurs*, p. 156 ; MACRI, *Organisation*, 53 ; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade*, p. 153 ; IDEM, *Byzantine Civilization*, pp. 173-174, 176 ; OSTROGORSKY, *History*, p. 288 ; MANGO, *Byzantium*, p. 56. *Contra* : SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, pp. 14-15, 20. The notion is based on misperception of the scope of regulation in Byzantium, and extends the western experience back to the Byzantine guilds.

high rates of business mortality — to prevent *excessive* or *destructive competition.*

## The Regulatory Apparatus

### *The Scope of Regulation*

The regulatory framework in Byzantium was established and enforced by the state. Typically, the regulations mandated the functional division of labor among crafts and trades organized into guilds ; dealt with the conditions for admission to guilds ; and set rules of business conduct. Business deals had to be consummated in designated marketplaces to prevent commodity diversion, stealthy transactions, and market fragmentation, and thereby ensure the unimpeded functioning of the market mechanism. The regulations did not intend to set prices, thwart intra-guild competition, interfere with the firms' decision-making process, or protect enterprises from external competition. The statutes refrained from interfering with the firms' operations : they did not prescribe the number of enterprises that might be set up in each guild, the equipment to be deployed, the techniques and processes to be chosen, the kinds and quality of inputs to be used ([270]), the assortment, quality, standards and measurements of the manufactures that could be produced (except for prized silks) ([271]), the firms' size of workforce, or the methods and terms of sale. In the domestic trade, the law allowed considerable latitude in negotiations and there were no restrictions as to the choice of one's supplier ([272]). On the other hand, there was no concerted action to fix the price of exports. Sojourning foreign and provincial merchants shopped around, and concluded their purchases and business transactions directly and on an individual basis with the sellers ([273]).

(270) The only restriction was on the use of purple dye of the highest quality, *murex* purple, which was reserved for silks produced in the imperial workshops (*BE*, 8. 4).

(271) The quality, color and size of certain silks whose manufacture was allowed are listed in *BE*, 4. 3 and 8. 1, 2, while those whose production was forbidden are listed in *BE*, 4. 1 and 8.1, 2, 4.

(272) The only exception was the sourcing of silk yarn by weavers, who were directed to purchase yarn from the dealers in imported raw silk and not from the spinners (*BE*, 8. 8), as one might have expected.

(273) Several authors assert that, in terms of the rules and regulations enforced in Byzantium and the West, there is no dissimilarity between the two

*Administrative Machinery*

The Byzantine guilds did not have an internal inspection system of their own. The enforcement of the guild rules and regulations was the responsibility of the eparch's office and the body of his inspectors and informers. There were several classes of inspectors among the eparch's staff charged with the task to oversee specific guild activities. The assessor and his staff would adjust the weight of the loaves of bread to reflect changes in the price of grain ([274]) ; reset the measures and jars the innkeepers used to retail wine to conform with changes of the purchase price ([275]) ; and look into the lawfulness of the guilds' business activities ([276]). Examiners affixed their seal on silk cloth on the loom ([277]) and on fabrics in storage ([278]) or about to be exported ([279]), to certify that their production and export was not prohibited. Sealers stamped weights and measures to ensure their accuracy ([280]). In discharging their duties, the designated inspectors had unlimited access to workshops and warehouses to seal silk fabrics, investigate excessive and suspect stockpiling of goods, or check weighing instruments ([281]).

guild systems since in both instances the main objective was to thwart competition and monopolize the market. MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, pp. 233-234 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, pp. 17 and n. 3, 18 ; KNIGHT, *Economic History of Europe*, p. 94 ; LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, p. 154 ; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, p. 305 ; IDEM, *Tsekhi*, pp. 143-144. *Contra* : SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo*, pp. 13-14. This view is unsubstantiated in light of the evidence presented in the text, *passim* and especially in pp. 559-570 below.

(274) *BE*, 18. 4. Certainly, this adjustment process did not imply that the assessor "fixed" the price of bread, since the buyer felt the impact of the change in the price of grain by getting a smaller or larger loaf of bread at the same price – the price changes of grain were passed on to the consumer.

(275) *BE*, 19. 1. The comment on the adjustment process made in n. 274 above is also applicable in the case of wine.

(276) *BE*, 4. 2.

(277) *BE*, 8. 3.

(278) *BE*, 8. 9.

(279) *BE*, 8. 3.

(280) *BE*, 6. 4 ; 11. 9 ; 12. 9 ; 13. 2 ; 16. 6 ; 19. 4.

(281) For detail, see STOECKLE, *Byzantinische Zuenfte*, p. 93 ; J. B. BURY, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, London, 1911, p. 73 ; ZORAS, *Corporazioni bizantine*, pp. 62-63.

*Implementation and Effectiveness*

Guild rules and regulations, including anti-monopoly legislation, were enforced vigorously and apparently effectively, as the way the supervisory apparatus was set up had potent built-in deterrents. Illegal conduct and flagrant transgressions of the law could hardly have escaped the attention of vigilant chiefs, while transgressors would have had great difficulty in circumventing the law unscathed, either because they could remain undetected or they could rely on venal public officials to cover up infractions or quash indictments. There is no evidence to suggest that guildsmen, individually or collectively, ever possessed the requisite economic power or political clout to influence the authorities and remain above the law. In implementing the statutes, the emperor employed trusted civil servants, not individuals who had purchased their office expecting to exact a satisfactory return on their investment or self-interested guild members. Moreover, these officials carried out their duties in highly localized markets and amidst the ubiquitous presence of informers — conditions least conducive to venal behavior and breach of trust. More importantly, the rules were sound, practical, and enforceable ; the penalties inflicted on transgressing guildsmen were harsh and humiliating ; the authorities watched carefully the performance of the implementing officers and there was no doubt of the dire consequences in case of dereliction of duty. The view ([282]) therefore that the rules, especially those prohibiting vertical integration, were lax or dormant and remained unenforced is unsubstantiated. No evidence has been adduced so far leading to the conclusion that guildsmen could flout the law with impunity, and the skeptics have yet to show that the state failed to enforce the law. They dismiss offhand the willingness and ability of the authorities to enforce the law, and slight the capacity of the offended guilds to fend off infringements on their prerogatives. The *warning* provisions of the law cannot be construed as *proof* of persistent encroachments by aggressive or defiant firms resulting in dominance of the trade guilds. Was the system foolproof ? Probably not. But

(282) MICKWITZ, *Organisationsformen*, pp. 72-73, 75-76 ; IDEM, *Un problème*, pp. 26-27 ; LOPEZ, *Silk Industry*, pp. 18, 19 and n. 1, 20 ; SIMON, *Seidenzuenfte*, pp. 24, 26-34, 44-46 ; MENDL, *Corporations*, p. 306 and n. 6, and LOO's comments in n. 17 (pp. 309-311) ; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Trade*, p. 155 ; MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine silk industry*, p. 33. This thinking derives from the unwarranted presumption that the experience in the West was replicated in Byzantium.

occasional infractions, if they occurred, do not prove lax enforcement. Lacking convincing evidence of ongoing transgressions, of a corrupt administrative apparatus, and of a suborned administrative justice, it cannot be convincingly inferred that the rules and regulations were not upheld.

## The Disintegration of the Byzantine Guild System

Most scholars maintain that the Byzantine guilds disappeared after the twelfth century, on grounds that their rules and regulations leave no trace in later Byzantine times ; no reference is being made to guilds in the narrative sources during this late period ; competition from provincial towns, especially in silks, diminished the importance of manufacturing in the capital ; the economic institutions of the capital were transformed following the ascendancy of the Latins ; and the weakening of state authority resulted in the breakdown of the earlier strict controls ([283]). Others acknowledge the coexistence of guild-like organizational forms in particular sectors with other forms that do not fit the guild model but rather that of unions of small scale producers, which lack the solidity and permanence of guilds ([284]) ; or recognize certain elements of guild organization but see them as residues of the disintegration of the early and middle era Byzan-

(283) Charanis, *Economic Organization*, pp. 150-152 ; G. I. Bratianu, *Nouvelles contributions à l'étude de l'approvisionnement de Constantinople sous les Paléologues et les empereurs ottomans*, in *Byz.*, 6 (1931), p. 645 ; Francès, *Disparition*, pp. 93-101 ; Sjuzjumov, *Kniga Eparcha*, p. 10 ; I. P. Medvedev, *Problema manufactury v trudakh klassikov marxisma-leninisma i vopros o tak nazyvalmoi vizantiiskoi manifakture*. [The Problem of Manufacture in the Studies of Classics of Marxism and Leninism, and the Question of Byzantine Manufacture], Leningrad, 1970, pp. 402-404 ; Kazhdan and Constable, *People and Power*, p. 32 ; L. Maksimovic, *Charakter der Sozial-wirtschaftlichen Struktur der spaetbyzantinischen Stadt (13.-15.Jh.) (XVI. Internationaler byzantinischenkongress, Wien, October, 1981)*, in *JÖB*, Akten Teil I, 1981, pp. 160-164 ; Schreiner, *Organisation*, pp. 59-60 ; Hendy, *Studies*, pp. 258, 585 ; Makris, *Studien*, pp. 142-146 ; Angold, *The Byzantine Empire*, pp. 279-80 ; Idem, *Byzantine 'City'*, pp. 31-34.

(284) K.-P. Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schiksal von Byzanz*, Weimar, 1981, pp. 156-157 ; Idem, *The Late Byzantine Urban Economy, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries*, in *EHB*, 2, pp. 493-494.

tine corporations (285). Finally, others argue that guilds continued to exist beyond the twelfth century as unofficial bodies, but they had adopted a western style, in the sense that their chiefs were not appointed by the government, they represented all members before the authorities, and state control had eased under the influence of the Latins (286) ; or their endurance is inferred from provisions of the *Book of the Eparch* contained in compilations dating to the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries (287).

The minority viewpoint that guilds continued to exist in one form or another beyond the twelfth century is wanting on several grounds. In the first place, it fails to appreciate the serious implications of the very changes that allegedly (and correctly) had taken place : the changes referred to are patently incompatible with a guild organizational structure as normally understood and suggest a devolution into a quite different organizational form. Specifically, the statutory guilds (*systemata*) of the tenth-to-twelfth-century form had lost their previous authority, standing, and controlling function and had taken on an altogether different organizational form, as the state effectively had relinquished *direct* control over their activities formally exercised by appointing their chiefs. More importantly, the affirmed evolution signifies a radical transformation in the constitution and *modus operandi* of the new organizations of craftsmen and traders : they were *de jure* and *de facto* unlinked from the regulatory regime ; participation ceased to be mandatory and, as a result, these organizations were not all-inclusive ; the *elected* head of the organization did not represent or speak for all practitioners of the trade ; and the titles of their representatives lost their former honorific distinction and became mundane. In a status-conscious society, it is unlikely that high-ranking officials in positions of authority, such as the heads of guilds, would suddenly bear prosaic titles. Apparently, a notable change had taken place : whereas before the chiefs of the guilds were government officials, now they were members of their associations and had a collegiate status, e.g., *protomakelarios* (representative of the butchers). The prefix *proto-* (first)

(285) A. P. KAZHDAN and G. G. LITAVRIN, *Očerki Istorii Vizantii i iuzhnykh slavian* [Studies in the History of Byzantium and the Southern Slavs], Moscow, 1958, p. 138.

(286) CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Syntechniai*, p. 4 and n. 2 ; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Hommes d'affaires*, pp. 108-114 ; RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Civilization*, p. 176 ; DAGRON, *Urban Economy*, 2, p. 418 ; PAPAGIANNI, *Byzantine Legislation*, 3, p. 1093.

(287) KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, pp. 40, 43, 52.

clearly suggests that they were *primi inter pares*. The very change in the provenance of the heads of the guilds is a reflection of a profound institutional change as well. These developments render the guild system a hollow shell, and referring to these organizations as guilds during this period is a misnomer.

The notion that the guild system had gradually disintegrated from the thirteenth century onwards is reinforced by evidence that it had outlived its usefulness and had become unworkable. The commercial domination of the Latins, the weak state authority, and the declining role of the guilds in important sectors (e.g., silk industry), changed the dynamics of the marketplace, defined new economic and political parameters, and enabled the indigenous business community, traditionally hostile to any form of restrictions, to challenge the *status quo*. Inroads on the capital's market by the Latins, who operated outside the guild system and enjoyed commercial and legal privileges, led to market dualism, discriminatory treatment of the market players, unfair competition, and resentment within the Greek business class ([288]). As state control and regulation of the same economic activities became one-sided, cooperation, much less compliance, by disgruntled guild members was bound to be less forthcoming, adversely affecting the implementation of regulations and rendering the guild system inoperative. The realization that neither price stability nor control of profit levels could be achieved by fixing profit margins in times of demand/supply disequilibria undermined further the serviceability of the guild system. In the face of these developments, and with the goals of preserving fair competition and enforcing businesslike conduct entrusted to statutory provisions embedded in the law in force, the rationale for maintaining a dysfunctional guild organizational structure was greatly attenuated. Besides, there is evidence that the role of the guilds had waned over time : the fact that egregious practices were taken place in the all-important bread-making trades leading to the institution of a new

(288) CHARANIS, *Economic Organization*, pp. 149-151 ; FRANCÈS, *Disparition*, pp. 98, 100 ; ANGOLD, *Byzantine 'City'*, p. 32 ; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Entrepreneurs*, pp. 165-167 ; DE ROOVER, *The Organization of Trade*, p. 61. To placate the grumbling Greek business community, in 1348 the emperor John VI Cantacuzene finally lowered the trade duties paid by the Byzantines to 2%, thereby putting them on an equal footing with their Italian competitors. W. TREADGOLD, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford, 1997, p. 820 ; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Hommes d'affaires*, p. 48.

supervisory organ in answer to complaints ([289]), suggests that no close official supervision was exercised over the bakers, and probably over other trades of lesser importance. The available evidence, such as it is, and the vicissitudes of the late empire suggest that the notion that guilds continued to exist beyond the twelfth century cannot be persuasively defended. The enabling environment simply was not there. The changing economic and political environment fostered the adoption of non-hierarchical business organizational forms more in tune with the times — such as the voluntary *association* (*somateion*) free from direct state control, which eventually came to displace the old guild organizational structure. Compelling economic and political circumstances shaped not only attitudes but institutions as well.

## C. COMPARISONS AND CONTRASTS

### *Similarities*

Constantinople and the towns in the West faced the same needs and challenges when it came to securing vital consumer goods and raw materials and protecting the consumer from underhanded deals. Not surprisingly, the measures taken for procuring staples, thwarting fraudulent practices, and preventing artificial shortages and unwarranted price increases were alike. And so were the rules for the orderly conduct of business in the marketplace. Transactions by guildsmen outside designated marketplaces were forbidden, as was the enticement of fellow members' customers through earnest solicitation. Everywhere the cities did their utmost to provide the requisite institutional infrastructure for the safe and efficient conduct of trade. The treatment of alien traders was similar : sojourning foreign merchants were confined to special quarters, their stay was limited, they had to market their wares in designated areas, and they had to deal with assigned counterparts. In operational matters, the methods of monitoring compliance of the guild members with rules and regulations, the searching powers of the overseeing officers, and the penalties inflicted on transgressors show great resemblance. In both

(289) *The Correspondence of Athanasius I Patriarch of Constantinple*, ed. A.-M. TALBOT, Washingrton DC,1975, letters n[os] 72, 73, 74, 93, 100, 106.

regions, acting as umbrella organizations, the guilds secured exclusivity in their fields of operations and sought to ensure equality of opportunity for their members, resorting to collective purchase of imported inputs and forbidding preemptive purchases by individual members. Also, unfair competitive bidding resulting in excessive rentals of commercial workshops, eviction, and loss of goodwill was criminalized. Finally, both in the East and the West the guilds were employers' associations which excluded aliens and displayed an inter-guild hierarchy based largely on public perceptions.

*Differences*

Fundamental differences in conception, organization, *modus operandi*, and impact set the two guild systems widely apart however. The Byzantine guilds were genetically related to the Roman *collegia*, although important changes had taken place in the meantime : they were to be found only in the capital ; their scope and purpose were far more limited; the status, freedom of operation, and obligations of the members differed significantly ; and entry and exit was voluntary. They were instituted by fiat which reflected commands issued by an authoritarian regime. The promulgated edicts were not the product of negotiated principles between the authorities and the guilds, and their institution did not mean to serve the interests of the guildsmen. In fact, the guild organizational structure was thrust upon segments of industrial and commercial activities. In contrast, the inception of the western guilds was the resultant of the dominant economic, political, and social circumstances of the times. They owed their origin to the voluntary association of merchants and craftsmen plying the same trade, who saw the benefits of organization and exclusivity in furthering their common interests — mainly economic — through concerted action. To validate their legitimacy and secure the legal right to enforce the rules *they* devised, they sought and obtained the sanction of the local authorities, becoming legal entities on their own right. The tendency toward guild formation in the West was further reinforced by the town authorities, who saw the potential for extracting benefits — mostly fiscal — for their communities, a mutually convenient *quid pro quo*. In Byzantium, as part of the administrative apparatus, the guilds had no independent legal existence and were not expected to extractfiscal benefits.

A defining characteristic of the western guilds was that their members possessed in the highest degree the spirit of brotherhood and charity

which, reinforced by the voluntary character of their association, accounted for their strong sense of solidarity and commitment which facilitated coordination of actions and enforcement of the guilds' directives. Such attitude is not evidenced in their Byzantine counterparts. The fact that guild participation was mandated in Byzantium was hardly conducive to the development of a spirit of solidarity among individualistic and acquisitive entrepreneurs — member relations tended to be conventional and correct.

In Byzantium, the guild organizational structure was confined to the capital and, even there, its scope was circumscribed, as the sphere of guild operations was statutorily limited to a few designated sectors. A multitude of enterprises engaged in a wide range of economic activities were left outside the state's purview, as their induction into numerous guilds and the regulation of their operations would have been impractical, costly, and would have served no useful purpose. In trades statutorily organized into guilds all practitioners were obligated to join, however. Entry decisions were made by the eparch on the basis of specific criteria and with a view to the public interest, not by the members or the chiefs of the guilds in accordance with their self-serving interests. Entrance fees were nominal since the purpose was not to forestall entry. In the West, the guild system was far more pervasive and inclusive, as their ranks encompassed virtually all manufacturing and trade activities as well as many services in each locality. And when the guilds did not include all practitioners of a trade, strong pressure was applied on nonmembers to conform with guild rules. More importantly, the conditions of entry into a guild were established and enforced by the guilds themselves and were restrictive and discriminatory. Entrance fees varied and at times were purposely set at prohibitive levels to curb entry.

In Byzantium, apprentices and workers were not frozen into a permanent social group without hope of ever becoming masters and running their own business. In the West, by instituting rigid rules governing the entry into mastership and in the hiring of journeymen, the guild system thwarted the economic and social advancement of individuals who had the ambition and capability to improve their lot, because it erected insurmountable obstacles in their way, at least throughout the medieval period. Inheriting or marrying into business provided these individuals an occasional opportunity to make their way up. In addition, these impediments affected labor mobility and the allocation of human resources. On the other hand, in the West guild membership and servile status were

incompatible. Employment of slaves as workers, though customary in some activities, was not permissible among guilds, because it would have provided an unfair competitive advantage to those who could afford to buy slaves vis-a-vis fellow guildsmen who employed hired hands. In Byzantium, the institution of slavery was acceptable during the first three centuries of the second millennium, and, although there was discrimination concerning the kind of activities slaves could undertake, still they could become guild members and own or operate workshops as surrogates.

In the West, the guilds had an internal organizational structure, a meticulous and strictly enforced apprentice system and workshop hierarchy, authority to draw up enforceable rules controlling the members' operations and conduct, and often owned collectively industrial facilities. By and large, the guilds elected their chiefs from among their members, who were then confirmed by the town authorities ; they were accountable to the membership ; directed the affairs of the guild ; and followed up closely on the members' business activities to ensure compliance with the guild's statutory rules and regulations. While in most regions the guilds maintained over their long life span their original rigid rules and policies, e.g., in south Germany, in others, in the waning years of the Middle Ages they relented and adapted to new forms of industrial organization and the changing patterns of demand. In Byzantium, the guilds did not have bylaws and remained under strict state authority throughout their existence. Their chiefs were always appointed by the eparch, they were not guild members, and they were accountable to him. They did not interfere with the commercial aspects of the members' operations and labor relations, and only saw to it that the rules concerning business conduct were not violated. There was no mandated, structured or enforced hierarchy of the industrial workforce, and vocational training was a private matter. They did not invest in collectively owned industrial facilities, and they were not known to perform welfare functions, such work being undertaken by an array of philanthropic institutions in the capital. More importantly, there were no internal regulations dictating how the members ought to run their business. The status of the guilds and their *modus operandi* did not change during the much shorter time they were extant. Finally, while in the West the guild system as an institution quite often played an important role in shaping the political will of the cities to their advantage, in Byzantium the guilds never mustered enough power to influence the imperial government and advance narrow economic interests.

A profound policy difference between the two regions is that in Byzantium the guilds' occupational monopoly did not degenerate into a market monopoly as it did in the West. In the West, the guild organizational structure aimed to protect and advance the interests of the membership. Their avowed statutory objectives, in particular of the numerous craft guilds, were to ensure producer autonomy by shielding them from domestic and foreign competition and the vicissitudes of the market ; to maintain an urban standard of living ; and to achieve rough equality of economic results for all members, *inter alia*, by discouraging development of firms of disparate scale of operations. Given the nature of their stated goals and aspirations, inescapably the guilds were *driven* to adopting monopolistic methods of business conduct. The dual quest to establish and maintain exclusivity and ensure commensurate size of enterprises *impelled* them to rule out price and non-price competition among members, and limit competition from outsiders through compulsory membership and control of entry. Thwarting intra-guild competition, in turn, *necessitated* cooperative arrangements and concerted action concerning matters of procurement, production, means of production, pricing, and marketing of their wares, enforced by a rigid monitoring system, imbued sense of member solidarity, and coercion of recalcitrant members into compliance. Competition among guild members was declared unfair and even socially subversive, because it militated against their objectives and would lead to marked economic disparities, loss of employment, and subjection of the weak to entrenched members. In the same vein, unbridled competition for workers, raw materials, and markets was unsettling and threatened the security of the members. *Organization* enabled the guilds to carry into effect successfully their anti-competitive policies, while *control* of the local political machinery facilitated the transition from an occupational monopoly into a market monopoly, by securing the acquiescence of the authorities and rendering already haphazardly applied anti-monopoly measures ineffectual. In short, exploitation of the prerogative of exclusivity led to market monopolization to the exclusive benefit of the guild members and to the detriment of the consumers. The frequent attempts of town authorities to ban guild organizations or restrict their prerogatives attest to their persistent monopolistic tendencies. Still, in the face of mounting pressure, the guilds managed to retain their staying power by opting to set prices and profits within acceptable bounds and thereby forestall punitive action and avoid an appreciable erosion of their monopoly position.

In Byzantium, fundamentally the role of the guilds was to guard against infringement of the state's economic policies and rules of business conduct. The guilds did not act as stewards of the commercial interests of their members. Unlike the West where competition was thought of as undermining the very existence of the guild system, the Byzantines felt that rivalry was beneficial to all concerned as promoting efficiency in production and lower prices. The guild system did not aim to maintain or raise prices through concerted action among guild members, thwart the free play of market forces to secure the market position of inefficient enterprises, or avoid unsettling industries through the introduction of product or process innovations. The existence of a fiat guild monopoly or monopsony in economic activities specified by law did not in itself confer exercisable monopolistic or monopsonistic pricing power on individual members, as the members did not act on command or in conformity with internal rules. The exclusive right of guildsmen to operate as a group in a particular economic activity did not automatically translate into ability of individual members to take advantage of this prerogative and wield pricing power in the marketplace or eliminate intra-guild competition. Unconcentrated market structures, unrestricted domestic and foreign trade, prohibition of horizontal and vertical integration, unimpeded entry, unenforceability of collusive arrangements and price discipline on fractious members in a competitive multi-player setting, opposition from wronged parties reacting in self-preservation, strictly enforced anti-monopoly and anti-hoarding legislation, and lack of a supportive or quiescent law enforcement mechanism were potent countervailing forces, which tended to deter collusive behavior and foster a pro-competitive attitude among guild members. In addition, there was no internal pressure on guildsmen to thwart intra-guild competition ; prices were established by market forces under conditions of free competition ; input and output quality was determined by consumer preferences, not by state or guild regulations ; there were no restrictions on enterprise size ; and producers were not shielded from external competition by erecting tariff barriers. Guildsmen could not afford to become complacent or feel secure because they were not immune from competition, as the individual members' market shares were not protected. While in the West safeguarding the interests of the producers through exclusivity and protectionist measures became official town and state policy, in Byzantium producers had to fend for themselves.

In sharp contrast with the West, the guild system in Byzantium was not as pervasive, restraining or enduring. As a result, the guilds in Byzantium

played a much less decisive role in the organization and operation of the economy. State intervention in the commodity and factor (except capital) markets was minimal and circumspect. The bulk of the regulatory provisions was agoranomic in nature, and aimed to ensure correct business conduct and the orderly function of the marketplace. The regulatory regime aimed to maintain a level playing field by ensuring equal access of all guild members to market opportunities, by forestalling unlawful competition and establishing a set of non-shifting parameters that defined unambiguously the rules of the game. Unlike the West, the state did not interfere with the strictly technico-economic aspects of the firms' operations and managerial decisions. Instead, the authorities relied on the dynamic interaction of market forces and let the market mechanism take hold. Hence, economic incentives were not adversely affected and private initiative was not discouraged. Fundamentally, competition, unimpeded entry and exit of firms, free trade, and equality of opportunity rather than equality of economic results were the foundation of the state's industrial and trade policy. This diametrically opposite attitude of the state, as compared with the West, set a different tone for the firms' market behavior and the guildsmen had no choice but to abide.

To fulfill its objectives of ensuring equality of results and preventing the economic subordination of fellow members, the guild system in the West discouraged the development of larger and disparate in size enterprises through an array of measures intended to set limits to the firms' scale of operations and scope of integration of productive processes. But, by virtually freezing the firms' scale of operation and suppressing intra-guild competition, the exploitation of potential derivative advantages of size was frustrated. It was not until the organizational innovation ushered in by the merchant-industrialists that tangible productivity gains were possible through the formation of integrated and hence larger undertakings. In contrast, the Byzantine state's pro-competitive policy thrust and noninterference with the firms' operations encouraged private initiative, risk- taking, and enterprise growth. Firms could expand by exploiting the growth of market demand and/or making inroads on the competitors' market share. What was discouraged was enterprise growth through elimination of competitors based on the exercise of sheer market power.

In the West, standards and regulations concerning matters of procurement, production and marketing of industrial goods were developed jointly by the guilds and the authorities. Manufactures had to be produced with equipment, inputs, and processes prescribed in minute detail by

"how-to" rules ; the end products had to conform to specifications and measurements and go through repeated inspections ; and their pricing and marketing were the object of strict guild control. The enormity and detail of the enacted regulations resulted in an unparallel interference with enterprise operations and decision-making. Such far-ranging rules were never instituted in Byzantium. In contrast with his western counterpart, the Byzantine guildsman was free to run his business as he saw fit as the authorities refrained from micromanaging the firm's operations. The Byzantines thought it would be counterproductive to meddle with individual members' business activities, leaving entirely to private initiative, competition, and market forces decisions on investment, plant scale, skill development, size of workforce, wages, product quality, output, and innovations. Restrictions on production and marketing, and the attendant inspections, were confined almost exclusively to prized silks which had been declared nontradable.

To ensure low and stable prices in necessities, the towns throughout the West resorted to price-fixing, an economic policy that could hardly achieve the expected results because it was fraught with shortcomings. In Byzantium, the state only set profit margins at the retail end of select basic consumer goods. This was a more pragmatic pricing policy as it did not perceptibly disrupt the functioning of the market mechanism and the price formation process, since wholesale prices were allowed to reflect the prevailing market conditions. The authorities sensed the unworkability of price-setting schemes and let prices be determined by market forces, while ensuring conditions of free and fair competition through an array of measures aiming to thwart monopolistic practices. To be sure, similar laws were enacted in the West. But, whereas the Byzantine authoritarian state could ensure their consistent and effective enforcement, more so since guild-organized activities were limited to particular sectors and only in the capital, in the West law enactment and implementation was diffused and heavily influenced by the powers that be. As a result, their enforcement became uneven and unpredictable. Wage controls were also employed in the West in order to keep the prices of necessities low. In fact, wage-fixing was rooted into the guild culture and principles, and was fully endorsed by town and state authorities. The idea that everyone should be free to strike his own bargain (freedom of contract) and that wages should be left to find their own level took force only after the mid-eighteenth century in the West. In Byzantium, neither the state nor the guilds ever imposed wage controls.

Contrary to the experience in the West, there is no evidence of inter-guild crossovers between craft and merchant guilds in Byzantium. In both regions, members were forbidden to partake in more than one guild. But while in the West the main objective was to prevent economic disparities and economic dependence, in Byzantium the primary purpose was to forestall the development of monopolistic market structures. Eventually, the long established division of labor among guilds in the West was circumvented with the advent of the merchant-industrialists and the development of the putting-out system. In Byzantium, the emphasis on preventing the concentration of economic power in a few hands through vertical or horizontal union of crafts and/or trades led to vigorous and effective enforcement of the one-man one-trade rule. The Byzantines felt that the risk of monopolization of the market outweighed the potential benefits of integration, preferring to err on the side of caution.

In the West, the guilds put in place an elaborate monitoring system and succeeded in arrogating to themselves the policing of the industry in all matters affecting their craft, acting as the official supervisory organs of the town authorities. Even where a centralized system of state regulation was introduced, the guilds held on to their original prerogatives becoming an integral part of the state monitoring network. Guild officials continued to wield extensive overseeing and disciplinary power over the entire spectrum of industrial activities under the general direction of state appointed officials — albeit less so in England. However, implementation was fraught with difficulties because of the comprehensiveness, impracticality, and unenforceability of most regulations, the unwieldy technical specifications and inspections that emboldened transgressors, conflicts over the jurisdiction of the courts and partiality in the administration of the law, and dereliction of duty by guild, town, and state officials. Nonetheless, the regulatory system did not founder ; rather, enforcement became lax, inconsistent, and uneven, before most regulations fell into desuetude. In contrast, the Byzantine guilds did not set up a monitoring system of their own, had no enforcement or disciplinary power, and did not hold their own courts. The regulatory framework was established by the state and was enforced by state officials — the eparch's staff, not guild members. The law was administered vigorously and apparently effectively because the rules were simple, sound, and practicable. Moreover, the supervisory apparatus had potent built-in deterrents : the line of authority was unmistakable ; implementation was entrusted to disinterested civil servants, fully cognizant of the dire consequences for

dereliction of duty and breach of the emperor's trust ; circumvention of the law was very difficult as detection was almost certain, while the chances for covering up or quashing indictments were remote ; and the penalties inflicted on transgressors were harsh and humiliating.

In the West, a confluence of factors impeded, and certainly delayed, product and process innovation. Crippling guild restrictions frustrated private initiative and deterred more enterprising guildsmen from coming up with new products and new methods of production that would raise productivity, reduce production costs, and stimulate demand. This attitude was reinforced by the security net and risk aversion guild protection afforded, as well as the pervading traditionalism which made producers reluctant to seek new ways of doing things. In contrast, in Byzantium the industry's capacity for technical improvements, skill development, and incremental productivity increases was not impeded because private initiative and the profit motive were not suppressed. The noninterventionist policy of the state regarding the business decisions of the guildsmen, reinforced by the emphasis on intra-guild competition and free trade, tended to promote innovative activity, growth of production, and diversity of output, as attested by the volume, variety, and high quality of products the Byzantines turned out.

The western guild system disintegrated in the face of new and more efficient forms of business organization, the unsustainable constraints on private enterprise, and the impracticality and unenforceability of the rules and regulations in effect. In Byzantium, the guild system succumbed to the vicissitudes of the late empire. The dramatic change of the political and economic environment following the events of 1204 brought about a shift to business organizational forms more in tune with the times — such as the voluntary and free from state control business associations already in use by firms operating outside the guild system. The market dualism and the attendant one-sided implementation of the regulations in the aftermath of the Latin rule and commercial domination rendered the guild system inoperative, as disgruntled indigenous businessmen were disinclined to comply, the more so since they could take advantage of the greatly weakened executive power and corruption of the government authorities. Absent an enabling environment, the rationale for maintaining a dysfunctional guild organizational structure seized to exist. Besides, the guild regime extended only to a fraction of the industrial sectors and commercial activities, while the role of the guilds in important industries under their purview had declined by the end of the twelfth century. The

fact that setting profit margins could not be relied upon to ensure price stability or control profit levels further undercut the serviceability of the guild system.

The guild institution in the East and the West evolved over divergent paths which shaped quite differently the industrial organization and market structure of the respective economies and, by extension, the market conduct and performance of the members of the guilds. This may be attributed to the fact that their emergence was prompted by altogether different circumstances, which led to espousing antithetic goals and *modi operandi*. The western guilds set their own multifaceted objectives whereas their Byzantine counterparts had no such power : their limited aims and circumscribed functions were determined by the state. The statutory objectives and scope of operations of the guilds in the two regions, as reflected in their sectoral and territorial penetration, were quite distinct and were driven by different motives : basically, accommodation of the narrow private interests of the guild members in the West, promotion of the general welfare in Byzantium. The two guild systems operated in a milieu with diametrically opposite perceptions regarding the role of competition and the market mechanism, the extent and mode of intervention of the state and the guilds in the economy, and the expediency of insulating the guildsmen from the vicissitudes of the marketplace. This attitude introduced a potent economic dynamic which affected significantly the form, role and operation of the market, the guilds' behavioral pattern, and the nature of competition in the two regions. Western market structures were molded by a guild system empowered to act in concert and restrict new entry, which tended to weaken competition and the potency of the operative market forces. The western guilds' inherent cooperative bent tended to foster concentration of economic power and sustain monopolistic market structures and conduct. Their strong market position, reinforced by their ability to influence the political regimes of the time, rid them of the discipline of the market and afforded them great latitude in production and pricing decisions which assured them of satisfactory financial returns and guaranteed their longevity. In contrast, the operative norm applied to Byzantine guilds was competition and exposure of the members to market forces. The Byzantines relied on market-based economic policies coupled with a regulatory system designed to thwart abuse. The profoundly diverse cultural beliefs and value systems embedded in the two guild systems ineluctably led to distinct trajectories of organization, socio-economic behavior, and econom-

ic performance. Inevitably, the effect of the two guild systems on the efficiency of the local economies and on consumer welfare was bound to differ.

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# CHRONIQUE

## CARING FOR BODY AND SOUL IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN MEDITERRANEAN : EASTERN AND WESTERN PERSPECTIVES

A lot of the older – and some more recent – work on the emergence of a Christian way of dealing with death has to a great extent focused on beliefs concerning immortality, resurrection, and eschatology, as well as on continuities and discontinuities with Greek, Roman, Near Eastern, and Jewish attitudes (1). The development of rituals surrounding death and burial in the early Christian communities, on the other hand, has received considerably less attention from historians, the most recent monograph being A.C. RUSH's still valuable, but obviously dated *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity*, Washington, 1941. Fortunately, no less than three new books deal with the topic of the caring for body and soul in the early Christian world, both in the Eastern and the Western Mediterranean. Two of these studies – U. VOLP, *Tod und Ritual in den christlichen Gemeinden der Antike* (Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 65), Leyde and Boston, Brill, 2002, 337 pages. ISBN 90-04-12671-6 and A. SAMELLAS, *Death in the Eastern Mediterranean (50-600 A.D.). The Christianization of the East : An Interpretation* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 12), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2002, X + 378 pages. ISBN 3-16-147668-9 – are revised versions of dissertations, whereas É. REBILLARD, *Religion et sépulture. L'Église, les vivants et les morts dans l'Antiquité tardive* (Civilisations et Sociétés, 115), Paris, Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2003, 243 pages. ISBN 2-

(1) See e.g. the review articles by Corinne Bonnet and Joseph Lee Rife : C. BONNET, *La mort des hommes, la mort des dieux. Réflexions autour de quelques livres récents*, in *Les Études Classiques*, 71 (2003), p. 271-280 ; J. L. RIFE, *Mediterranean Religions and Christian Death*, in *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 14 (2001), p. 667-670.

7132-1792 reflects the insights of the author's previous research on the topic (2). On the whole, the evolution in the early medieval West has received comparatively more attention (3), so that the mere fact that these books examine the way in which Christians in the eastern part of the Mediterranean – both ordinary believers and their leaders – dealt with the classical funerary and commemorative practices, makes them of interest to Byzantinists.

In *Tod und Ritual*, Volp aims to define and describe both continuities and fundamental changes in ritual practices surrounding death and the dead during the first centuries of Christianity, including the conditions for these developments. The scope of his book ranges from the second century to the end of the fifth and focuses on North Africa, Rome, Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria. Central to Volp's approach is his emphasis on contextualisation. As the development of funerary practices in the Christian communities did not take place in some sort of ritual vacuum, he provides an extensive overview, mainly based on secondary literature, of the customs among ancient Egyptians, Jews, Greeks, and Romans. Much attention is paid to the role of priest-like functionaries and of the family of the deceased during the preparations and the actual funeral, as well as to questions of purity and pollution by the corpse. Jewish, Greek, and Roman funerals and burials were undoubtedly the full responsibility of the family involved, as was the subsequent commemoration of the deceased. Subsequently, Volp discusses the context and prerequisites of funerary rituals, for example the use of music, and gives an elaborate description of the possible components of the funeral of a Christian during the later third, fourth, and fifth centuries – during the first two centuries, the Christian communities usually followed established local customs – including provisions for death such as deathbed baptism. There was no such thing as a uniform, typically Christian funerary ritual from the beginning and the attitude of the early Christians to the existing rituals was very complicated and differentiated, in any case far from a complete rejection of the ritual tradition. From the second century onwards, some sources mention the involvement and even active participation of priests and bishops in funerals, which was a complete novelty in comparison with the ancient Jewish, Greek, and Roman rituals. Another innovation was the re-evaluation of the dead body, which was no longer

(2) See especially É. REBILLARD, *Église et sépulture dans l'Antiquité tardive : Occident latin, 3e-6e siècles*, in *Annales (HSS)*, 54 (5) (1999), p. 1027-1046 ; ID., *Les formes de l'assistance funéraire dans l'empire romain et leur évolution dans l'Antiquité tardive*, in *Antiquité Tardive*, 7 (1999), p. 269-282.

(3) For Merovingian and Carolingian funerary rituals and commemorative practices, see e.g. B. EFFROS, *Caring for Body and Soul : Burial and Afterlife in the Merovingian World*, Park, 2002 ; C. TREFFORT, *L'Église carolingienne et la mort : christianisme, rites funéraires et pratiques commémoratives* (*Collection d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales*, 3), Lyon, 1996.

considered polluting ; instead, purifying capacities were sometimes attributed to the relics of the martyrs. Apart from these innovations, considerable attention is paid to the differences between practices in the Latin-speaking western part of the Roman Empire and the eastern part with its Greek cultural background. One example is the Greek custom of singing laments for the dead, to which Greek Church Fathers such as John Chrysostom were fiercely opposed.

In general, Volp argues for a gradual, varied development, during which Christian functionaries – particularly priests and bishops – played an active role by gradually, but quite consciously, interfering in the responsibility of the family concerning burial and commemoration and taking over the latter's traditional duty. This assumption by the Church can be linked with late antique changes in the family structure, particularly the weakening of the position of the *pater familias*, which gave Christian communities the opportunity to take on new responsibilities. In the course of this process, acceptable pagan practices such as funerary orations were integrated in Christian practice, whereas those customs that appeared incompatible with Christian teachings were reshaped or even expressly rejected. This seems to be the fundamental reason why the Jewish and pagan rituals surrounding death and burial were not really a central theme in the writings of Christian authors : conflicts only arose when the Christian point of view was out of accord with the Jewish or pagan tradition, as in the case of the old connection between death and pollution. Actual opposition against these practices arose with respect to excessive mourning – especially the singing of laments for the dead, which included the presence of pagan professional mourners – and to lavish funerals. In other cases, however, the Church had to yield ; the family custom of having meals at the grave to commemorate the dead, for example, was apparently too strong and too important for the surviving relatives to be substituted by a purely Christian ceremony.

Volp has done a good job in bringing together numerous primary and secondary sources on rituals surrounding death and burial in the ancient and early Christian world and taking a fresh look at these sources from an anthropological point of view. He justifiably draws upon the results of anthropological approaches to ritual practices in non-Western cultures to discuss and structure the ancient and early Christian evidence. Volp's theoretical and methodological model is based on the triple structure in rites of passage as designed by Arnold van Gennep and elaborated by Victor Turner, differentiating between separation rites, transition rites, and reintegration rites. Furthermore, this book shows his careful and critical attention to both the typical characteristics and limitations of the sources, which reflect a culturally diverse landscape with many local practices, although one may not agree with his rather conservative approach to archaeological remains as second to written texts. The picture that emerges in his overview of established funerary practices is undoubtedly an ideal image of a – usually aristocratic – funeral that cannot be applied to the majority of the population and that is sometimes based on sources from different periods, especially

as regards the Egyptian funerals. Volp is very much aware of the inadequacies of his approach, which are admittedly often difficult to avoid due to the lack of suitable sources, and he puts much emphasis on the continuities in the existing rituals. However, certain recent works that are not included in his bibliography could have refined and deepened this overview, like for example M. L. BIERBRIER (ed.), *Portraits and Masks : Burial Customs in Roman Egypt*, London, 1997. Furthermore, Volp underlines the importance of ancestors in the Roman funerals of the Republican period, but hardly mentions the use of ancestor masks, nor the recent study on this topic by H. FLOWER (*Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture,* Oxford, 1996). Finally, notwithstanding his careful approach to the sources, Volp clearly takes a rather "pro-Christian" perspective, which in some cases apparently leads him to abandon his originally careful considerations and jump to factual statements, for example about separate Christian cemeteries. Initially, Volp correctly underlines that it is still very difficult to discern to what extent burial places were owned or administered by the Church in the third century (p. 113-5). Further on, however, he accepts a considerable degree of involvement and control by the Christian community and hierarchy – and thus interference in the traditional role of the family (p. 195). Later still, he presents the administration of separate cemeteries by the Church more or less as a fact, even stating that the assumption of this aspect of the family's responsibilities almost automatically meant that the Christian communities would take on that other duty, namely the funerary rituals for the deceased (p. 246-7).

These remarks make it clear that the final word has not been said about the development of funerary rituals in a Christian environment. Nevertheless, Volp's book is definitely a considerable step forward in comparison with Rush's monograph. Therefore, I would definitely recommend this work to students, who will find it a useful introduction to the funerary customs in the ancient world and a good starting point for further research, although this should not prevent them from consulting specialised archaeological studies on rituals of death and burial. Furthermore, specialists too will gain profit from his interesting insights.

As the title *Religion et sépulture. L'Église, les vivants et les morts dans l'Antiquité tardive* suggests, Rebillard's thought-provoking study focuses in the first place on burial places in Late Antiquity and on the question of to what extent religious beliefs played a decisive role in this context. His main point is that, in Late Antiquity, the Church did not strive to control all aspects of the life of the faithful, including the process of dying, death, burial, and commemoration. Instead, it left the care for the dead to the family. Burying a relative had been a family matter throughout Antiquity and this did not fundamentally change with the rise of Christianity.

Concerning the existence of special Christian cemeteries, Rebillard challenges the traditional view that, from about 250 onwards, the Christians owned and administered common burial places. Neither mystery cults and oriental cults nor other new contemporary cults expressed a preference for a specific way of buri-

al or expected their members to choose a common burial place isolated from other religious groups. This also applied to Jews and – more importantly – to Christians : the Church did not try to intervene in the choice of a proper burial place. Following the results of recent research that has rejected Mommsen's specialised *collegia funeraticia*, Rebillard emphasises that burial was just one of the many tasks of these associations. Collective burial by *collegia* had less to do with economic necessity (poverty) or religious considerations than with personal choice and social identity (imitation of the elite by the *plebs media*). Furthermore, Christians could remain members as long as they abstained from participating in sacrifices.

Was interment a religious necessity at all ? For Christians, the new attitude of respect for the body constituted an argument in favour of inhumation as opposed to cremation, which makes it clear that it was not religious beliefs that decided the transition to inhumation. As a result, the religious argument of the resurrection – considering a tomb as necessary to protect the body in view of the resurrection of the dead – can no longer be maintained. Moreover, the so-called typically Christian duty to care for deceased co-religionists only applied to martyrs and the destitute, the essential motivation being commemoration and philanthropy, respectively. It never formed the impetus to a general obligation towards all believers.

For the second and third centuries, the sources point to differences from the traditional funerary practices – some elements were expressly left out, whereas some texts mention new elements such as the presence of a priest –, but it is not possible to reconstruct a structured, fixed ritual. For the fourth and fifth centuries, Rebillard discusses several sermons by Augustine and John Chrysostom and the model funerals of Monica and Macrina as described by their relatives, Augustine and Gregory of Nyssa. From these and other sources, he concludes that, notwithstanding their criticism of lavish funerals and pagan customs such as female professional mourners, the Christian authorities apparently did not attempt to substitute the traditional funerals with a well-defined Christian ceremony, nor did they prescribe the celebration of the Eucharist in connection with the burial or commemoration of the deceased. Consequently, the funeral of a Christian was still mainly the responsibility of the family and the presence of the clergy depended on their initiative.

Similar conclusions can be drawn for the traditional family commemoration of the dead. Several Christian authorities criticised the funerary meals at the tomb as being akin to idolatry, although there was less criticism in the Greek East, where the clergy sometimes seems to have participated. Some eastern sources indicate that the names of the dead were mentioned during the Eucharistic service. However, it seems that this practice included only a limited number of people who had recently died. Consequently, on the whole, the commemoration of the dead during the Eucharistic service was general and anonymous, just like in the West. Therefore, despite its criticism of traditional memorial practices,

the Church in Late Antiquity was apparently not interested in substituting the individual commemoration of the deceased by a Christian ceremony or practice and rather restricted itself to a collective reference to all the dead.

Rebillard concludes by arguing for more open-minded research on the interaction between Christians and non-Christians – like for example in the *collegia* – and emphasises the limits of ecclesiastical authority in Late Antiquity. As the Church did not try to control all the practices surrounding burial and commemoration, nor strived to impose a comprehensive Christian alternative, it actually tolerated "une large sphère profane" (p. 200).

Rebillard's thorough study bears a considerable resemblance to the volume by Volp with respect to the author's critical attitude to the primary sources – mainly texts, but to a lesser extent also archaeological remains – and the attention he pays to the cultural and religious context in which these sources originated. Accordingly, Rebillard compares contemporary rituals among several religious strands in the third century, whereas Volp offers an overview of Greek, Roman, and Jewish rituals in the Mediterranean, adopting a more diachronic approach. Furthermore, both authors aim to challenge existing prejudices concerning late antique funerary practices. These prejudices are rooted in the assumption that medieval sources often reflect older customs, implying that established medieval practices somehow already existed in Late Antiquity. Finally, the chronological scope of *Religion et sépulture* corresponds to a great extent to that of *Tod und Ritual* (i.e. third to fifth centuries) and Rebillard also pays attention to the sources relating to the Greek East, although somewhat less than Volp does. Apart from these similarities, there are points on which the studies are mutually complementary, for example with regard to the aspect of poverty in burials arranged by the Church. Volp emphasises its importance, but in fact only briefly touches on this subject in a general way, whereas Rebillard's discussion shows that the argument of poverty played only a temporary and partial role. In general, Rebillard's book presupposes a considerable familiarity with both the primary sources and earlier scholarship concerning funerary practices in the Mediterranean. For instance, he hardly mentions what classical funerals and burials looked like before the Christians adopted and changed them, which is indicative of the importance of Volp's introductory outline of these practices.

When it comes to assessing the role of the Church in the development of late antique rituals surrounding death, burial, and commemoration, however, the two authors clearly adopt a different attitude. Indeed, crucial features of the relevant sources are their scarcity and the fact that they belong to different places and periods, not only rendering a precise reconstruction practically impossible, but also making it difficult to track and assess changes. When the sources mention the presence of priests or the celebration of the Eucharist, Volp underlines the novelty of these practices and considers these and other changes as crucial steps in the development towards a Christian burial rite. According to him, they point to a substantial degree of control and a gradual interference by the Church in the

traditional responsibilities of the family. By contrast, Rebillard stresses that nothing indicates a systematic occurrence of such innovations, nor a deliberate attempt by the Church to encourage or even impose a structured, fixed Christian funeral, let alone separate burial places. In fact, he argues for a more or less reluctant attitude of the Church, which left the initiative concerning the care of the dead largely to the family. It appears that for Volp the glass is half full, whereas for Rebillard it is half empty. Whose point of view is right ? It seems not unlikely that the true answer to this complex question may differ from place to place and from community to community – in accordance with the remarkable diversity reflected in the Christian sources – and thus may lie somewhere in the middle.

In *Death in the Eastern Mediterranean (50-600 A.D.). The Christianization of the East : An Interpretation*, Samellas discusses late antique attitudes towards death as well as rituals surrounding death and burial in relation with the general purpose of her book – providing an analysis and interpretation of the religious changes that took place during the gradual transformation from the classical into the medieval, Christian world. In particular, she wants to find out which aspects of Christianity appealed to potential and actual proselytes and which were simply unacceptable and even offensive. In addition, Samellas is interested in the question of to what extent the new religion influenced existing practices and beliefs. The geographical scope of her study is the Eastern Mediterranean, with particular focus on Syria, Asia Minor, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Edessa.

Samellas rightly underlines that, on the whole, people in the Eastern Mediterranean did not feel anxious about their fate after death, the doctrine of the resurrection of the body in fact being an answer to a non-existant problem. Until the end of the sixth century, this view on the last things was just one of many coexisting eschatologies, and one that certainly did not appeal more to either non-Christians or Christians than any other vision of the hereafter. As a result, the Christian faith did not gain ascendancy over its rival "consolation therapies" because of its eschatological promises, but rather because "it responded to the general interest of the times for the "psycho-therapeutic" aspects of Word and Reason" (p. 294).

Apart from silent sorrow and anticipation as a mental preparation, particularly asceticism was proposed by the "Christian physicians of the soul", bishops and church fathers, as the pre-eminent and comprehensive therapy for teaching oneself how to cope properly with the prospect of death and the sorrow caused by the death of a loved one. This ascetic method proved successful, whereas Christianity failed to eradicate and replace the ritual lament by a silent way of grieving.

Much attention is paid to rituals, and especially the (limited) impact of the new religion on the ideological, affective, solidaristic, and honorific functions of these rituals. Faced with political and economic degradation, some members of the municipal aristocracy tried to hold onto power by joining the higher clergy

and creating a religious elite of bishops. In order to legitimise their new position and enhance their influence, these new religious leaders altered the meaning of existing posthumous honours and established new practices, including the burial *ad sanctos* and the commemoration of the dead during the celebration of the Eucharist. Notwithstanding the critical discourse of bishops and Church Fathers, Christianity had a "minimal impact on the existing consumption patterns" of the "lay aristocracy and the well-to-do middle classes" (p. 230), whereas the "labouring classes tried to emulate the nobility" (p. 239). The majority of the population, however, could not afford to pay for burial by an association.

Samellas – like Rebillard, but without referring to his conclusions for the Latin West – argues that the rise of Christianity did not influence the responsibility of the family concerning the actual burial of relatives. The Christian authorities tried to gain control over the realm of the dead, but largely in vain : "for the period of late antiquity it is better to talk about the birth of the idea of the cemetery rather than its extensive application" (p. 254). Furthermore, the Church in Late Antiquity assimilated some traditional funerary customs, including not only the above-mentioned commemorative meals near the grave of the departed, but also magic practices such as necromancy. Consequently, the Church contributed to the survival of these pagan customs into the Byzantine period.

Samellas's study is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the history of the Eastern Mediterranean, especially since this part of the Roman Empire is still often under-emphasised in historical research on Late Antiquity. Many of the issues addressed here are discussed in other studies on the early Christian attitude towards death and burial, for example criticisms of the traditional expressions of grief and the fundamental transformation of the existing pagan and Jewish abhorrence of dead bodies. However, as these usually pay relatively more attention to the Latin West – as in the case of Volp and Rebillard – it is very important to have a study that is completely based on eastern sources. Furthermore, the scope of the book is impressive, as is the range of primary and secondary sources that the author has gathered and discussed.

Unfortunately, *Death in the Eastern Mediterranean* is rather disappointing in several respects. Firstly, the chronological and geographical scope is narrower than the promising title suggests, as in practice, the book focuses on the fourth to sixth centuries and, for mysterious reasons, both Egypt and Greece are largely omitted, apart from a rare reference in the footnotes. Secondly, the careful and critical attitude towards the primary sources that characterises the studies by Volp and Rebillard is largely absent – the eastern sources apparently do not pose any problems of interpretation or scarcity. In general, her book might have been more convincing for the reader, whether or not an expert, if Samellas had given a detailed outline of her methodology and had briefly situated her own research in the context of earlier scholarship. Indeed, throughout the book, it only gradually becomes clear what kind of interpretation is indicated by the title : Samellas's sociological approach focuses on oppositions between the elite and the under-

privileged. She considers funerary practices – for example burial of the underprivileged – mainly as instruments used by a religious elite of bishops and Church Fathers as well as by various Christian denominations in order to enhance their own position in the struggle for both converts and power. This is an interesting point of view, but the addition of some anthropological insights, as in Volp's book, would surely have enriched her approach to the source material.

All things considered, the three volumes reviewed here reflect the ongoing debate among scholars concerning the success and the impact of the Christian message. All three refer, in different degrees, to a certain tension between the expectations and demands of the believers on the one hand, and the Christian authorities, mostly bishops and Church Fathers, on the other hand. They clearly point to the limits of the impact of late antique Christian teachings on the existing attitudes towards the afterlife or the traditional practices surrounding death and burial. In general, Volp takes a more "pro-Christian" view by stressing the initiative of the Church and its partial success, whereas especially Samellas, but also Rebillard, show a more critical and sceptical attitude, in line with MacMullen's studies on paganism and Christianisation in Late Antiquity (4). The three books complement each other in several respects in a highly valuable way. Consequently, all three, in spite of some shortcomings or differences in approach, will interest not only historians of Late Antiquity, but also Western medievalists and Byzantinists. Even anthropologists and ethnologists should be encouraged to consult them - especially since the medievalist Geoffrey Koziol has recently emphasised that "medieval historians [...] are known for reading ethnology, but it is an unreciprocated borrowing, for ethnologists are not reading back" (5).

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(4) Cf. R. MACMULLEN, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*, New Haven (Conn.), 1981 ; ID., *Christianizing the Roman Empire A.D. 100-400*, New Haven (Conn.), 1984 ; ID., *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eight Centuries*, New Haven (Conn.), 1997.

(5) *The Dangers of Polemic : Is Ritual Still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study ?* in *Early Medieval Europe*, 11, 4 (2002), p. 367-388, spec. 368. The first half of this statement clearly applies to ancient historians as well, but to a much lesser degree to Byzantinists. See also J. HALDON, *Byzantium after 2000. Post-Millenial, but not Post-Modern*, in C. SODE - S. TAKÁCS (edd.), *Novum Millennium. Studies on Byzantine History and Culture Dedicated to Paul Speck*, Aldershot, 2001, p. 1-11.

# COMPTES RENDUS

C. VANDERHEYDE, *La sculpture architecturale byzantine dans le thème de Nikopolis du X^e^ au début du XIII^e^ siècle (Epire, Etolie-Acarnanie et Sud de l'Albanie)*, Athènes, Ecole française d'Athènes, 2005 (*BCH Supplément* 45), 10 + 183 pages + 2 cartes + 46 planches hors texte (111 figures). ISBN 2-86958-164-5.

Cette publication n'est pas seulement une contribution remarquable à la connaissance de la sculpture mésobyzantine, mais, surtout, elle se présente comme un modèle d'analyses techniques et formelles étayées par un vocabulaire précis et souvent neuf. Des photos et des dessins de qualité illustrent le propos. En outre, la nouvelle présentation des *Suppléments* du BCH séduit par ses couleurs et sa composition. L'ouvrage est issu du remaniement d'une volumineuse thèse de doctorat soutenue en 1996 à l' Université de Paris I Panthéon - Sorbonne ; le manuscrit en a été achevé en 1999 mais différentes circonstances ont retardé sa parution. Néanmoins, jusqu'en 2002, l'auteur a pu y effectuer des ajouts bibliographiques.

Dans l'introduction, C.V. rappelle la situation géographique et politique du thème de Nikopolis qui correspond plus ou moins à l'Ancienne Epire. Les sculptures étudiées ont été réalisées aux XI^e^ et XII^e^ s., essentiellement sous les Comnènes et les Anges et, après la chute de Constantinople, sous le règne de Michel I^er^ Comnène-Doukas ainsi que pendant le despotat.

La première partie, c'est-à-dire, *l'Inventaire commenté*, se divise nettement en deux : *Les reliefs mésobyzantins* et *Les reliefs des XII^e^-XIII^e^ siècles*. Cette division – qui s'accompagne d'un changement dans la présentation des œuvres puisque les sculptures de la deuxième époque échappent au catalogue numéroté qui comprend 122 pièces – ne s'impose pas au lecteur, d'autant moins que la majorité des sculptures du XII^e^ siècle sont examinées dans ce qui constitue vraiment le catalogue. En outre, comme l'auteur le souligne, «il est difficile de dater des reliefs isolés dont le décor et la technique sont utilisés aussi bien à la fin du XII^e^ qu'au début du XIII^e^ siècle». Et plus loin : «il faut bien insister sur l'aspect progressif de ces transformations». Notons que cette division n'existait pas dans la thèse de 1996 où le catalogue englobait la totalité des sculptures étudiées. Parmi de nombreuses œuvres de haut niveau, on peut relever comme particulièrement remarquables les chapiteaux et reliefs de Saint-Donat de Glyki (n^os^ 14-

28) dont plusieurs, encore indiqués comme inédits, ont depuis lors été publiés par l'auteur (*BCH*, 121, 1997, pp. 697-719), quelques pièces de la Parigoritissa d'Arta (nos 32, 42, 43), les plaques de chancel en champlevé de Sainte-Théodora à Arta (nos 45, 46) ou encore les montants et le linteau de porte conservés dans le musée et la forteresse de Naupacte (nos 93 et 95) qui sont réalisés selon la technique à deux niveaux de relief. Les exemples les plus connus et les meilleurs de cette technique sont les épistyles de l'église des Blachernes, à Arta, qui présentent, en outre, des compositions de motifs uniques en sculpture byzantine (p. 126). Ces reliefs sont étudiés dans le deuxième groupe d'œuvres de l'inventaire commenté, c'est-à-dire hors catalogue. Comme Ch. Bouras et P. Vokotopoulos, C. Vanderheyde attribue ces œuvres au XIIe siècle. La dernière partie de l'inventaire est consacrée aux reliefs en plâtre, ersatz du marbre, dont on a une concentration particulière en Epire où se trouvent plusieurs gisements de pierre calcaire. Un atelier itinérant, spécialiste du travail de ce matériau, aurait œuvré dans la région au XIIIe s.

La deuxième partie, intitulée *Synthèse*, étudie 1. les *Matériaux* (marbre neuf importé, remplois de monuments antiques et paléochrétiens, «marbre de Ioannina» c'est-à-dire pierre calcaire locale ; 2. les *Techniques* (bas-relief, champlevé, incrustation et *opus sectile*, deux niveaux de relief, plâtre moulé) ; 3. les *Décors* (dans l'ensemble, les motifs «font partie du répertoire géométrico-végétal et zoomorphe 'international'», chacun de ceux-ci est analysé et dessiné ; les compositions décoratives ne sont pas spécifiques à la région et dénotent, d'une part, l'influence d'œuvres paléobyzantines, d'autre part, celle de sculptures de Macédoine, de Grèce centrale et du Péloponnèse ; les comparaisons établies avec la peinture montrent, à mon sens, plutôt la permanence des motifs que leur spécificité à une époque déterminée) ; 4. les *Sculpteurs* (à côté des praticiens locaux, des ateliers composés de sculpteurs itinérants expliqueraient les grandes distances séparant des œuvres semblables par la technique et la décoration ; de toute façon, les œuvres du thème de Nikopolis témoignent d'une bonne maîtrise des différentes techniques mésobyzantines, celle des reliefs en plâtre y ayant connu un développement particulier). La *Conclusion* est très claire : elle rappelle l'apport, dans le domaine de la sculpture, de chacun des centres considérés ; elle exprime le souhait de la publication des pièces inédites et de nouvelles campagnes de fouilles mais, surtout, elle souligne que l'étude du matériel envisagé supplée au mutisme des sources pour révéler que la région du thème de Nikopolis «fut beaucoup moins en retrait par rapport aux autres contrées de l'Empire que les documents écrits ont pu le laisser croire. L'essor monumental de la période du despotat ne naissait pas du néant».

Cette belle étude aurait été encore mieux illustrée si quelques photos en couleurs y avaient été incluses pour évoquer le rôle de la polychromie dans la sculpture byzantine du Moyen Age, notamment sur les épistyles de l'église des Blachernes à Arta ou, davantage, pour montrer la complémentarité sculpture-peinture sur un chapiteau très raffiné du Musée byzantin de Ioannina provenant

de Saint-Donat à Glyki (n° 14) ; un décor végétal peint en rouge y encadre les motifs principaux finement sculptés.

Lydie HADERMANN-MISGUICH.

Charles BARBER, *Figure and Likeness. On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2002, 208 pages.

L'ouvrage de Ch. Barber constitue une bonne synthèse du débat théologique entre partisans et adversaires des icônes lors de la crise iconoclaste qui a secoué l'Empire byzantin aux VIII^e^-IX^e^ siècles.

Avant d'arriver au vif du sujet, l'auteur commence par brosser un tableau succinct de la situation qui prévalait dans le monde chrétien avant le déclenchement de cette crise, en 726. Car, le culte des images n'était pas aussi répandu aux premiers siècles du Christianisme que ne le prétendent les iconophiles. En outre, ces affirmations ne reposent que sur une série de textes montés de toutes pièces par les iconophiles, dans le but de convaincre le monde que le culte des icônes relevait de la tradition chrétienne.

Après ces remarques préliminaires, Ch. Barber attire l'attention du lecteur sur le fait que les premiers discours sur les icônes avaient assimilé une série de pratiques provenant du culte des reliques. À la charnière des VII^e^ et VIII^e^ siècles, les icônes joueront un rôle semblable à celui des reliques : rendre le sacré présent. Cette présence ne sera plus, comme pour les reliques, assurée par un contact direct, mais par une forme imprimée dans la matière.

L'année 692 marquera un tournant dans l'histoire de l'iconographie chrétienne. En effet, le canon 82 du concile Quinisexte dotait pour la première fois l'Eglise d'un texte positif sur les images. Les hagiographes devaient, désormais, peindre le Christ tel qu'il était apparu et plus de manière symbolique. Cette mesure visait à souligner l'existence effective des deux natures du Christ, tant avant qu'après sa résurrection. Les iconoclastes prirent le contre-pied de ce concile qu'ils ne reconnurent par ailleurs jamais. Ils développèrent une conception de l'image que l'auteur du livre résume en trois points : 1) la matière, vile et sans vie, ne peut en aucun cas susciter une ressemblance au Christ et aux saints ; 2) l'image ne représente que l'aspect visible du Christ et non sa divinité invisible ; 3) l'icône est source de distraction et détourne ainsi le fidèle de l'adoration de Dieu. Vue sous cet angle, il est évident que l'icône ne peut être une représentation fidèle du prototype. Seule l'Eucharistie sera considérée comme véritable image du Christ. Face à ces propos, les iconophiles rétorqueront que depuis l'incarnation du Verbe, il était désormais possible de peindre le portrait du Christ.

Après un passage en revue de cinq poèmes iconoclastes en l'honneur de la croix, l'auteur s'attarde sur la définition que chacun des deux camps accorde au mot «typos» : il s'agit d'un signe aniconique pour les iconoclastes, d'une image

pour leurs opposants. Privilégiant le signe, les iconoclastes accorderont une place particulière au culte de la Croix. Plus loin, il se penche sur la conception essentialiste de l'image qui avait abouti au principal argument de l'empereur Constantin V selon lequel l'icône circonscrit la divinité du Christ. Le patriarche Nicéphore opposa au basileus une conception formaliste de l'image. Il insistait sur la différence essentielle qui existait entre le prototype et son image. Par conséquent, la seule relation entre l'icône et son modèle se situe au niveau de la ressemblance formelle.

Pour terminer, Ch. Barber analyse un discours du dernier patriarche iconoclaste, Jean le Grammairien, dans lequel il défend la supériorité du verbe par rapport à l'image. Répondant au patriarche, les iconophiles insistèrent sur le fait que l'image, contrairement au discours, permettait à l'homme d'avoir une meilleure perception d'un événement. On aurait cependant tort de croire que les iconophiles se sont limités aux aspects techniques du débat. En effet, ils développeront un argument éthique articulé autour du concept d'imitation (mimesis). L'image, issue d'une mimesis formelle, invite tout regard à la mimesis éthique : mener une vie à l'image de celui qui est sur l'icône.

Ce volume a tous le mérites d'un travail solide, documenté et profond. Signalons aussi, pour être complet, que des illustrations ainsi qu'une abondante bibliographie viennent accompagner cet excellent ouvrage.

G. MICHALIS.

Maxime LE CONFESSEUR, *La Mystagogie. Introduction, traduction, notes, glossaires et index* de Marie-Lucie CHARPIN-PLOIX, Paris, Migne (*Les Pères dans la foi n° 92*), 2005, 201 pages. ISBN 2-908587-53-X.

Cet ouvrage d'une enseignante de l'Institut catholique de Paris propose une nouvelle version française de la *Mystagogie* de Maxime le Confesseur (+662). Cette œuvre est un des commentaires symboliques de la synaxe liturgique de l'Église byzantine et du cadre spatial dans lequel elle se déroule, un des plus imposants de l'Antiquité tardive (628-630). La traduction de M.-L. Charpin-Ploix, destinée à un public averti mais non helléniste, est basée sur l'édition critique de ce même texte à paraître prochainement dans le *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca* (Ch. Boudignon de l'Université d'Aix-Marseille y travaille depuis plusieurs années). Fidèle aux orientations pédagogiques de la collection dans laquelle il s'inscrit, le texte traduit est accompagné d'une introduction claire et accessible ainsi que de plusieurs utiles *indices* facilitant l'accès à une œuvre réputée complexe et difficile. Un glossaire des noms propres, un glossaire et index thématiques suivis d'une bibliographie concluent le livre.

Cette publication est une version acclimatée aux exigences de la collection *Les Pères dans la foi* d'une thèse de doctorat défendue le 2 décembre 2000 à Paris. Il est donc normal d'y trouver sinon les reliquats d'une thèse du moins une option de lecture orientée qui ne saurait toutefois embrasser toute la richesse de

ce document byzantin. Madame Charpin-Ploix fonde son principal axe de lecture de la *Mystagogie* sur la *Définition* dite 'de Chalcédoine', du nom de la cité où se tint le quatrième concile oecuménique en 451 (*«... un seul et même Christ, Fils, Seigneur, l'unique engendré reconnu en deux natures sans confusion, sans changement, sans division, sans séparation, la différence des natures n'étant nullement supprimée à cause de l'union»*, cf. Denzinger §301-302). L'idée est nouvelle et intéressante car il est vrai que l'œuvre de Maxime le Confesseur, surtout après les événements politico-religieux de 633-634 (postérieurs à la *Mystagogie* donc) qui lui révèlent la gravité des positions monophysites (mentionnées en pp. 16-21), est profondément marquée par la défense des points d'équilibre de la christologie chalcédonienne. Dès l'introduction, Madame Charpin-Ploix nous avertit qu'après la présentation de Maxime et du contexte de l'empire byzantin elle proposera (je cite) : *«une brève introduction à la Mystagogie avant d'en souligner quelques traits qui indiquent à quel point cette œuvre constitue un acte majeur de la réception du Concile de Chalcédoine»* (p. 10). C'est ce qu'elle fera en pages 58 et 59 sous le titre : *Un acte de réception de Chalcédoine en forme de traité d'ecclésiologie.* Il est assez difficile de savoir ce qu'il faut comprendre par 'traité d'ecclésiologie' et d'identifier ce qui pourrait constituer un tel traité dans le christianisme tardo-antique. Rien n'en est dit. De plus, affirmer sans de nombreuses précautions que cette œuvre constitue un acte majeur de la réception du Concile de Chalcédoine n'est pas totalement dépourvu de risques. S'il est vrai que Maxime le Confesseur se livre à une subtile dialectique portant sur les concepts d'*union* et de *différence*, appliquée respectivement à l'édifice religieux et au monde dans le chapitre 2 de la *Mystagogie* et à diverses catégories de personnes et de situations dans le chapitre 1 et s'il est vrai également qu'il fait à plusieurs reprises usage de la fameuse négation ἀσύγχύτως de la définition chalcédonienne pour exprimer *l'union* de ce qui par nature diffère, c'est en dehors des débats spécifiquement christologiques auxquels il se livrera dans la seconde partie de sa vie. Il faut en être averti sous peine de gauchir quelque peu la lecture de cette œuvre monastique ambitieuse et complexe. Il n'en reste pas moins que l'hypothèse de lecture de Madame Charpin-Ploix est solide et permet surtout de mettre en lumière les incidences cosmologiques et sociologiques de la christologie maximienne. Balthasar avait en cela ouvert la voie dans sa *Kosmische Liturgie* (Einsiedeln, 1961).

Le travail de Madame Charpin-Ploix est méritoire et utile et vient incontestablement rehausser le niveau des traductions de Maxime parues ces dix dernières années en langue française. On peut nourrir l'espoir qu'il fera des émules qui faciliteront l'accès à un large public au génie hors du commun de Maxime le Confesseur.

P. MUELLER-JOURDAN.

J. NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Übersetzung und Rezeption. Die byzantinisch-neugriechischen und spanischen Adaptionen von Kâlila wa-Dimna (Serta Graeca. Beiträge zur Erforschung griechischer Texte,* 18), Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2003, VIII + 309 pages. ISBN 3-89500-270-4.

Cet ouvrage est issu d'une thèse de professorat présentée en 1998/1999 à la Faculté de «Philologie et Lettres» de l'Université Libre de Berlin.

L'A. examine l'influence des littératures «orientales», c.à.d., islamiques sur la littérature byzantine et néogrecque, depuis la période mésobyzantine jusqu'au XIX[e] s. Il pense ainsi arriver à une conclusion au sujet de la date d'émergence d'une littérature néogrecque en langue démotique.

Sa recherche gravite autour du recueil de fables *Kalîla wa-Dimna*, d'origine indienne (le *Pañcatantra*). Par la voie de la version mésopersane du Sassanide et Zoroastrien Burzôy et l'adaptation arabe de Ibn al Muqaffa', ce recueil de fables est entré dans presque toutes les littératures médiévales et modernes de l'Europe et du Proche-Orient, connu en grec comme *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης*. Dans le monde byzantin, cette œuvre a été traduite/adaptée de l'arabe à diverses époques et à divers endroits, notamment en Sicile normande à l'époque de son apogée culturel par suite du croisement des traditions islamiques, latines et byzantines (par Eugène de Palerme, fin du XII[e] s.), ainsi qu'à Constantinople au moment où la connaissance et l'emploi des langues (arabe, latine, grec) étaient déjà largement liés à l'appartenance religieuse (par Syméon Seth, au tournant du XI[e] au XII[e] s.).

Le I[er] chapitre du travail est consacré à l'histoire de ce texte. L'original indien, d'une structure très sophistiquée, compte cinq chapitres que l'on peut schématiser comme suit : I. Ne pas discerner l'ennemi, signifie l'échec ; II. Discerner l'ami, signifie la réussite ; III.1. Discerner l'homme lucide, signifie la réussite ; III.2a. Ne pas discerner l'homme lucide et l'ennemi, signifie l'échec ; III.2b. Discerner l'ami, signifie la réussite ; IV. Discerner l'ennemi, signifie la réussite ; V. Ne pas discerner l'ami, signifie l'échec. Le genre littéraire choisi par l'auteur anonyme, n'est ni la prose, ni la versification typique de la littérature sanskrite, mais une combinaison de récit cadre, de fables animalières et de vers gnomiques. Déjà la version indienne a connu des ajouts qui gênent ce schéma thématique et qui cependant suivent encore le schéma structurel d'emboîtement.

La version mésopersane (en Pahlavî) de Burzôy est connue par deux traductions directes, la version syrienne plus ancienne qui reste très près de l'original, et la version arabe de Ibn al-Muqaffa' qui est une adaptation. Burzôy a cassé le schéma original du texte en préludant par deux récits écrits à la première personne (*Le voyage de Burzôy en Inde* et *L'Autobiographie de Burzôy*), en doublant les chapitres et en y introduisant une note religieuse (la haute estime de l'ascèse), mais aussi le terme «philosophe».

La version syrienne plus ancienne serait due à un certain Nestorien Bôd qui a vécu à la fin du VI[e] s. ; il omit les deux ajouts de Burzôy et adapta le texte polythéiste au vocabulaire biblique.

La version arabe d'Ibn al-Muqaffa', qui est un des importants créateurs de la prose arabe, date du milieu du VIII[e] s. Ibn al-Muqaffa' fait précéder la version de Burzôy d'une introduction et insère quatre récits, dont deux sont d'origine indienne. Cette traduction arabe est à la base de toutes les versions occidentales.

La version grecque la plus ancienne (IX[e]/X[e] s. ?), conservée très fragmentairement, est une adaptation très libre et témoigne d'une influence ésopienne. Le traducteur inconnu a gardé les noms orientaux et a inclus de nombreuses citations bibliques. Grâce à un glossaire gréco-latin, l'A. interprète le mot *σύρμα* du fragment comme *fable* (p. 78) et en déduit que cette traduction provient d'un environnement italo-grec.

La version grecque plus récente, de Syméon Seth (qui a d'ailleurs grécisé le titre de l'œuvre), est par contre mieux conservée et existe en plusieurs variantes, dont une (dénommée Bε) d'Eugène de Palerme. Une des conclusions de ce chapitre est que la littérature populaire grec moderne est basée sur les versions byzantines de l'œuvre, ce qui souligne l'importance de la langue littéraire byzantine pour la production littéraire en grec moderne.

Au II[e] chapitre, l'A. éclaire le cheminement du texte dans les versions grecques en étudiant des dénominations et des noms propres. Il clarifie la question que pose le mot arabe *hida*, transmis dans les mss. par *milan, bélette,* ou annoté comme corruption, en dénichant le mot dialectal sicilien d'origine romane *nibulus/ *niblu/nibbio*, transcrit en grec par *νύβλα/νίβλα* (pp. 64-70). Il note que seul Syméon Seth a systématiquement éliminé les exotismes, c.à.d. les noms propres étrangers, et cela démontre pour l'A. une volonté d'intégrer l'œuvre arabe dans la tradition des genres littéraires byzantins, ce qui s'explique par la continuité de la tradition ésopienne et aussi par les tendances puristes à l'époque des Comnènes. Par contre, la version sicilienne d'Eugène de Palerme reste aux dénominations orientales, parfois grécisées (pp. 84-93).

Le III[e] chapitre (pp. 117-133 pour la partie grecque) est consacré à l'étude comparée des structures narratives dans les diverses traductions et contextes culturels. Syméon Seth a ignoré largement la structure de la version arabe (pourtant déjà allégée en comparaison avec la structuration stricte de l'original indien : récit cadre, fables, gnomes). Syméon a réduit le nombre des niveaux de narration de quatre à deux, ainsi que le nombre des contes paradigmatiques intercalés, dans le but d'intégrer son adaptation dans la tradition ésopienne. Néanmoins, Syméon a introduit la technique orientale de l'emboîtement narratif («Chinese box») dans la littérature byzantine. Eugène de Palerme a repris bon nombre des contes paradigmatiques de l'original arabe et, par conséquent, a dû réintroduire les formules de liaison entre les différents niveaux de narration.

Au IV[e] chapitre, *La question de l'acculturation dans la culture islamique de la littérature médiévale et moderne,* l'A. examine la question de l'héritage oriental dans les littératures occidentales, c.à.d., quels genres littéraires arabes ont été adoptés et à quel niveau linguistique (langue écrite ou langue populaire). Au sous-chapitre *Le grec comme langue islamique* (pp. 162-170), l'A. note que les

traductions de l'arabe vers le grec sont dues à des minorités chrétiennes acculturées du Proche-Orient, réintégrées à l'Empire byzantin depuis le Xe s. Après 1071, l'histoire des Grecs et de leur littérature devenait celle du *millet* orthodoxe des *Rûm*. La langue turque de l'Asie Mineure était encore une langue de communication orale ; les Seldjoukides utilisaient comme langue écrite l'arabe, le persan et le grec. Le persan sera aussi le modèle littéraire et textuel pour le turc à la période ottomane. Un exemple de l'acculturation sont les *Sentences soufiques*, vers grecs au contenu islamique mystique, écrits pour inciter les Orthodoxes à se convertir. Les phonèmes grecs sont transmis en version persane à l'alphabet arabe, ce qui indique une rupture avec l'orthographe grecque historique. Ces vers sont écrits dans une langue populaire du dialecte cappadocien. La métrique, les motifs et le genre proviennent de la poésie mystique persane. Un autre exemple est *Mevlûdnâme (Éloge de la naissance du prophète)* en dialecte crétois. Quant à l'Asie Mineure, l'A. explique la non formation d'une langue littéraire grecque islamisée par le fait de la turquisation de la population chrétienne, tout en contestant l'existence des Cryptochrétiens (p. 168). En Cappadoce, la turquisation s'effectuait sans islamisation : les Orthodoxes parlaient turc ; ils commencèrent, au XVe s., à écrire la langue turque (le Karamanli), cependant avec l'alphabet grec en signe d'identification ethnique. Ainsi le turc devenait une langue littéraire orthodoxe, pratiquée surtout par les auteurs phanariotes.

Les rares traductions grecques d'œuvres littéraires arabes se situent entre l'expansion byzantine et la stabilisation de l'état seldjoukide au XIIe s. Il s'agit de *Kalîla wa-Dimna*, de *Syndipas (Sindbâd)* et de *Barlaam et Josaphat*. Cette dernière œuvre n'avait pas beaucoup de diffusion, même dans le monde islamique, vu qu'elle était devenue un livre canonique de la minorité ismaïlienne. Le *Syndipas* fut traduit, comme *Kalîla wa-Dimna,* pendant cette période cruciale au tournant du XIe au XIIe s., sur commande de l'Arménien orthodoxe Gabriel de Mélitène, par le traducteur Michael Andréopoulos (non pas de l'arabe, mais du syrien), dans une langue plutôt littéraire avec des réminiscences classiques, en évitant la tradition de la chronique populaire. Seuls les remaniements ultérieurs s'approchent de la langue populaire. Ceci s'explique peut-être par le fait que, autour de 1100, les traducteurs grecs ne pouvaient pas se baser sur une littérature populaire écrite, car pendant la renaissance macédonienne la tradition de la littérature semi-vulgaire des VIe/VIIe ss. s'est estompée.

La prise de Constantinople par les Croisés introduit des modèles littéraires occidentaux avec comme corollaire la mise en place d'une langue populaire écrite. Le genre adopté par les Grecs n'est pas le genre arabo-islamique *adab*, mais un genre littéraire qui suit la tradition antique tardive (avec des inclusions de citations classiques), la tradition ésopienne, ainsi que la tradition du poème épique animalier.

Le dernier chapitre, *Conclusions, Constatations et Perspectives* (pp. 223-231), est suivi d'une bibliographie des sources primaires et secondaires, d'un index, d'une annexe des schémas narratifs et un résumé en anglais.

Les spécialistes en cette matière s'intéresseront sans doute aux opinions de l'A. au sujet de l'état des connaissances en la matière. L'étude contribue à sa manière au développement des recherches concernant la philologie byzantine et néogrecque et leur relation avec la tradition orientale.

Margarete LUY-DÄSCHLER.

H.-G. BECK, *Ιστορία της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας στη Βυζαντινή Αυτοκρατορία*, trans. L. ANAGNOSTOU, 2 volumes, Athens, Basilopoulos Publications, 2004, 407 + 348 pages + 37 coloured & black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 960-7731-58-1, ISBN (set) 960-7731-60-3.

Perhaps what distinguished the unforgettable H.-G. Beck (1910-1999) from other great byzantinists of his time was his unique ability of synthesizing. Certainly ranked among the top of his trade (see obituaries by A. SAVVIDES, in *Νέα Εστία* 149, fasc. 1732 (March 2001), pp. 481-482 and C. CHARALAMPIDES, in *Βυζαντινά*, 21 (2000), pp. 667-669), Beck left such unsurpassed monographs as *Theodoros Metochites. Die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahr.* (Munich, 1952) (a "great contribution" according to G. K. KOLIAS, in *EEBS*, 22 [1952], pp. 306-309, here at 309) ; *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959 ; repr. 1977) ; *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich, 1971 and Greek trans. Athens, 1988) ; *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Munich, 1978 and Greek trans. Athens, 1990) ; *Byzantinisches Lesebuch* (Munich, 1982) ; *Byzantinisches Erotikon* (Munich, 1986 and Greek trans. 1999 reviewed by A. SAVVIDES, *Ιστορικά Θέματα*, 10 [September 2002], p. 128) ; and *Kaiserin Theodora und Prokop : der Historiker und sein Opfer* (Munich-Zurich, 1986), among other important contributions : see also his German translation with excellent commentary of Kekaumenos' *Strategikon* (*Vademecum des byzantinisches Aristokraten. Das sogennante Strategikon des Kekaumenos,* Graz-Vienna-Cologne, 1956 ; repr. 1964) ; his short essay *Senat und Volk in Konstantinopel* (Munich, 1966) ; and his biography of the father of byzantinology : *Der Vater der deutschen Byzantinistik. Das Leben des Hieronymus Wolf von ihm Selbst erzählt* (Munich, 1984). A complete list of his nearly 200 publications was compiled by G. PRINZING and L. HOFFMANN, *Hans-Georg Beck-Bibliographie* (*Arbeits gemeinschaft Deutcher Byzantinisten*), Mainz, 2000, 35 pages.

The Greek translation under review first appeared as *Geschichte der Orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich,* in the series "Die Kirchen in ihrer Geschichte", Band 1, Lieferung D1 (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980, VIII + 270 pages), a model work of synthetic ability and one of the few manuals in one of the major western languages covering almost the entire period of Byzantine Church history (beginning with the mid-5th century), together with Joan HUSSEY's *History of the Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, U. P., 1986 ; repr. 1990), who however begins with the 7th c. and

thus covers even less material than Beck. The gap of the early centuries (early 4th - mid 5th with the three first Ecumenical Councils of 325, 381 and 431) is covered (in manual form) by the pertinent ecclesiastical histories (in Greek) by V. Stephanides (5th ed., Athens, 1990), G. Konidares (vol. I, Athens, 1960) and V. Pheidas (2 vols, Athens, 1983). Beck's Greek edition consists of two volumes, the first covering the period from the Fourth Ecumenical Council (451) to the Great Schism of 1054 and the second the period till the final attempts at Union and the eventual fall to the Ottomans. Each chapter is preceded by a convenient short section of primary sources and basic secondary bibliography, which however is not revised with addenda in spite of the fact that the Greek translation appeared almost a quarter of a century following the German original (for example, Joan Hussey's aforementioned nanual does not appear in the general introductory bibliographical section : vol. I, pp. 13-16).

The printing of the Greek edition is well produced with seldom misprints (e.g. Χαλκιδόνος instead of Χαλκηδόνος in the contents of vol. II, p. 8). At the end of volume II the reader is provided with a list of ecumenical patriarchs from A.D. 451 to 1453 (pp. 321-324) as well as an additional list according to the Ecumenical Patriarchate's official 1993 diary (from the Apostle Andrew to 1991) (pp. 325-335). A glossary of Greek and Latin *termini* (pp. 337-343) completes a major work which is however deprived of a general index of names, places and terms.

A. G. C. Savvides.

G. A. Leveniotes, *Το στασιαστικό κίνημα του Νορμανδού Ουρσελίου (Ursel de Bailleul) στην Μικρά Ασία (1073-1076), Εταιρεία Βυζαντινών* 19), Thessalonike, Vanias Publications, 2004, 234 pages.

Based on the author's M. A. dissertation at Thessalonica University this extensive monograph examines in detailed analysis the tumultuous career of a personality that has drawn the byzantinists' attention for more than a century, ever since G. Schlumberger's 1881 and L. Bréhier's 1911-12 pioneer articles were ensued by K. M. Mekios' monograph on *Der Frankische Krieger Ursel de Bailleul* (Athens, 1939). Ursel/Roussel (*Ourselios* or *Rousselios* in Byzantine sources), the Norman chieftain in the Eastern Empire's mercenary service in the 1070s (when he succeeded Robert Crispin as leader of the Norman imperial mercenaries), manifested an adventurer's activity which was to prove quite detrimental for Byzantium in the period between 1073 and 1076.

By rebelling against the emperor Michael VII Doukas (1071-1078) Roussel attempted (from A. D. 1073) to set up his own splinter state, a "Normandy Minor" on Anatolian soil ; defeating the caesar John Doukas' (the emperor's uncle) troops sent against him, he was thus emboldened and did not hesitate to proclaim his captive caesar rival 'basileus of the Rhomaioi', encamping at Chrysoupolis (Skutari) and directly menacing Constantinople. The alarmed

Michael VII was then forced to seek the aid of the Turkoman dynasty of the Artukids, whose emir Artuch eventually had Roussel arrested in Bithynia, c. 1074 (refs in R. Radić, entry *Αρτούχ/Αρτούκ*, in *Εγκυκλοπαιδικό προσωπογραφικό λεξικό βυζαντινής ιστορίας και πολιτισμού*, vol. 3 [Athens, 1998, repr. 2001], pp. 228-229). The Norman was soon however ransomed by his wife and was to become once more threatening for the Empire, whose 6.000 Alan mercenaries were however unable to check him (refs in A. Savvides, *Οι Αλανοί του Καυκάσου και οι μεταναστεύσεις τους στον ύστερη αρχαιότητα και στο μεσαίωνα*, Athens, 2003, p. 52) – a task performed a little later (1075/1076) by the able general (and future founder of the Komnenian dynasty), Alexios I Komnenos, who succeeded in having the ambitious Norman arrested with the aid of Tutach, a Seljuk phylarch who had previously assisted Roussel in his operations. In 1077/1078 Roussel is once again mentioned in the Byzantine sources fighting effectively on the side of Michael VII against John Bryennios, brother of the rebel Nikephoros Bryennios. His enigmatic death caused by the notorious Nikephoritzes and reported by Skylitzes Continuatus (ed. Tsolakes, 186) and Zonaras (ed. Buttner-Wobst, III, p. 725) is not verified by Bryennios (ed. Gautier, p. 255), who testifies that in fact Roussel delivered Nikephoritzes into the hands of the new emperor, Nikephoros III Botaneiates (see discussion by Leveniotes, pp. 190-192).

In recent decades several assessments on Roussel's role have appeared (see refs in J. Hoffmann, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich, 1071-1210*, Munich, 1974, pp. 13-20 ; Kalliope Mpourdara, *Καθοσίωσις και τυραννίς, 1056-1081*, Athens, 1984, pp. 42-47 ; A. Savvides, *Μελέτες βυζαντινής ιστορίας 11ου-13ου αι.*, 2nd ed., Athens, 1995, pp. 33-34, J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance, 963-1210*, Paris, 1990, pp. 78-79 no. 97 ; J. Shepard, *The Uses of the Franks in 11th-Century Byzantium*, in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 15 [1993], pp. 275-305, passim ; cf. entries by A. Savvides, *ΜΓΕ Υδρία* 42 [1987], pp. 274-275, C. Brand, *ODB*, pp. 1814-1815, and G. Prinzing, *Lexikon des Mittelalters* VII.5 [1994], cols 1063-1064), the latest among them being Alicia Simpson's detailed article entitled *Three Sources of Military Unrest in 11th-Century Asia Minor : The Norman Chieftains Hervé Frankopoulos, Robert Crispin and Roussel de Bailleul*, in *Mésogeios* 9-10 (2000), pp. 181-207, here at 192-198 with notes 26-40. Leveniotes' detailed narrative, however, consists of the most meticulous treatment of Roussel's life and times in a carefully outlined Introduction (pp. 37-51), ensued by four lengthy chapters (The Normans and Ourselios in imperial service, early 11th c.-1072/ The commencement of Ourselios' uprising and the Norman's initial successes, 1073-1074/ The involvement of the Turkish factor- The quelling of the sedition and the end of Ourselios, 1074-1076/ The presentation of the uprising in the sources-Its meaning, characteristics and consequences). The opening abbreviations section (pp. 11-13) is followed by a diligently compiled bibliography of sources and sec-

ondary works where almost everything seems to be there (pp. 14-36). This monograph certainly augurs well for the young and promising Greek byzantinist whose future output is eagerly expected.

A. G. C. SAVVIDES.

R.-J. LILIE, *Byzanz. Das zweite Rom*, Berlin, Siedler Verlag, 2003, 576 pages + 12 maps, plates, black-and-white illustrations. ISBN 3-88680-693-6.

In the last decade several scholarly and popularized general manuals on Byzantine history and civilization have appeared mostly in English (inter alios by W. Treadgold, J. J. Norwich, J. Haldon, A. Savvides and B. Hendrickx, T. Gregory). Among the accounts written in other major Western languages is the present book by R.-J. Lilie, the prolific Professor of Byzantine history at Berlin Freie Universität and coordinator of the recently completed seven-volume *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* from A.D. 641 (i.e. where Martindale's *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* leaves off) until 867 (1998-2002 ; there is also an English CD-ROM edition : *The Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire, 641-867*, Cambridge, 2000). He is an authority on the study of Byzantium's connections with the Crusaders and the crusader states (see his recent *Byzanz und die Kreuzzüge*, Stuttgart, Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 2004, 280 pages [see recent reviews by Alkmene STAVRIDOU-ZAPHRAKA, *Βυζαντιακά*, 24 (2004), pp. 403-405 and A. G. C. SAVVIDES, *Anno Domini*, 2 (2005), pp. 373-375] and his former pertinent publications cited here on pp. 554-555).

Here Lilie offers his own viewpoint of the phenomenon of the Byzantine world in four main sections respectively for the periods 4th-8th c. (entitled 'Monopoly'), 8th-11th c. (entitled 'Competition'), 1071-1204 (entitled 'Defence') and 1204-1453 (entitled 'Decline'), which in themselves are subdivided in seventeen lengthy chapters with several subunits. Each section ends with a special concluding chapter entitled 'Structures and overlapping lines', with important remarks. In section one chapter I reaches A. D. 476, chapter II deals with A. D. 476-602 and chapter III with A. D. 602-750 ; in section two chapter IV covers A. D. 750-802, chapter V with Byzantium's relations with Charlemagne, chapter VI with A. D. 802-867, chapter VII with A. D. 867-959, chapter VIII with A. D. 959-1025 and chapter IX with A. D. 1025-1071 ; in section three chapter X deals with A. D. 1071-1096, chapter XI with A. D. 1096-1099 (First Crusade), chapter XII with A. D. 1099-1143, chapter XIII with A. D. 1143-1180, chapter XIV with A. D. 1180-1204 ; and in section four chapter XV covers A. D. 1204-1282, chapter XVI A. D. 1282-1391 and finally chapter XVII A. D. 1391-1453.

The main narrative is ensued by an epilogue ('Byzantium and the West', pp. 517-531), a 'Postscriptum' (pp. 533-535), the text's notes (pp. 537-545), a carefully selected abbreviated bibliography of sources and secondary works (pp. 547-560), a well-structured chronology of the period A. D. 284-1461 (pp. 561-567) and an index of proper names. Two superbly produced colored maps at the opening and ending of the book's hard cover present the Byzantine

world between A.D. 395 and 565 and A. D. 1180-1204. The illustrations moreover are well selected with informative captions and offer more than usually produced in such manuals. Since it seems certain that Lilie's *Zweite Rom* as well as his aforementioned *Byzanz und die Kreuzzüge* will be ranked among the fundamental *instrumenta studiorum* for byzantinists, it is hoped that they will soon be available for non-German readers as well (as is happened in 1993 with the English translation of his 1981 *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten*). The only qualm to be voiced here once again (as it is so often the case with non-Greek byzantinists) has to do with the lack of utilization of bibliography in modern Greek (through Lilie at least offers five selected titles in Greek, namely C. Barzos' Komnenian genealogy, B. Karageorgos' thesis on Liutprand of Cremona, T. Kolias' monograph on Nikephoros II Phokas' reforms, Th. Korres' 3rd edition of his book on the Greek Fire and A. Stratos' six-volume study on 7th-c. Byzantium). However, at least important Byzantine history manuals like those by C. Amantos for A. D. 395-1204, D. Zakythenos for A. D. 324-1071 (also in German translation since 1979), J. Karagiannopoulos for A. D. 324-1204 and Aikaterine Christophilopoulou for 324-1204 (the part A. D. 324-867 also in English translation) certainly merited a place in colleague Lilie's bibliography.

A. G. C. SAVVIDES.

Corinna MATZUKIS (MATZUKE), *The Fall of Constantinople-Fourth Crusade. A Critical Edition with Translation, Grammatical and Historical Commentary of the Codex 408 Marcianus Graecus (ff. 1-13v) in the Library of St. Mark, Venice,* Athens, Hellen Publications, 2004, 347 pages + 3 facsimilies + 2 plates + 1 map. ISBN 960-286-839-2.

Perhaps the most useful addition to a series of commemorative publications in the year 2004 (the thousandth anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople by the knights of the Fourth Crusade, on 12/ 13 April 1204), is the present invaluable complete edition with English translation and commentaries of a source which had not been published so far – and this rather strangely according to Professor K. Metsakes, who prefaces the edition (p. 16). Dr Matzuke's translation recently received a special prize by the Greek Society on Literary Translation (Athens Townhall, 10 March 2005).

"The fall of Constantinople" (Η άλωσις της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως), a most interesting anonymous versed chronicle in the so-called "political" meter and in purist Greek language, consisting of 759 lines (text and translation with critical apparatus here on pp. 89-155), was found in Venice (*Cod. Marc. Gr.* 408, folios 1-13v) together with a long poem on Alexander the Great (Αλέξανδρος ο βασιλεύς, folios 16-142 ) and a short chronicle in prose covering telegraphically the period from 1204 to 1391 (folios 145-146v). A first version of the English translation of this work was published by Dr. Matzuke in *Greek Letters* no. 7 (Athens, 1992-1993), pp. 7-73. The versed chronicles' translator and commenta-

tor, Dr Matzuke, is an accomplished South African scholar of Greek descent with a noteworthy academic career as senior lecturer in Byzantine and Modern Greek language and literature in the Department of Greek and Latin Studies of Rand Afrikaans University (Johannesburg University since 2005).

This edition is based on her Ph. D. thesis submitted in the University of Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia), which was ensued by a series of interesting articles clarifying further aspects of the poem's historical, literary and linguistic importance (*Observations on controversial aspects of the Codex Marcianus Gr. 408, BZ* 80 [1987], pp. 16-26 ; *A description of the Codex Marcianus 408 with new aspects and first editions of hitherto unpublished items,* Παρνασσός, 31 [1989], pp. 58-87 ; *Linguistic idiosyncracies in the versification of the Fall of Constantinople and other poems contained in the Codex Marcianus Gr. 408,* Ελληνικά, 40 [1989], pp. 323-337). In fact, Dr Matzuke continues her researches into the *Cod. Marc. Gr.* 408 with a most important article entitled *The Alexander Romance in the Codex Marcianus 408. New perspectives for the date 1388 : Hellenic consciousness and imperial ideology* (forthcoming in *BZ*), with further corroboration to support her expressed conviction that the Codex was composed between A. D. 1392 and (perhaps) 1404, in the early reign of the Palaiologan emperor Manuel II (1391-1425), who is moreover considered as the code's possible patron. The anonymous author of the chronicle at the end expresses his wish for a long and uninterrupted reign of the Palaiologan dynasty and it is precisely at this point that he provides the date 1392. The date 1388 for the Alexander poem, however, was taken by other scholars to signify not the actual date of composition but of the copying of the manuscript (note that K. Metsakes in the preface, pp. 14, 16, considers that "the composition of such a long poem was possible to have been composed shortly after, if not immediately after 1204"!) –C. Matzuke's arguments however for 1388 as her dating of the Alexander poem associated with 1392 for the Ἅλωσις, seem convincing enough and derive from a careful parallel examination of the language and style of both works.

This is certainly a most welcome addition to the amassing bibliography on the Fourth Crusade and Byzantium's first fall. The edition/translation is enriched by a well-structured introduction (pp. 23-88), the grammatical commentary section (pp. 157-187), the historical commentary (pp. 189-287), a conclusion (pp. 289-290) and 16 useful appendices (pp. 289-323). A basic bibliography (pp. 325-338) is father enriched by supplements (pp. 339-344), while an abbreviations section and the indices of Greek words and names of persons and places complete the work which will doubtlessly offer much to a better understanding of the phenomenon of the Fourth Crusade as viewed by the Byzantines nearly two centuries following its destructive work.

A. G. C. Savvides.

F. Ronconi, *La traslitterazione dei testi greci. Una ricerca tra paleografia e filologia* (*Quaderni della Rivista di Bizantinistica*, 7), Spoleto, 2003, xv + 206 pages. ISBN 88-7988-146-9.

L'ouvrage bénéficie d'une présentation par G. Cavallo (p. ix-x), et le mérite: il s'agit, en effet, de la première monographie consacrée à la problématique de la translittération des textes grecs, cette «opération qui a consisté à transcrire un texte en passant de l'écriture de type ancien du modèle à une écriture de type nouveau», et plus spécifiquement «la transcription en minuscule à partir d'un modèle en onciale» (p. 1-2, citation d'A. Dain, *Les Manuscrits*, Paris, 1964).

La première partie de l'ouvrage (p. 7-72) est solidement ancrée dans l'histoire de la philologie et de la paléographie grecques : l'auteur rappelle la théorie d'A. Dain (1949) sur le sujet, qui a rapidement fait autorité, et qui présente la translittération comme un phénomène unique, qui eut lieu à Constantinople au cours du IX^e^ s., dans un milieu savant («universitaire»), patronné par une autorité (Photius, Aréthas), et dont dépendraient tous les témoins postérieurs conservés. Il évoque ensuite la grande fortune et les remises en question de cette théorie, en particulier par A. Dain lui-même dans la réédition de son ouvrage (1964) ; pourtant, on observe une situation assez paradoxale : d'un côté, il n'est pas rare que l'étude textuelle souvent détaillée des traditions manuscrites qui précède les éditions modernes arrive aux conclusions qu'on trouve deux translittérations (ou davantage) à la base des traditions conservées, et que cette opération est parfois attestée bien plus tardivement que le IX^e^ s. ; d'un autre côté, les études à caractère plus «culturel» et de type «Rezeptionsgeschichte» continuent à répandre la première théorie d'A. Dain, malgré les questionnements du Maître.

Dans le domaine plus spécifique de la paléographie, les implications de la translittération comme phénomène textuel ont longtemps été occultées par l'étude des aspects formels et techniques du passage d'un type d'écriture à un autre. Une autre idée répandue a, en effet, longtemps pesé sur l'étude de la translittération : celle de la simultanéité de la translittération, de l'introduction des signes diacritiques de l'accentuation, et de la séparation des mots (abandon de la *scriptio continua*). En fait, il ne manque pas d'exemples qui permettent à l'auteur de réfuter cette opinion pourtant si largement répandue.

Dans la seconde partie de l'ouvrage (p. 75-142), F. Ronconi propose une méthode permettant de déterminer les différentes translittérations internes à une tradition manuscrite donnée. Il fait très justement observer qu'il faut affiner un présupposé répandu : si la présence de divergences remontant à la phase majuscule ou au passage de la majuscule à la minuscule est une condition *sine qua non* pour déterminer des translittérations distinctes, ce n'est en aucun cas une condition suffisante ; il précise son propos en indiquant des exemples de cas où la présence d'altérations peut trouver une explication différente de celle d'une translittération distincte (essentiellement : la confusion de lettres présentant la même forme de base – lunaire, carrée,... – ; les mécoupures de mots ; les altérations

relatives à un décalage dans la reprise de la lecture – sauts du même au même,...). Il propose ainsi toute une typologie d'altérations pouvant provenir d'erreurs de lecture de majuscules (tableau récapitulatif et exemples des «changements simples» aux p. 84-99). Mais, comme il le souligne lui-même, des altérations graphiques peuvent trouver leur origine en dehors du champ de l'écriture proprement dite (dans la prononciation, par ex.), et, en présence de traditions souvent fragmentaires, il n'est pas toujours aisé non plus de distinguer les altérations résultant de contaminations. L'auteur propose, pour sortir de cette impasse, de rechercher aussi dans une tradition les phénomènes communs dérivant de l'écriture minuscule ; ainsi, leur présence dans un groupe de témoins montrera qu'ils descendent d'un même *exemplar* translittéré, malgré la présence de divergences de majuscules ; là non plus, on ne peut exclure des phénomènes de contamination, mais on pourra toujours tenter de déterminer, par une étude approfondie des différentes branches identifiées dans la tradition, – étude menée à partir des données philologiques, paléographiques, bibliologiques et relatives à l'histoire de la tradition –, si la contamination est interne ou externe à la branche en question (p. 131-133). Un résumé des principes exposés et la présentation de quelques conditions générales à respecter lors de telles enquêtes viennent très utilement clore cette partie (p. 135ss).

Une troisième partie (p. 145-165) est consacrée à l'étude des altérations propres aux nombres, où la translittération se complique parfois de l'adaptation du système attique au système milésien.

Dans les Conclusions (p. 167-170), l'auteur renvoie en quelque sorte la balle aux philologues : la méthode proposée peut sans doute être affinée, mais c'est l'étude de chaque tradition qui permettra d'en reconnaître le bien-fondé. Et si, d'ailleurs, il est permis d'émettre une petite critique, minime au regard de l'avancée que constitue cette monographie dans la reconnaissance de la problématique de la translittération, c'est là qu'elle intervient : tous les exemples fournis pour illustrer le propos ne pèsent pas du même poids, et l'accumulation des cas récoltés systématiquement au fil de l'étude des diverses traditions textuelles sera la bienvenue pour corroborer cette proposition intéressante et qui ne manque pas de bon sens.

Véronique Somers.

Markos Renieris, *Ἱστορικαὶ Μελέται : Ὁ Ἕλληνας Πάπας Ἀλέξανδρος Ε΄. Τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ ἡ ἐν Βασιλείᾳ Σύνοδος (Ἐν Ἀθήναις 1881)*, Reprinted with an introduction by Roxane D. Argyropoulos and Ch. P. Balolgou, Athens, Ἐλεύθερη Σκέψις, 2004, lxxxiii + 214 pages. ISBN 960-8352-37-1.

Markos Renieris (1815-1897) was a multi-talented man of letters and a keen supporter of the Great Idea, distinguished for his books in History, Philosophy of History, Philology, Literature and Law. His book under the title *Historical Studies: The Greek Pope Alexander V. Byzantium and the Council of Basel*

(Athens 1881, 193 pp.) deals first with the life of the Pope Alexander V (ca. 1340-1410) and the Council of Basel (1431-1437). The Cretan Petros Philargis (or Philaretos) was the 17th Greek Pope under the name Alexander V for a few months from June 26th, 1409 till his death on May 4th, 1410. His election as Pope was seen by Renieris as an attempt towards the regeneration and integration of the Western civilization and the Vatican itself, with the help of Hellenism. Alexander V worked towards a reconciliation of different trends within the Catholic Church, no matter if this was not always appreciated by his contemporaries. Additionally, he worked for the benefit of his own homeland Crete. Unfortunately, he was too old to realize his vision, which aimed at the union of the Orthodox with the Catholic Church. Secondly, Renieris' book deals with the Council of Basel, which reduced the privileges of the Vatican by restricting the duties of the Pope to those of a constitutional leader. A great part of the Council's work in the early years was taken up with its quarrel with Pope Eugenius IV, who was accused of wishing to dissolve or transfer the Council. The Pope accepted the proposal of the Greek representatives for an Ecumenical Council, which would examine the possibility of the re-union of the Christian Church. This move was supported by the Council fathers loyal to the Pope and in the 25th session they voted for the city of Ferrara. From the historical point of view it is important that the church's unity was discussed in the Council of Basel, which was attended by some Orthodox bishops and theologians, and that there was agreement on the principal dogmatic and disciplinary questions which had divided the two Churches for many centuries.

This reprinted edition of the two important historical studies by Renieris is preceded by an extensive introduction. The first part of the introduction (pp. xi-lx) is a well-documented and informative study by Ch. P. Baloglou bearing the title *Markos Renieris: An Outline of his Life and Work*. It extensively examines Renieris' origins and studies, his settlement in Greece, his involvement as a redactor of *Le Spectateur de l'Orient* during the Crimaean War, and his career as judge, diplomat, university professor, Governor of the National Bank of Greece and, finally, as a historian.

The second part of the introduction (pp. lxi-lxxxiii) is a illuminating study by Roxane D. Argyropoulos bearing the title *Markos Renieris : Romantic Historiography in a Philosophical Context*. What is emphasized there is that Renieris saw himself as an European thinker who believed that Greece with its Christian civilization and historical identity belongs to the West. Through his romantic historical biographies he shed light to the personality and deeds of important people within the frame of their contemporary social and cultural environment, as they emerge after his extensive study of archives, documents, original sources and other historical works. Renieris was influenced by the 19th c. liberal school of historiography, which was prevailing in Italy, France and England. This is why he is impressed by individuals who transcend themselves thanks to

their exceptional mental abilities and sees them as signs of God's intervention into human history.

The reprinted edition concludes with tables of Greek authors (pp. 197-201), names of places (pp. 202-205) and foreign names (pp. 206-207).

Thanks to this book we can have a fresh look into the priorities of the 19th century Greek historiography through the work of an author like Renieris, whose scientific explorations into the Byzantine and the European history can now be better studied and adequately evaluated.

E. TEMPELIS.

*Πρακτικὰ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου «Ἡ συμβολὴ τοῦ Sir Steven Runciman στὴν ἀνάδειξη τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Πολιτισμοῦ»/Proceedings of the International Congress "Sir Steven Runciman's Contribution to the Promotion of the Byzantine Civilization", Mystras 27 & 28 May 2001*, Ch. P. BALOGLOU (ed.), Κοινωφελὲς Ἵδρυμα Βυζαντινῶν & Μεταβυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν (Δέησις Παράσχου καὶ Ἀριστέας Σπέντζα), Athens and Mystras, 2005, 240 pages. ISBN 960-88862-0-1.

Sir Steven Runciman (1903-2000) was a commanding figure in the modern world of learning. As a Byzantinist and academic of the highest distinction, he was a pioneer scholar in the long tradition of British historiography. In May 2001 the Paraschos and Aristea Spentzas Charitable Foundation for the Promotion of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Studies organized an international Congress in Mystras in order to underline Runciman's contribution to the promotion of the Byzantine civilization. The Proceedings of this Congress are now available in an attractive volume, the success of which is due to the variety of the thematic approaches of its papers. The volume contains fifteen papers given by distinguished scholars. The first pages include a foreword by Prof. S. P. Spentzas (pp. 9-16), the Congress Programme (pp. 17-18), a list of the organizers and the participants (pp. 19-21) and addresses by Ch. P. Spentzas (pp. 23-24) and the Academician N. Konomis (pp. 25-26).

P. TZERMIAS in his opening speech (*Ἡ συμβολὴ τοῦ Runciman στὶς ἑλληνικὲς σπουδές*, pp. 27-33) emphasizes the fact that Runciman was fully conscious of the continuity and multiplicity of the Greek civilization. He knew the Greek language perfectly well and his deep knowledge of the ancient, mediaeval and modern Greek world made him a Hellenist who could read Greek original sources and scientific works.

Ann SHUKMAN (*Footnotes to a Long Life : Steven Runciman's Memoirs*, pp. 35-43), Runciman's niece, discusses a vivid and often hilarious selection of reminiscences of travels, meetings and adventures in the course of his life. Runciman's memoirs refer to an earlier period describing his childhood, family background, the early years at Cambridge, and the many friends he made at the time. Thus it is shown how he came to be the historian he did, and how he thought about himself and his contemporaries.

Celia NIKOLAIDOU (*Ἀτενίζοντας τὸν Μυστρᾶ μὲ τὴ γραφὴ τοῦ Steven Runciman*, pp. 45-71) goes through the 12 chapters of Runciman's book *Mistra* in order to present his view of the area as he saw it throughout history. Runciman felt a deep love for Mystras and wanted to describe the sad story of its decline. His research into the past of Mystras was presented like a charming fable.

T. K. LOUNGIS (*Ἡ ἱστορία τῶν σταυροφοριῶν τοῦ Sir Steven Runciman καὶ ἡ ἱστοριογραφικὴ παράδοση τῆς γαλλικῆς σχολῆς*, pp. 73-82) examines the way the Crusades were interpreted first by the French school of historiography and then by Runciman. Reserved and realistic, Runciman changed the way the Crusades were viewed, by proving the massacre of Jerusalem to have been a bloodthirsty proof of Christian fanaticism that recreated the fanaticism of Islam. He also managed to modify the prevailing historical verdict concerning Godfrey of Bouillon, according to which he was supposed to have been the perfect Christian knight and the peerless hero of the whole Crusading epic. For Runciman, the Christian Holy War itself was nothing more than a long act of intolerance in the name of God.

Cordula SCHOLZ (*Three Byzantines Traveling in "Byzantium": Sir Steven Runciman, Zachariae von Lingenthal and Karl Krumbacher on the way*, pp. 83-91) presents some excerpts from books written by Runciman, Krumbacher and Zachariae von Lingenthal, referring to their impressions and stories about traveling in Greece. It is noteworthy that Runciman wrote a travel book, which was destined for people interested in situations of daily life and at the same time was a part of his own biography.

R. WITT (*Ὁ Runciman καὶ ἡ νοτιοανατολικὴ Εὐρώπη*, pp. 93-100) discusses Runciman's acquaintance with and opinions about modern southern European countries like Serbia, Albania, Greece, Romania and Bulgaria. Thus it becomes evident that he recognized the specific character and identity of this region.

V. A. KYRKOS (*Ξαναδιαβάζοντας τὸ βιβλίο: Ἡ τελευταία βυζαντινὴ Ἀναγέννηση [1980] τοῦ Sir Steven Runciman. Σκέψεις καὶ διαλογισμοί*, pp. 101-119) discusses some reflections deriving from a detailed study of Runciman's book *The last Byzantine Renaissance*, which refers to the period from 1200 till 1453. What is clarified here is the real content of the term *Renaissance*, the reactions of the Byzantines towards the ancient Greek civilization and the role of philosophy in their theological thought.

Maria P. SPENTZA (*Οἱ αἰσθητικὲς ἀναφορὲς τοῦ Sir Steven Runciman*, pp. 121-125) focuses on Runciman's remarks concerning his appraisal of works of Byzantine art, as they appear in his books *Byzantine Civilisation* and *Mistra*. Even though his relevant comments are concise, Runciman had realized that artistic works were most representative of the unique composition of the Byzantine civilization.

Aikaterini CHRISTOPHILOPOULOU (*Steven Runciman, Τὸ ξεκίνημα*, pp. 127-132) carefully examines Runciman's work *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign* (1929, repr. 1963) in order to show that the then 25-year-old his-

torian made some understandable mistakes, as he lacked specific knowledge of legal, financial or social matters. Therefore, what is shown is how Runciman organized his material and how he perceived the past, at times when he had no proper guidance and the relevant bibliography was either little known, or still unavailable.

Kalliopi A. BOURDARA (*Νομικὴ θεώρηση τῶν Βίων τῶν Ἁγίων τῆς ἐποχῆς τοῦ Ρωμανοῦ Λακαπηνοῦ*, pp. 133-144) points out that Runciman used some Lives of Saints as is clear from his book about Romanus Lecapenus. This paper focuses on similar Lives of eleven Saints who belong to the first half of the 10th century and draws some interesting pieces of information concerning various aspects of the legal system during the Byzantine era.

K. G. PITSAKIS (*Καὶ πάλι γιὰ τὴν «Στέψη» τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου ΙΑ΄ Παλαιολόγου*, pp. 145-165) examines new detailed evidence concerning the ceremony of coronation of Constantine XI Palaeologus in Mystras, which is referred to by Runciman in his book *Mistra*. It is clear now that Constantine was not officially crowned in Mystras, as a real coronation ceremony would have been politically useless and dangerous, incompatible with the Byzantine mentality and ideology and lacking any legal validity whatsoever.

Andriette STATHI-SCHOOREL (*The Calvinist Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris and his Relations with the Dutch Seen through the Eyes of Sir Steven Runciman*, pp. 167-174) focuses on the contents of Runciman's book *The Great Church in Captivity* and particularly on the chapter *The Church and the Churches: The Calvinist Patriarch*, where special reference is made to the solid relation between Kyrillos Loukaris and the Dutch ambassador Cornelis Haga and other Dutchmen. Thus, it is shown that Loukaris could always rely on the moral and financial support of Haga.

S. P. SPENTZAS (*Ἡ πρώτη σταυροφορία καὶ τὰ σταυροφορικὰ κρατίδια. Οἱ πληροφορίες τοῦ Sir Steven Runciman γιὰ τὸ οἰκονομικό, κοινωνικὸ καὶ δημοσιονομικό τους περιβάλλον*, pp. 175-205) presents Runciman's thoughts deriving from his *History of the Crusades*, concerning the economy, the society and the public sector of the states that emerged after the First Crusade. Having a direct access to original texts, Runciman drew attention to the role of the Catholic Church in the disaster that befell the Christians of the East and the Byzantine state by and large and underlined the inability of Western Christendom to comprehend Byzantium.

BRYER (*Steven Runciman: How Many Lives?*, pp. 207-209) discusses Runciman's question why if humans had seven lives, cats enjoyed nine and, following that, he sheds light to Runciman's friendship with D. Zakythinos and to his understanding of memory, authority, theology, identity and economy.

K. KARRAS (*Μερικὰ ἐπιπλέον λόγια εἰς Μνήμη τοῦ Στήβεν Ράνσιμαν*, pp. 211-213) refers to the revolutionary aspect of Runciman's personality in that he could see the society and the tradition of his own homeland from a distance and he perceived Greek Orthodoxy as an expanding dynamic tradition. On the

other hand, he loved the Scottish land, the liberal British civilization and the moral values of integrity and true friendship.

The volume of the Proceedings concludes with an Epilogue focusing on Prof. S. P. Spentzas' proposal to the Municipality of Athens for the award of the municipal Gold Medal to Runciman (pp. 215-218) and an Annex with the following published articles by Prof. S. P. Spentzas about Runciman's life and work «*Ὁ Σὲρ Στίβεν Ράνσιμαν καὶ οἱ βυζαντινὲς σπουδές*» (pp. 221-226), «*Τὸ μεγαλεῖο τοῦ Βυζαντίου καὶ ἡ ἀσιατικὴ ἀπειλή*» (pp. 227-230), «*Ὁ Σὲρ Στήβεν Ράνσιμαν καὶ ἡ προσφορά του*» (pp. 231-233), and «*Ὁ Sir Steven Runciman καὶ τὸ ἐπίτευγμά του*» (pp. 234-238).

E. TEMPELIS.

# OUVRAGES REÇUS PAR LA RÉDACTION DU 1er JUILLET 2005 AU 31 JUIN 2006

*Ces ouvrages font ou feront l'objet soit d'un compte rendu, soit d'une chronique, soit encore d'une notice.*

*Α΄ Διεθνές Συνέδριο Σινο-Ελληνικών Σπουδών. Σχέσεις Ελληνικού και Κινεζικού Κόσμου, Ιωάννινα 2 έως 4 Οκτωβρίου 2004. Περιλήψεις.* Ioannina, Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίων, 2004, 63 pages.

Pauline ALLEN et C. T. R. HAYWARD, *Severus of Antioch* (*The Early Church Fathers*), London et N. York, Routledge, 2004, vii + 200 pages. ISBN 0-415-23402-6.

*Analecta Bollandiana. Revue critique d'hagiographie*, 123, fasc. 1 (juin 2005), 240 pages.

G. ARABATZIS, *Blâme du philosophe, éloge de la vraie philosophie et figures rhétoriques : Le récit d'Anne Comnène sur Jean Italos revisité*, extrait de *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 95 (2002), pp. 403-415.

IDEM, *Hegel and Byzantium*, extrait de *Philosophical Inquiry*, 25 (2003), pp. 31-39.

IDEM, *Πλήθωνος 'Περί αρετών' και στωϊκή ηθική. Έρευνες για τις πηγές και την χρονολόγηση του έργου*, extrait de *Φιλοσοφία*, 33 (2003), pp. 217-232.

IDEM, *Plotin, la théologie négative et Bergson. L'apophatisme du lieu*, extrait de *Philosophical Inquiry*, 26 (2004), pp. 45-66.

IDEM, *Ο περί την Άννα Κομνηνή κύκλος σχολιαστών του Αριστοτέλη*, extrait d'Αριστοτέλης, Athènes, 2003, pp. 390-397.

IDEM, *Michel d'Ephèse et le cercle philosophique d'Anne Comnène. Introduction à la question du τιμιώτερον*, extrait de *Παρνασσός*, 46 (2004), pp. 105-112.

IDEM, *Proclus et la mer*, extrait de *Διότιμα*, 33 (2005) (*L'Homme et le Cosmos*), pp. 157-163.

*Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης. Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής*, 10 (2002), 539 pages.

*Αρχείον Ευβοϊκών Μελετών*, 34 (2001-2002), 236 pages + 192 planches hors texte. ISSN 1010-3724.

*Αρχείον Πόντου,. Περιοδικόν Σύγγραμμα*, 50 (2003-2004), 346 pages. ISSN 0518-2867.

Catherine ASDRACHA, *Inscriptions protobyzantines et byzantines de la Thrace orientale et de l'île d'Imbros (III^e-XV^e siècles). Présentation et commentaire historique*, Athènes, Ministère de la Culture, 2003, 388 pages sans pagination continue + 100 pages d'index, + 61 planches hors textes, sans numérotation continue. ISBN 960-214-215-4.

B. ATSALOS, *Φιλολογικά Ανάλεκτα*, Thessalonique, University Studio Press, 2003, 220 pages. ISBN 960-12-1218-3.

IDEM, *Παλαιογραφικά και Κωδικολογικά Ανάλεκτα*, Thessalonique, University Studio Press, 2004, 571 pages. ISBN 960-12-1266-3.

Elisabeth AYMES, cf. *Revue Bénédictine*.

D. BALIATSAS, cf. D. DRITSAS.

Ch. BALOGLOU, *The Institutions of Ancient Sparta in the Works of Pletho*, extrait d'*Antike und Abendland*, 51 (2005), pp. 137-149.

IDEM, *The Economic Thought of Georgios Gemistos-Plethon and Niccolo Machiavelli : Some Comparative Parallels and Links*, extrait d'*Archives of Economic History*, 17,1 (January-June 2005), pp. 5-29.

J. BARDILL, *Brickstamps of Constaninople* (*Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology*), Oxford, University Press, 2004, vol. I : *Texte*, xl + 435 pages + 12 planches hors texte, ISBN 0-19-925522-9 ; vol. II : *Illustrations* (1749 illustrations, sans pagination), ISBN 0-19-925523-7. ISBN set : 0-19-925524-5.

G. BELIVANAKIS, *Ο Ι. Ν. Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου (Παναγία η Πορτιανή) Αδάμαντος Μήλου*, Athènes, Ιερά Μονή Τουρλιανής Άνω Μέρας Μυκόνου, 2005, 118 pages dont pp. 113-118 sommaire en anglais. Illustré. ISBN 960-88485-0-4.

IDEM, *Ιστορία της Μήλου, Συγκροτημένη από τις ιστορικές επιφυλλίδες της εφημερίδας «Μήλος» μιάς 25ετίας 1976-2001*, Athènes, Εφημερίδα «Μήλος», 2001, 606 pages. ISBN 960-91562-0-7.

S. BERNARDINELLO, *Oriente e Occidente nella mano del copista. Vita, morte, un bene per l'eternità*, extrait *d'All'incrocio dei saperi : La mano. Atti del Convegno di Studi, Padova 29-30 settembre 2000*, Padova, 2004, pp. 33-47.

D. BERTOGLI, cf. Maria Grazia ZAMBON.

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